

27

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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27

A large, stylized handwritten signature in white ink, likely belonging to Jawaharlal Nehru, positioned in the lower right quadrant of the cover.A small, stylized handwritten signature in white ink, located in the bottom left corner of the cover.

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi





**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



RELEASING A WHITE PIGEON ON HIS 66TH BIRTHDAY, NEW DELHI,  
14 NOVEMBER 1954

# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Twenty Seven**

**(1 October 1954–31 January 1955)**

**A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund**

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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

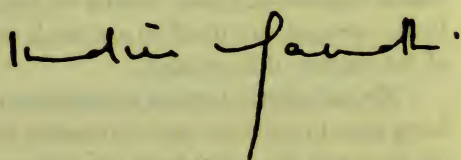
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

The current volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* deals with the period from 1 October 1954 to 31 January 1955. As suggested in the preceding volume of this *Series*, we are in the years under review located in a climacteric decade in the political and economic growth of Indian society. This decade also witnessed an heroic attempt by Jawaharlal Nehru to create in the global community what he defined as an 'Area of Peace', in a world divided into rival camps and threatened by nuclear devastation. When we talk of Nehru's 'Area of Peace' in a troubled global community in the 1950s, we need to recall the distinctive sense of power conceptualised by his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, which rested upon non-violence and social mobilisation, and was deployed to destroy the then most formidable imperial power in world history. His disciple, Nehru, notwithstanding numerous ideological differences between the two, drew upon the novel Gandhian sense of power in a bid to shape relations between sovereign Nations in the world community. Between the two, Gandhi and Nehru, therefore, there was a truly remarkable attempt to enunciate a novel principle of statecraft seeking to demonstrate that the axiom framed by the German strategist, Clausewitz, that war was a continuation of politics by other means, held no validity in the nuclear age.

To highlight the significance of the opening section of this volume, entitled "An 'Area of Peace' in the Cold War", we need to recapitulate here some of the features which characterised the global scene in the 1950s, threatening in the process the world community in a nuclear war of the most frightening proportions. As is well known, the Korean War, while it commenced with hostilities between North and South Korea, soon drew in its embrace the United States, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of China, on the other. Although the war was fought with conventional weapons by these two adversaries, there were a number of occasions when powerful voices in Washington called for the deployment of nuclear weapons, to destroy the Chinese armies in the Korean Peninsula; and indeed, to utilise the occasion to destabilize the radical Republic which the people of China had created for themselves in 1949. It is widely recognised that India played a crucial part behind the scenes, in bringing the Korean War to an end; as, indeed, it played an important role in resolving some of the intractable problems which were a legacy of the Korean Peace. Indeed, some of the preceding volumes of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* contain a substantial body of documentation pertaining to the crucial role which India, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, played in bringing the Korean War to a peaceful culmination.

Another theatre of bitter military conflict, in the decade under review, was the anti-imperialist struggle in Indo-China, the latter consisting of the three constituent Nations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This struggle was part of a wider Asian and African struggle by indigenous peoples against their colonial masters. Although the conflict in Indo-China predated the Cold War, the French

were soon drawing upon the support of the United States in their colonial war in South East Asia; at the same time as the constituent Nations of Indo-China, reached out to the People's Republic of China; and to the Soviet Union; in their bid for freedom. As in the case of the Korean War, Nehru's initiatives played a crucial role, as earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* illustrate, in resolving the Indo-China problem in the international conference held in Geneva in April, 1954. Indeed, the crucial yet unobtrusive role played by Nehru in the Geneva Conference is reflected in the fact that India was elected as the Chair to the Commission which was constituted to oversee the implementation of the decisions taken at the Geneva Conference in respect of Indo-China.

If we dwell upon the international scene at the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, then it is clear that from Nehru's viewpoint the Conference had ended upon a reasonably satisfactory note. It is equally clear that the United States, then engaged in a global anti-communist crusade against the Soviet Union and China, was unhappy at the thought that the problem of Indo-China was likely to be resolved, after the Geneva Conference, in a manner inconsistent with its strategy to thwart what it regarded as the threat of Chinese expansionism, ideological and territorial. Shortly after the Geneva Conference, therefore, the US authorities convoked a meeting at Manila, the capital of the Philippines; in which, somewhat reluctantly, the NATO allies of the US were drawn into a blatantly anti-Chinese arrangement called the Manila Treaty. This Treaty had the objective of rendering the erstwhile French Empire in South East Asia secure from the Chinese communist threat to the region. It was also backed by a military arrangement called the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).

It should occasion no surprise, when we examine the sequel to the Geneva Conference, that the stance adopted by the United States was a source of great concern to Jawaharlal Nehru. This was so, because, Nehru was engaged in mapping out an international community of newly liberated Nations in Asia and Africa, that would constitute an 'Area of Peace'. Such an 'Area of Peace' would be free of the tensions that characterized relations between Nations in the Cold War. It is equally important, at this juncture, to briefly recapitulate Nehru's worldview in the larger context of the post World War II situation. Instead of looking at global politics from the distorting standpoint of a deadly struggle for dominance between the socialist and the capitalist worlds, Jawaharlal Nehru thought it appropriate to rank sovereign Nations in terms of their social cohesion, their political solidarity, their economic productivity plus their potential for the future. There was little doubt that the two towering Nations in the world, in the 1950s, were the United States and the Soviet Union. Beyond these two 'Great Powers', so Nehru believed, stood a unified and revitalised China, which had undergone a revolutionary transformation institutionalised in the creation of a Socialist Republic in 1949. True, China in the 1950s did not actually possess the economic or the military strength of the two other 'Great Powers'. But once it had overcome the initial teething problems, nothing could prevent China from attaining the rank of a 'Great Power' ... which had already attained considerable stature, but was destined to grow even more in the future.

Significantly, however, the enumeration of only three 'Great Powers' in the world in the 1950s did not exhaust Nehru's list of the Nations that truly mattered

in the global community. As he stated in the course of a debate in Parliament on international relations: "Leaving these three big countries, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China... look at the world. There are great countries, very advanced countries .... But... if nothing goes wrong—wars and the like—the obvious fourth country in the world is India...I am not speaking in the sense of any vain glory and all that, but I am merely analysing the situation and given—much has to be given—economic growth, given unity, given many factors, India by virtue of her general talent, ability of her people, working capacity, geographical situation and all that, will rise. Countries like China and India, once they get rid of two things—foreign domination and internal disunity—inevitably become strong; there is nothing to stop them. They have got the capacity; the people of India, or the people of China have got the ability and the capacity. The only thing that weakens them is internal disunity or some kind of external domination. As soon as the external domination is removed from India, we go ahead."

On the eve of his visit to China in October 1954 Jawaharlal Nehru reiterated his conviction of India's potential as the fourth 'Great Power' of the future in the world community, besides the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Indeed, he elaborated and pinpointed the factors which prompted him to dwell upon the possibility of India becoming the "the fourth great country of the world." In voicing this claim, Nehru expressly stated, he had no intention of "comparing India with the great Nations of Europe. I was merely pointing out the capacity and potentiality of India and not talking in terms of (actual) armed power." The greatness of India, Jawaharlal Nehru in fact argued, rested upon that extraordinary concept of power which Mahatma Gandhi had held out before the leaders and the people of the country. "We would, however", Nehru stated, "like to compete with them (that is, the Great Powers) in the urge for peace and the welfare of the people. The whole idea of rivalry and competition between Nations, big or small, has become out of date now, and the idea of cooperation should take its place in order to solve the problem of the world." It was in this context, Nehru believed, that the concept of *Panch Shila*, recently reiterated during his diplomatic dialogue with Chou En-lai in New Delhi, held out to the world community a way out of the Cold War, currently in progress between communist and capitalist countries, and threatening humankind with literal annihilation.

Small wonder, then, that Jawaharlal Nehru regarded his forthcoming meeting with the Chinese leaders in Beijing, in October 1954, as a "world event" of substantial importance. In the first phase of his stay in the Chinese capital, he interacted extensively with Mao Tse-tung, in the course of which the general features of the world situation were discussed, in their global context, as well as in the manner in which they affected relations between China and India. Both the leaders laid great emphasis upon the fact that the two countries had over the centuries not only enjoyed cordial political relations, but they were continuously engaged in creative cultural and philosophical interplay. Indeed, the long history of relations between the civilisations of China and India was marked by a quality of cordiality, and an absence of political or military hostility, the like of which was unknown elsewhere on the globe between two great neighbours with such a long and shared frontier.

Both Mao and Nehru shared the view, that past history no less than the current situation in the two countries, provided an excellent basis for friendship and mutually beneficial exchange of material and cultural values between China and India. Over and above this, the international scene, too, in the middle decades of the 20th century, contained threatening features which called for a close understanding between the two countries, if humanity was to be saved from large scale nuclear devastation. The proximate historical experience of China and India had been similar in respect of external dominance and political humiliation. Indeed, both China and India had suffered from western colonial expansionism, the former from the United States and the latter from Great Britain. In response to this domination, the leaders of India had mounted a unique struggle for liberation, resting on the principles of non-violence and peaceful social transformation. The liberation of China was based upon the organisation of a great revolutionary movement, that had consummated an organic fusion between political and military power. As liberated Nations, engaged in the task of social transformation and economic reconstruction, therefore, China and India were singularly well placed to come together in close association, as they strove for development and faced common global problems in the 1950s.

That there were some differences of emphasis and focus in the exchanges between Nehru and Mao should occasion no surprise. The Chinese leaders had grown up in a milieu in which armed struggle—a bloody civil war within China, as well as a violent military conflict between China and Japan—was an integral part of their political experience. In contrast to Gandhi, therefore, Mao believed that power grew “out of the barrel of a gun.” When commenting upon the wars and the revolutions that characterised the world in the first half of the 20th century, Mao dwelt upon the emergence of socialism as a powerful force, at the same time as he dwelt upon the trajectory of the two World Wars that had traumatised humankind in the first half of the century. In both these wars, so argued Mao, the real aggressors had come to grief in the end. Yet the so-called victors, too, had varied experiences flowing out of their involvement in the two armed struggles. The Nations of Western Europe had undergone a striking contraction in their political, economic and military power. Squarely located in the camp of the victors, were the colonial societies of Asia and Africa, which had succeeded in freeing themselves from Western bondage, and were now fully engaged in social and economic reconstruction. Yet the country which had benefitted most of all from World War II, in particular, was the United States of America, which had not only humbled Nazi Germany, but had also profited at the cost of its allies in Western Europe.

In the 1950s, therefore, Mao contended, the United States stood as the most powerful Nation in the world. Indeed, it was clearly engaged in a bid for world domination under the pretence of leading the “free world” against the “socialist world”. China, Mao stated, engaged as she was in a revolutionary reconstruction of her society, faced the hostility of the United States even more acutely than the Soviet Union; in an armed conflict in the Korean peninsula; no less than in threatening moves in the China Seas, through the KMT occupation of Formosa, backed by her all-powerful ally. As much as India, therefore, Mao asserted, China wanted an end to the Cold War, that threatened world peace, in order to rebuild

the fabric of her war torn society and provide material dignity to her people. Indeed, the quest for peace, in Asia and elsewhere, tied China and India together in close bonds of friendship and amity, pursuing certain common internal and global objectives.

While Nehru's dialogue with Mao was in the nature of a wide ranging exchange of views on world politics, his discussions with Chou En-lai were more specific in character, and touched upon a number of issues which affected the two countries, as the two major political actors in Asia, as well as in their face to face relations with each other. Inevitably, as already indicated, in any exchange of views between the leaders of India and China at this juncture, the shadow of the United States loomed large. This was so because of the stance the latter country had chosen to adopt vis-a-vis the resurgent Asia that had emerged after World War II. Not surprisingly, while Nehru with his considerable understanding in depth of American history and culture, spoke in restrained terms of the aggressive profile of individuals and powerful interest groups in the United States—particularly the constellation of interests that President Eisenhower slightly later defined as the "military-industrial" complex—Chou En-lai was infinitely more pungent about the—naked military threat which the United States held out to China in the 1950s. This threat, the Chinese Prime Minister observed, was reflected most clearly in the US backed occupation of Formosa by the KMT; and the US naval presence in the China Seas. In sharp contrast to the US, China was prepared to entertain cordial relations with everyone, irrespective of their ideological beliefs. The Chinese Government welcomed the prospect of an extension of the 'Area of Peace', as proposed in the concept of *Panch Shila*, or the Five Principles of Peace, that constituted an integral part of the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet adopted in April, 1954. In contrast to the Great Power (that is, the US) which sought to extend its domination over the entire world community, China, like India, looked forward to a milieu in which different countries reached out to social and economic development through the adoption of ideological mechanisms of their choice, without any coercion from external agencies.

Besides the strategic and tactical challenge posed by the United States to a resurgent China in the 1950s, the dialogue between Nehru and Chou (as we have suggested earlier) also touched upon matters of more immediate, and proximate interest to the two countries. The Chinese Prime Minister posed a question as to the likely character of the forthcoming Asian-African Conference that was to be held in Bandung. Nehru informed him that preparations for this meeting were still in a very preliminary stage; but there was little doubt that it would draw upon a wide spectrum of Asian and African nations (including, supposedly, China); and that there would be an open agenda on the occasion, to enable the leaders who would come to take a look at their recent colonial past, on the one hand, and the likely, the possible and the desirable future of the Asian-African world, on the other. So far as the future welfare of the Asian and African Nations was concerned, Chou welcomed the organisation of the Bandung Conference as the creation of a forum that would strengthen the forces of peace and progress in the world community. Indeed, the convocation of such an assembly would greatly strengthen the recently liberated Nations of Asia and Africa, which were under pressure to join an anti-Chinese crusade, designed by the United States

to stamp out radical movements in the world, as a whole, and the People's Republic of China, in particular. More pertinently for Nehru, the Chinese Prime Minister looked upon the forthcoming gathering as an extension of the 'Area of Peace', that would bring sanity to a deeply troubled and polarised world.

Jawaharlal Nehru was largely in agreement with Chou's characterisation of the world scene, particularly as it related to South, South-East and East Asia. Yet he considered it opportune to draw Chou's attention to the fear of China, as an emerging giant in Asia, among the smaller countries of South East Asia. Indeed, such apprehensions often induced these smaller countries to respond positively to the overtures of the United States. Perhaps the meeting at Bandung, so Nehru believed, would offer an admirable opportunity for such fears to be allayed, in the spirit of *Panch Shila*.

There were other issues, too, relatively small in themselves, but substantial in the aggregate, which engaged the two Prime Ministers in the course of their meeting at Beijing. There were, Nehru stated, very substantial overseas Chinese communities located in the countries neighbouring China. Their presence raised all sorts of questions in the minds of the leaders and the peoples of these neighbours. What was the future of these overseas Chinese communities? Chou was very specific in response to this query. The Chinese authorities, he stated, had a clear policy in this matter. They would have nothing to do with overseas Chinese who became citizens, formally speaking, of their host countries. But China would extend the right of citizenship to others.

Perhaps the final issue which Nehru raised with Chou, indirectly rather than directly, was (as the future would reveal) the most sensitive of all, since it dealt with the vexed question of China's frontiers with her neighbours. The Chinese authorities, Nehru observed, had published maps which showed parts of Burma (for example) as Chinese territory. This had naturally alarmed the Burmese Prime Minister. Indeed, some territories which were Indian, too, were shown "as parts of China" in such maps. But Nehru continued, "We are not worried on this point. Our frontiers are clear but I mention the case of Burma because questions of this kind become a handle in the hands of the enemy. Supposing we publish a map showing Tibet as a part of India, how would China feel about it?" Despite the slight touch of resentment with which Nehru posed the question of China's frontiers with her neighbours, Chou handled the issue in a manner which, temporarily, at any rate, defused the issue. The question of maps and frontiers was a "historical question and we have been mostly printing old maps," observed the Chinese Prime Minister. "We have made no survey of the borders ... and we have no basis for fixing the boundary lines...."

There is little doubt that Nehru's visit to China in the autumn of 1954 greatly influenced the formulation of the concrete role which he believed India could play in world affairs. That this visit came immediately after the Sino-Indian Treaty of April 1954, on the one hand, and the Geneva Conference pertaining to Indo-China and Korea, on the other, were important factors in shaping dialogue and discussion between the leaders of China and India. Here we may recall, that Nehru had always subscribed to the belief, that India could share with China a place among the four leading world powers, provided her people succeeded in stimulating economic growth and in creating for themselves a polity characterised by democratic

poise and social equity. Partly because of a shared recent experience of Western domination, there was a great measure of agreement in the way the leaders and the people of China and India looked at the world community. True, the Prime Minister of India also discovered in the course of his dialogue that there were points of disagreement; even possible conflict (like the highly sensitive boundary issue); which could pose serious problems in the future. Yet, he felt that the tactful handling of such issues, in the context of a shared dislike of the Cold War; plus a shared conviction that the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa could be drawn into an 'Area of Peace'; free of ideological and military tension; held out the prospect of looking to the future with a measure of satisfaction.

At a more personal level, Nehru was deeply impressed with the "tremendous amount of organised strength, discipline and enthusiasm" which characterised the people of China; since these were qualities that were crucial inputs into the growth and development of a society. Nehru was equally struck by what he described as "the essential Chineseness" of almost everybody he had met, "from the leaders to the public.... Everything is done in Chinese. Chinese art and cultural activities were encouraged and there was a great deal of pride in China's great past and cultural accomplishments." The profoundly articulate identity of the Chinese people and their leaders struck Nehru very forcibly, and reinforced his impression that the Chinese revolution was much more fundamentally nationalist than it was socialist. This insight appears truly prophetic when we dwell upon the future development of the People's Republic of China.

The great majority of the documents which make up the current volume of the *Selected Works* reach out to crucial developments in the global community, particularly in respect of Sino-Indian relations. They also highlight the skill with which Jawaharlal Nehru drew upon the values expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, in his attempt to map out an 'Area of Peace', in a world divided into antagonistic camps by the Cold War. Yet this achievement should not stand in the way of our highlighting some seminal changes in the period under consideration in the economic sphere. These changes affected government policies and initiatives to the extent of preparing a new basis—a more radical basis—for the trajectory to be pursued by the Republic in the domain of social production.

To fully understand these changes in the economic spheres it is necessary to say a few words about the liberal regime of planned economic growth that had been adopted by Jawaharlal Nehru since the early 1950s. There is good reason to believe that the first General Elections held in independent India, in the winter of 1951-52, taught some important lessons to the political leaders of the country. At the outset, the adoption of adult franchise under the Constitution created an electorate of approximately 200 million, which in sheer numbers was unrivalled by any other democratic polity in the world. Jawaharlal Nehru, it is widely accepted, was the chief architect of the Congress victory at the polls. The political awakening generated among the people through the exercise of adult franchise did not go unnoticed. This popular awakening generated the momentum for the transformative policies which Nehru introduced after his electoral victory. Such transformative policies found their culmination in the Avadi Session of the Congress, held in January 1955. At Avadi, under Nehru's leadership, the ruling party decided to impart a sharper edge to the radical policies which had already

been initiated, in the sphere of land reforms and economic planning within the country. The strategic objective of these policy changes was to establish what can best be described as a 'Cooperative Commonwealth' in the country within a decade or two. The Avadi Congress described these changes as an attempt at the creation of a "socialistic" society within India.

The mechanism of establishing a "socialistic" society in India was spelt out by Jawaharlal Nehru, when he spoke on the resolution presented at the Avadi Session of the Congress. As he put it: "We inherited great problems following Partition; the old Princely States, relics of feudalism, and the backward and stagnating economy with its concomitants of poverty and unemployment. While many of us talked of economic development and even of socialism, we were governed by social attitudes and historical survivals which came in the way." The resolution of these problems was attempted by the initiatives taken by the Government of India, under Nehru's leadership in a number of directions. First and most important of all, was the land question. Very substantial regions of India were under the control of a territorial aristocracy and a landed gentry, which hardly played any role in the process of agricultural production beyond extracting a substantial quantum of the surplus generated by the actual tillers of the soil. The first step taken in a liberated India, after the initial processes of political and administrative consolidation, therefore, was the introduction of land reforms in the States of the Indian Union. Over and above this, the Government of India adopted a transparent and democratic process of economic planning, which sought to bring about the industrialization of India, partly through encouraging private entrepreneurship, but more substantially through public initiatives taken by the State. The third plank of the social revolution which Nehru sought to engineer was to provide gender equity in a society characterised by very considerable inequality, social, legal and economic, between men and women. A substantial number of these objectives were to be realised, so Nehru believed, through societal development in which the State would play a premier role. The core of Nehru's agenda of social and economic transformation—besides the Hindu Code Bill — was located in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, plus the Five Year Plans, which were formulated through the Planning Commission from 1951 onwards.

Jawaharlal Nehru's pronouncements at the Avadi Session of the Congress spoke of a more rapid pace of progress as an indispensable requirement for the country. This sense of urgency, and more resolute action, informed the resolution adopted at Avadi, that spelt out the conviction that in order to realise the objectives of the Congress, as well as those of the Constitution of India, "Planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, (and) production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the National Wealth."

In elaborating the decisions taken at Avadi, Nehru was at great pains to explain the term "socialistic", which featured so prominently at the very opening of the resolution adopted on the occasion. There were two important countries in the world, the Soviet Union and China, Nehru argued, which had adopted socialist theory and practice as the bases of state ideology and government policy; and through such an adoption, consummated a transformation of considerable

proportions in their societies within a remarkably short span of time. Yet the traditions of Indian society—more particularly, as they were reflected in the path adopted in the course of the struggle for liberation under Mahatma Gandhi—called for slightly different objectives, over and above a strict adherence to non-violent and democratic methods as the instruments of social change. Through pursuing the path held out by Gandhi, particularly as far as the resolution of internal social problems was concerned, India had carved out a distinctive path for herself, that was illumined much better by the term “socialistic”, than it was conveyed by the term “socialist.” This was true in various spheres of social and economic activity; whether they pertained to industrial production; or to the ownership of land in rural society; or to upgrading the status of the “wretched of the earth” within India.

The true significance of the Avadi resolution on socialistic pattern of society, Nehru believed, would be reflected in the countryside, where 75 per cent of Indians resided, and earned their livelihood through the pursuit of agriculture. Once land reforms had been introduced, there was no way in which agricultural property could be nationalised, as was called for under socialism. Instead, it would be distributed equitably among the actual tillers of the soil. But such a non-violent revolution, achieved through the democratic process, did not stand in the way of a powerful cooperative movement among the peasants, as the basis of the regeneration of rural society and the expansion of social production in the countryside. The Avadi Congress, therefore, spoke of the need to make haste slowly, and pointed to the path which Mahatma Gandhi had held out to the leaders and the people of India as the true basis of their social, moral and economic liberation.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CCPB	Central Congress Parliamentary Board
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CLP	Congress Legislative Party
CPI	Communist Party of India
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
DMC	Delhi Municipal Committee
DPCC	Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee
GOC	General Officer Commanding
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
INS	Indian Naval Ship
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
KLP	Krishikar Lok Party
KMPP	Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
KMT	Kuomintang
MA	Master of Arts
MDO	Minister of Defence Organization
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNRC	Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
POW	Prisoner of War
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
RMS	Railway Mail Service
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SEADO	South East Asia Defence Organisation
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
TRP	Temporary Residence Permit
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNO/UN	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
UPI	United Press of India
USA/US	United States of America
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## 1. AN 'AREA OF PEACE' IN THE COLD WAR



## I. VISIT TO CHINA

### 1. A Great Event in History<sup>1</sup>

Question: Does your visit<sup>2</sup> have any special significance in view of the recently concluded SEATO?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Numerous conferences like the SEATO<sup>3</sup> are being held here, there and everywhere. But these two great nations—India and China have lived for 10,000 years and want to do it another 10,000 years or more. The meeting, therefore, between the Prime Ministers of India and China is a very big thing itself and a world event.

In my recent speech in Parliament, I referred to India's having the possibility of being the fourth great country of the world because of its size etc.<sup>4</sup> In saying so I was not thinking in terms of what were called "great powers", nor had I any intention of comparing India with the great nations of Europe or elsewhere. I was merely pointing out the capacity and potentiality of India and not talking in terms of armed powers.

We would, however, like to compete with them in the urge for peace and the welfare of the people. The whole idea of rivalry and competition between nations, big or small, have become out of date now and the idea of cooperation should take its place in order to solve the problems of the world.

I do not understand why some people in other countries did not appreciate the Five Principles, which India had agreed to with China,<sup>5</sup> except for the reason that they did not like any understanding or cooperation between India and China.

One of the major factors today is the revolutionary change that has taken over the face of Asia. This has many aspects, different from one another and the process is a continuing one. The fact that this is not liked elsewhere does not make it less significant, nor does it check it. Indeed, the obstruction placed

1. Press conference at Government House, Calcutta, 15 October 1954. From the *National Herald* and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 16 October 1954. Extracts.
2. In response to an invitation from the Prime Minister of China, Nehru visited China from 18 to 30 October 1954.
3. The South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, also known as the Manila Treaty, was signed by eight nations on 8 September 1954 with the avowed objective to check the spread of communism in the region and to present a united retaliation in case of aggression. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 319-324.
4. On 30 September 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 332-344.
5. On 29 April 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 468-469.

in its way only made it more self-conscious and more determined to go ahead, and for Asia to lead its own life.

I am going to China with no set purpose but simply to pay a friendly return visit to that great country and to continue the talks which we had started in Delhi, with a view to greater understanding of each other.<sup>6</sup>

It is essential for the peace not only of Asia, but of the world, that the two great countries like India and China should understand each other and have friendly relations.

Q: Some London newspapers have commented that your aim at Peking would be to extract promises of good behaviour from the Chinese communists.<sup>7</sup>

JN: These comments were based on fear psychosis—fear of communism or fear of American expansion. I am not afraid or rather, to put it differently, I believe in a country having the strength to live its own life. If it has to rely on others to protect it, then it has already lost something that is vital to itself. Therefore, I think, that the policy based on combinations of military powers is not likely to yield the expected results; on the other hand, combinations, which make countries dependent on others or entangled with others, inevitably come in the way of their following a policy of their own choice.

In every matter, national or international or, for the matter, of their domestic affairs, they must have a list of priorities. In international matters, the first thing today is avoidance of war because the coming of any war will upset everything else. Therefore, every policy should be judged primarily from the point of view of maintenance of peace. By peace it is not meant just an absence of shooting war or continuance of cold war. By peace is meant something more than the creation of an atmosphere or climate of peace. That is a surer guarantee of security than many armed pacts or threats of armed actions by this group or the other.

It was clear that war today had ceased to lead to the results aimed at. War had ceased to be a continuation of politics now, because the objective aimed at could not be attained through war. If that is so and if the result of war is uttermost destruction and, probably putting an end to what we know as modern civilization, then we must avoid it at all costs.

6. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26. pp. 366-401.

7. It was widely speculated that Nehru during his meetings with Mao and Chou would seek commitment on two issues, viz., Chinese Government would not support communist parties in Asian countries and would accord constitutional right to overseas Chinese to become nationals of the countries of their residence.

Military pacts are in the nature of sanctions. When the UN Charter was framed it was realized that it was not much good, I mean, having sanctions against what were called great powers. Because the application of these sanctions meant war on a big scale, it had been laid down in the UN Constitution that the five so-called great powers had a veto on the Security Council, which means, in fact, that no action could be taken against any one of these great powers by the others through the UN. Now, that is not democracy, but a recognition of the existing state of affairs in the world.

Similarly, now, the big pacts, whatever virtue they might have had in the past, did not really make much difference either to the military strength of the rival blocs or in terms of peace. They only irritated and made the other party more military-minded. The word coexistence had, therefore, been used, but some countries objected to this. Yet, there was no alternative to coexistence, except war and mutual destruction.

We have to accept the fact that different countries have different political, economic and social systems and that they should have perfect liberty to adopt and maintain their own systems. Interference brings about conflict. In the case of small countries, they may surrender because of fear, while in the case of big countries, there is conflict.

Therefore, coexistence must necessarily be accompanied by "non interference" with other countries, internally or externally. That does not mean not having cooperation. Indeed, there should be an attempt for more and more cooperation, but any attempt at interference must necessarily result in friction.

The Five Principles we have agreed to with China, are theoretically the perfect approach between two countries to rule out aggression or interference. If practically applied between countries, they rule out chances of conflict or even of friction. I, therefore, do not understand why some people in other countries do not appreciate these Five Principles except for the reason that they do not like any understanding or cooperation between India and China.

Q: What in your opinion is an alternative to SEATO?

JN: What is the alternative to hitting a man in the face? I say don't hit.

Q: What is the objective of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference?

JN: It is an old idea put forward at the Colombo Conference by the Indonesian Prime Minister<sup>8</sup> and welcomed by others. The only difficulty was in giving

8. Ali Sastroamidjojo had proposed it on 30 April 1954 during the sixth meeting of the Colombo Conference. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 431-433. See also *post* pp. 106-129.

shape to the idea, which is now being done. The idea had no particular objective, except to encourage cooperation and understanding between these countries. Obviously, one of the essential things that came to our mind was that these countries should help in the preservation of peace....

## 2. Foreign Policy and Fear Complex<sup>1</sup>

Chairman Mao Tse-tung enquired after Nehru's health and after the usual courtesies he said that he was very glad to meet the Prime Minister and had been looking forward to his visit. He dwelt on the age-old associations and the new friendship between China and India. He said that today both India and China were struggling for peace. He had read with great interest the Prime Minister's speech of the 29th September, 1954, and appreciated what he had said then.<sup>2</sup> China and India had more or less common history in recent times. India had suffered from the effects of colonialism for the last 200 or 300 years; so also had China, for more than a hundred years. There were many common features. Both suffered from colonial exploitation and after both the countries became free, it was important for both the countries to have peace in order to carry on peaceful reconstruction of their economies. Both countries were backward industrially. India, he understood, was more advanced, but all the same with their large populations, industrial reconstruction had to proceed with quickness in both countries. Given peace it might take about twenty years for China to be an industrial nation. China wanted peace.

Some other nations, however, did not like to leave China alone. Obstructions were placed in the way of her trade and her reconstruction.

1. Summary of talks with Mao Tse-tung, Beijing, 19 October 1954. Also present were the Indian Ambassador to China, N. Raghavan; Premier, Chou En-lai; Vice-Chairman Chu Teh; Chairman of the Congress of Standing Committee, Liu Shao-chi; Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee, Sung Ching-ling; Vice-Premier, Chen Yun; Chinese Ambassador to India, Yuan Chung-hsien; V.V. Paranjpe and Pu Shou-chang acted as interpreters. JN Collection. Also available in *India-China Relations 1947-1954*, Historical Division, MEA, File No. 12/86/NGO/54 & 12/88/NGO/54.
2. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 318-332.

Trade even through the Chinese waters was being interfered with. Just a few yards away from the Chinese mainland, islands which belonged to China were under occupation. US was carrying on a policy of increasing tension right around China. Part of China, viz., Formosa, US had virtually occupied and was extending all assistance and encouragement to it. Taiwan had to be liberated. She was a standing threat to the Chinese mainland. From Taiwan and other territory air raids were made on China<sup>3</sup> and US had been air-dropping Chinese agents in groups of seven and ten with wireless transmitters and other equipments. Various such groups had been rounded up and caught.<sup>4</sup> China was not a threat to anyone and wished to live in peace with other countries. US, however, did not permit her to do so.

In this matter even countries like England and France were being forced and intimidated by US to follow their line. Even with regard to Chinese admission to the United Nations and the recognition of her status, these nations under pressure from the United States had, unlike India and other Asian countries and also some north west European countries, been supporting US in her attitude. The Chairman then referred to the Manila Conference and SEATO, in which countries like UK supported the American Government.<sup>5</sup>

Nehru began by expressing his appreciation of the very warm welcome that he had received that morning from the people of Peking.<sup>6</sup> He said he was overwhelmed by the demonstration that he had received and thanked the Chairman, the Premier and members of his Government. He said it was true that both India and China had a tradition of close and friendly association

3. On 3 September 1954 an artillery duel broke out between Communist China and Nationalist China over Quemoy island. Air raids by both parties were started on 5 September. On 6 September the US Seventh Fleet patrol was strengthened over 30 islands in possession of the Nationalists. The US Government reiterated its stand on defending the Nationalist hold from communist attack "at all cost."
4. According to a communique of the Chinese Ministry of Public Security, 230 KMT and US agents had been captured since 1951, of whom 106 were killed while being rounded up. The most controversial of these were the cases pertaining to thirteen American secret agents involved in air-dropping agents, maintaining contacts with agents and conducting reconnaissance etc. See *post*, pp. 46, 213-215.
5. Despite the commitment at Geneva regarding non-precipitation of war or warlike situation, Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, had reasoned that "mutual defence arrangements cannot really be considered harmful for any nation, least of all for those who practise it themselves."
6. Over a million people lined the twelve mile long route from the airport and for the first time the Chinese dispensed with the bullet proof cars and Nehru rode in an open car. Desmond Donnelly of the *Daily Mail* described the reception as 'a Roman triumph'.

dating back from the early ages. This association continued more or less till India lost her freedom about 150 or 200 years ago and when China also became subjected to similar forces as those to which India had been subjected. Another link between India and China was common or similar experiences resulting from such colonialism. Both India and China were great countries with vast populations. Both had similar problems and need for reconstruction. There was, therefore, much common ground between the two countries and there was a closeness of association, though they might differ in ideology. There might be differences in outlook or ideology, but there was great goodwill and friendship between our two countries and peoples. This was an important feature in a world full of strife. The great need of the world today was peace and the people of India as well as the people of China were devoted to the cause of peace.

However, Nehru said he wanted to mention that there was a certain amount of fear in the minds of smaller nations in Asia, fear of these two big and great countries, China and India. This might be baseless fear. The fact remained that there was such fear. The very strength of these two countries might be the reason for such fear and there might be other reasons also. Nevertheless, the fact had to be faced that there was fear of China and...

Mao Tse-tung: Of communism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We cannot analyse this fear and find out what exactly causes it, but it is important that we should remove this fear from the minds of smaller countries. It cannot be completely explained, but there is no doubt that the fear complex has affected many countries and has influenced their policies.

Mao: But US cannot be afraid? On the other hand, US is intimidating others.

JN: Even in US some observers have seen that there was fear and policies were influenced by fear.

Mao: What are they afraid of ?

JN: It might be that they are afraid of losing their vested interests. US is a very powerful nation today and perhaps they are afraid of losing their power. After the last World War, European nations had become weak and European colonialism became a diminishing quantity, which would ultimately disappear. Some European countries have already realised this though not sufficiently enough. America, on the other hand, has emerged out of the War as a very strong power and she is anxious that this power may not be affected or

diminished by other powerful nations. It is this fear complex that is affecting them.

Mao: How can America be afraid? On the other hand, she is frightening others through her activities. We cannot have even good sleep, you know. She is intimidating Britain, France and other nations to follow her policy. She does not care for the opinion of others, but she wants others to follow her opinion. Even for the SEATO she did not care for the opinions of India, Burma or Indonesia and intimidated or brought pressure on countries like Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan and others to fall in with her policy.

Nehru said as far as he could see SEATO was American reaction against the Geneva Conference. The Americans did not like the settlement arrived at Geneva and wanted to show that their views still counted and that their strength and influence in Asia had not become less.<sup>7</sup>

Mao said that he agreed that it was a sort of demonstration against the decisions at the Geneva Conference and American inability there to make their presence felt.

Nehru explained that all the same there was the fear complex in America. Perhaps she was afraid of the Soviet Union and countries like Britain and France, who left to themselves might follow a different policy and were following American policy for fear that they might not be able to stand by themselves in the case of another war. They think that if they do not follow US, US might leave them to their own fate in case of another conflict. That is one explanation of British support to the United States. Otherwise the interests of European colonial nations and those of America conflict in the East and in many countries European colonial nations are losing ground to Americans. Yet, we find them supporting American policy.

Mao enquired why countries like India did not then follow the American policy?

7. The decision for cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, arrived at Geneva, went directly against the foreign policy priorities of the US. *The Spectator* commented: "The star of Peking has caused the star of Washington to pale in an area where, only a few years ago General McArthur was usurping the functions of God. With care and skilled determination the SEATO could serve in some measures to rebuild this vanishing authority."

Nehru answered that India was not afraid of any country in the world. The one thing that India's great leader Mahatma Gandhi had taught Indians was not to be afraid and it was this fearlessness that enabled Indians to win their freedom from British imperialism. Yes, said the Prime Minister, India was not afraid and followed her own policy, what she considered right and just.

Mao said that America had so much of strength and wealth etc.

Nehru said that slowly Western nations had to realise that it was not so much money that counted. Both India and China put together had about 1000 million people of the world and human beings counted.

Mao agreed that human beings counted the most.

Nehru continued that ultimately US and other nations would realise that it was not possible to set at nought such a great country with such vast population as China and in the end Chinese legitimate rights would have to be conceded.

Nehru then again referred to the fear of isolation in the minds of West European nations in the event of any armed conflict with Russia. All that they could do now was to try and influence American opinion without leaving the American camp.

Mao said that Eden while at Geneva was in favour of Eastern Locarno. All the same the British supported US at the Manila Conference.<sup>8</sup>

Nehru said that according to his information the British were not happy about it. Nehru referred to the joint declaration made by Prime Minister Chou En-lai and himself while the former was in India.<sup>9</sup> If the principles which were embodied in this declaration were given effect to and if other countries in Asia were made to feel that those principles would be effectively implemented, a good deal could be achieved in removing suspicion and fear. If those principles of non-interference, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity etc. are acted upon, many of the troubles that afflicted nations would be removed. The nations in Asia would have, however, to be convinced that the principles would be effectively implemented.

8. During the Geneva Conference, Anthony Eden had proposed that an arrangement could be arrived at for the defence of South East Asia—in line of the Locarno Treaty—in which both the superpowers stood guarantee for its working. At the Manila Conference, Lord Reading, the British delegate, argued that while the Geneva Conference had put an end to war, Manila was to ensure that “sacrifices were not exacted a second time.”

9. Issued on 28 June 1954 in New Delhi, the statement laid down the mutually agreed principles—*Panch Shila*—governing the relationship between the two countries. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 410-412.

Mao agreed that the principles had been stated in the declaration and they could watch and see that they would be implemented. However, he thought that it would be wrong to make war as an instrument of policy. He had a good deal to say about it and that he would like to continue the conversation with Prime Minister later.

### 3. Foreign Policies of America and China<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: In a recent statement the Pakistan Prime Minister was reported to have said that he did not believe in neutrality and that he was in favour of going all along with America.<sup>2</sup> It was further very odd that he should have criticised the Indonesian Premier for not agreeing with his views and I think that it is highly improper for the Pakistan Premier to have said that if general elections were held in Indonesia today the party of the Indonesian Premier would lose. In my view many countries in Asia, Europe and South America were not yet definitely committed and hence they can still understand and listen to reason. I think that was the best way on which they should proceed. Of course, some countries deliberately did not want lessening of tensions, but our purpose should be, and I hope that it is also the purpose of China, to avoid war.

Chou En-lai: On the basis of the conversations of yesterday,<sup>3</sup> and what you said today, China and India understand each other's position. We both feel that some countries, especially American Government do not want to soften the tense situation. We want to avoid or postpone a world war so that the people of the world can live together in peace. But the question is,

1. Minutes of talks with Chou En-lai, Beijing, 20 October 1954. The meeting was also attended by N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and N. Raghavan, on the Indian side and Vice Foreign Minister, Chang Han-fu; Chinese Ambassador to India, Yuan Ching-hsien; and Director of Asian Department of the Chinese Foreign Office, Chen Chia-kang, on the Chinese side. V.V. Paranjpe and Pu Shou-chang acted as interpreters. JN Collection. Also available in *India-China Relations 1947-1954*, Historical Division, MEA. File No. 12/86/NGO/54 & 12/88/NGO/54.
2. Speaking at the National Press Club, New York, on 18 October 1954. Mohammad Ali was reported to have criticised the policy of neutralism followed by certain countries. He said that peace could only be guaranteed by armed strength and that Pakistan believed in complete alliance with USA and the West in this matter.
3. This refers to conversations of the two Prime Ministers during an informal dinner at Chou's residence on 19 October.

why does America want tension? Why does it want to maintain this tension? You had said the other day to Chairman Mao that America wants to protect and maintain her vested interests. But in our view it is something more than that. She wants to enlarge her interests through war.

JN: America is very confused. She has no clear thinking but only certain passions. Even in the past she had no clear foreign policy and often her foreign policy depended on internal questions. Five years ago, i.e., in November 1949, immediately after the Republic of China was established, I went to Washington and on my way to Washington stopped in London where I had a talk with Mr Bevin,<sup>4</sup> the then Foreign Secretary of United Kingdom, on the question of recognition of new China. Mr Bevin said: "Yes, we want that but let us all recognise her together. We shall try to get America in also." I later on saw Dean Acheson<sup>5</sup> in Washington, who also said: "Yes, but I cannot do so now due to pressure of public opinion."

Large sections of American public opinion, I believe, are even today convinced that China will have to be recognised. In any case they will be compelled to do so sooner or later.

Chou: Yes, their policy is sometimes confused but still the basic intention (motive) is all along there. They want to maintain and expand their interests and therefore, they are expanding their military bases and they want to lead and dominate the world. They had openly said that they want to control the world.

JN: I agree.

Chou: We can see that the US is using intimidation to threaten the world and some countries had to follow under these intimidations. Even Britain and France are afraid that by following US they will lose their interests and yet they have to follow. Thus, also Pakistan is participating in the SEATO. It is not justified at all, but America is trying to encourage an expansionist desire in Pakistan.<sup>6</sup>

4. Ernest Bevin (1881-1951). Nehru on his way to USA was in London from 9 to 10 October 1949.
5. US Secretary of State, 1949-53. Nehru met Acheson on 12 October 1949. For record of his talks, see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 13, pp. 295-298.
6. During the SEATO Conference, John Foster Dulles had said that the treaty would greatly minimise the threat of communism by retaliating in so united and so strong a manner that "the aggressor would lose more than it could hope to gain." Zafrullah Khan, who represented Pakistan in SEATO Conference, had said that in order to protect the vital interests of Pakistan in South East Asia, it was necessary to create a trouble free treaty zone.

JN: There are two elements in it. America is using two methods: (i) pressure or intimidation; and (ii) offer of money. Many of these nations are afraid that if they break with America they are too weak to defend themselves. But while following America sometimes they nearly break with her, as happened at Geneva and this crisis has been coming repeatedly in recent days.

Chou: America is trying to create a fear which does not exist and on the other hand, it is trying to encourage Pakistan to expand. I spoke many times to Pakistan Ambassador here and Pakistan delegations which came here. I told them that they will suffer by allying themselves with Britain and the US. It is good for them if they unite with India. And I also told the same thing to our Indian friends. I told Pakistan friends also why not Premiers of Pakistan and India come together and talk and settle the Kashmir question. Wouldn't it be good? And many of the Pakistan delegates seemed to sympathise with this view. I just wanted to inform you of it.

JN: I have been always willing to talk things over with Pakistan Premier and the last time we met, we came to a preliminary agreement but then Pakistan accepted American military aid and things became different. I told him that the context had changed and the basis also was changed.<sup>7</sup> I may mention here some of the background of Pakistan. During our independence struggle a number of people sided with Britain and opposed our struggle. Leaders of Pakistan today are those who opposed us and they came to power on a religious cry, not economic. You see even in the old days these leaders supported the British Government. Pakistan people and Indian people are the same people, only with different religions.

Chou: We do not know much about situation in Pakistan but we understand a little about them. Acceptance of American aid and opposition to an area of peace would have unfavourable effect on Asia as also on Indo-Pakistan relations. I explained this several times to them but it seems difficult to make them understand.

JN: Pakistan has become virtually a colony of the US. There are thousands of Americans in Pakistan today and it depends on America for everything.

Chou: So Britain is also feeling now the bad effects of their policy of divide and rule, but are they now realising that it was to the disadvantage of Britain?

7. In his letter on 29 September 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, p. 475. See also Vol. 25, pp. 319-322.

JN: Britain is sorry for it. But what can it do?

Chou: America's present tactics may be grouped into two categories:

(i) Fear of communism: Chairman Mao had also mentioned this, but I may repeat again, if there is this kind of fear between smaller and bigger countries, to be concrete, between China and other countries then we are willing to undertake commitments to do beneficial things to avert this fear and to bind ourselves by the Five Principles. If there is fear of China in other parts of Asia, we have given our commitment to the Five Principles and we want to base our relations with them on these Principles. We have made efforts in that direction and we will continue to abide by these Principles. I had expressed to Mr Menon<sup>8</sup> that we are willing to have relations even with Thailand and Philippines. I also told Mr Casey<sup>9</sup> that there was no possibility of China's threatening Australia. We are prepared to bind ourselves by mutual commitment to avert fear.

(ii) Danger of world war: America's attempts to enlarge war is making everyone afraid. This is a possible and real question and we must all endeavour for peace and eliminate this kind of danger.

The possibility of a major war always exists and therefore, we must make efforts for disarmament and banning of destructive weapons and I hope India and China will make efforts to this end. There is another very real question, whether some local incidents may develop into a war. To be more specific, America is trying to use Formosa to threaten the Far East and the world. But I can positively say that at present a major war will not break out. Our stand is to prevent her from expanding and to isolate her. If we tolerate what America does then she will expand. Therefore, by counter-measures we must isolate US. If, however, we take the attitude of appeasement to remove disputes, then US will make further advances and others will also submit to the US intimidation. The US is actually aiming at and intending to use Taiwan and conclude more treaties like SEATO. Therefore, we must not be fooled, for that will injure the interests of all people. What we want to do is to isolate US and see that she does not start a war. It is a complicated question and we would like to tell you that we are concerned about it.

JN: The question then becomes one as to how to prevent present dangers. You said that you cannot follow a policy of appeasement to the US or any other power and should work for peace. That is exactly what the US and many

8. V.K. Krishna Menon.

9. R.G. Casey, Foreign Minister of Australia, 1951-60.

countries in Europe say. They say we do not want to appease the Soviet Union or China and they use practically the same phrases.

The facts are—of course, I do not want to make any invidious comparisons—but there are only two countries in Asia apart from the USSR which have a stable and strong government, have the support of the people and are economically progressing. Other countries in Asia are politically and economically weak and therefore, they are afraid. In western Asia, e.g., in countries like Egypt, even murders of statesmen are frequently heard of. This brings instability. And because of such weakness and fear they can be won over and made to cooperate with US.

You said that the US wants more treaties with South East Asian countries. They are good countries, but they are weak, afraid, and are unstable. Countries in West Asia are still weaker and they have moreover something which is very important, viz., oil. We must try to keep them on the right side.

As rightly said by you, we must remove fear and this can be done through the Five Principles, but the bona fides must be proved.

Chou: If you allow me, I would like to say a few words here. As regards the point of appeasement, there cannot be any comparison. You said that both sides use the same phrases, but there is a difference in quality. America does not recognise us and on the other hand, aggresses Chinese territory—Taiwan. We do not invade America nor do we withhold recognition from America. But when we say no appeasement, we mean that there should be no aggression. But when they say no appeasement, their intention is not to allow us to exist. We are prepared to apply the Five Principles to all countries including the United States. We have not been forming any treaties like SEATO and there is no intimidation to make them submit to our interests. But the United States, on the other hand, is using exactly these methods and what we say is that they should not bully us.

JN: As I said, I am not comparing, but I was just quoting what their argument was. This is what they say, not what I say, but it very much affects public opinion in these countries. Many of them further say: "Why should the Soviet Union or China want war? They will merely infiltrate and gain whatever they want without war."

I was talking about Africa. We have a very large population there. A very dangerous development is now taking place in Africa. The Western nations, after having lost their colonies, are now trying to consolidate themselves in Africa and their rule there is worse than that in the colonies. They are establishing dominions there, not self-governing dominions, but dominions dominated by the white men. There is, thus, the South African Federation and they are similarly trying to establish a dominion in East Africa. This white domination is entirely fascist in outlook.

There are some people in Africa who are opposed to India and we cannot do much about them. But there are many Africans who are also friends of India. We are trying to give them whatever help we can. There are at present forty-five African scholars studying in Indian universities and we have also sent about one hundred technical experts to Africa and the Middle East. Africa is not playing any important role in the world today but it is a dangerous zone and we are concerned about it. In North Africa, in the colonies under French colonial rule, there is also a very strong nationalist movement. Then there is Egypt and there is the African Africa. I am mentioning these things just to give a brief outline of the world picture. Africans must be helped to develop, for they are not strong to take action by themselves. I am mentioning this because however big a problem may be we have to see the whole picture. We are connected with East and West Asia and Africa. We had a lot to do with Europe, but we had little to do with America and very little contact with South America. Our Vice President is at the moment touring the South American continent.<sup>10</sup> I am just mentioning this to show that we are in touch with various countries. I may now refer to an important thing to which you also had referred. The Western nations have a certain jealousy when they see a strong Asian country. They do not like it. In fact, I recently read from an American journal where they said that first they talked of helping India, but now they feel that if India becomes strong then it will be bad for the US.

As regards the question of disarmament, it is a difficult question. Industrially developed countries can arm themselves quickly. Factories that can produce aeroplanes can easily produce bombs. But disarmament must come. I agree, but there must first be a little less tension. The main question is how to remove fear and entanglement from power blocks. You referred to the proposed Asian-African Conference. The proposal was made by the Indonesian Prime Minister. We welcome it and it will be held. But it will be a mixed Conference. Even in Colombo Conference, Pakistan had one voice and others had another.<sup>11</sup> So, it will not be a united Conference, but still to have a Conference is good and I think, if Asian and African countries can come together, even if they differ, we can still influence them.

The Colombo Powers are scheduled to meet at Djakarta at the end of December.

I have already referred to the subject of how to remove fears and apprehensions in West Asia and South East Asia. These countries continuously face American propaganda which serves to increase their fears about communist aggression.

10. S. Radhakrishnan undertook a six-week tour of Europe, USA, Canada and Latin America during October-November 1954.

11. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 431-433 and Vol. 26, p. 375.

I met the Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu, on my way here and also his entire Cabinet.<sup>12</sup> They were still full of fears of what may happen. One subject to which you also referred in Delhi was about the question of overseas Chinese.<sup>13</sup> Your statement then that those who take other nationality will have nothing to do with China had very good effect, but the Burmese said why China should have issued maps where parts of Burma<sup>14</sup> and even of India are shown as parts of China. There is a very small thing to which also a reference was made. One man named K.I. Singh, who had created some trouble in Nepal sometime ago, fled to Tibet. He was then reported to be in China. Later on, news came that he was being openly entertained. When persons who are traitors to their countries are thus openly feted then people naturally get apprehensive.

Chou: I will reply to the specific questions raised by you later, but I will first like to say a few words. We very much approve of softening of tensions, but I must reiterate that the US is using the question of Taiwan to create tensions. And if we do not oppose she will expand. If we take counter-measures it will lessen what she is doing. If America withdraws from Formosa, tension will be reduced. So the responsibility is not ours; but it is not so easy. America will not immediately withdraw; it will require time. But we want our friends to understand that the responsibility for solving this question is not on us and we would like you to explain to others that the responsibility is not ours.

As regards the African-Asian Conference, I would like to know what is the scope of the Conference. I would like to know more about it and about its membership. What is the opinion about China participating in such a Conference?

JN: I am sorry I cannot give a very precise reply because the Conference is still under consideration, but practically every country is being invited and the

12. Nehru stopped over at Rangoon on 16 October 1954.

13. The question of 12 million Chinese overseas was discussed on 26 June 1954, during the fourth meeting between Nehru and Chou in New Delhi. The problem arose because the new Constitution of China did not recognize the right of the Chinese overseas to divest themselves of Chinese nationality, since most of them were suspected to be KMT sympathisers. The problem was particularly acute in Myanmar and Indonesia, where the resident Chinese were alleged to be either conduits of the Chinese Communist Party or KMT.

14. Chinese maps showed large parts of the Kachin state, in north east Myanmar, as forming part of China. A part of the disputed area had been leased by China to the British Government in 1897 and Beijing contended that it was not in consonance with the new status of the two countries that the lease should be continued, and that territory should lapse to China, which had never yielded sovereignty over it.

agenda will avoid any internal matters of dispute between countries. There will probably be some such broad questions like peace, colonialism etc.

Chou: We want to express our attitude on this question and kindly forward it to the concerned countries. We support the convocation of such a Conference and we are willing to participate in it because it is in the interest of peace in Asia and the world and it will work towards an area of peace. We want to increase the area of peace and not exclude any nation. Although the countries may have differences and the problems faced by them are complicated yet there is bound to be some common points.

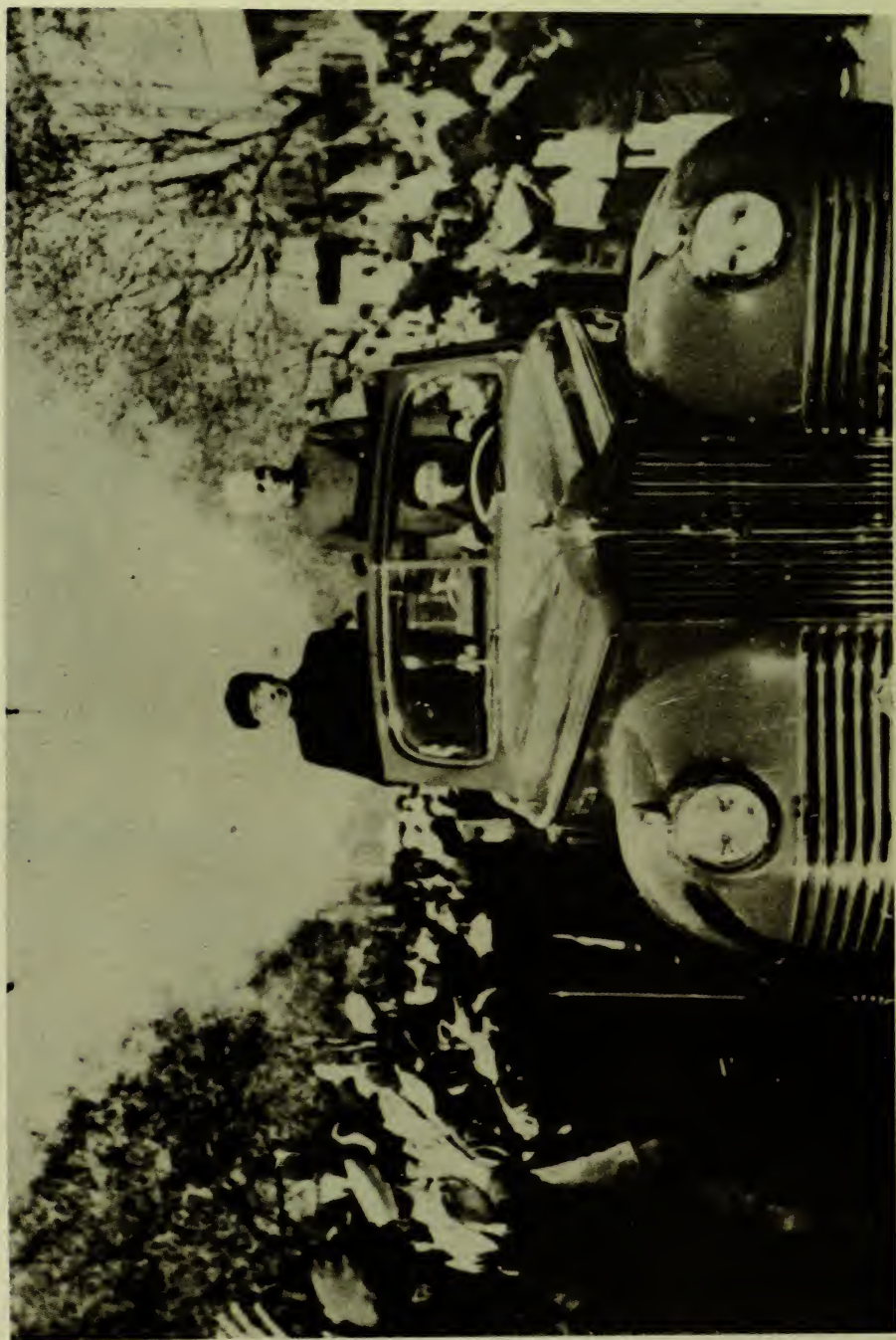
As regards the question of infiltration, this is entirely a matter for the people of various countries. You referred to it in Delhi and you said that decisions were made by the people of each country and therefore, no interference was permissible from outside. As far as we are concerned, we will make greater efforts to implement the Five Principles. We can build greater confidence and show to the world an example that not only can we strictly abide by the principles but we can do it well. We can do it by specific examples and during your visit here we can talk more about some more specific questions.

As regards questions raised by our neighbouring countries, they can be easily explained.

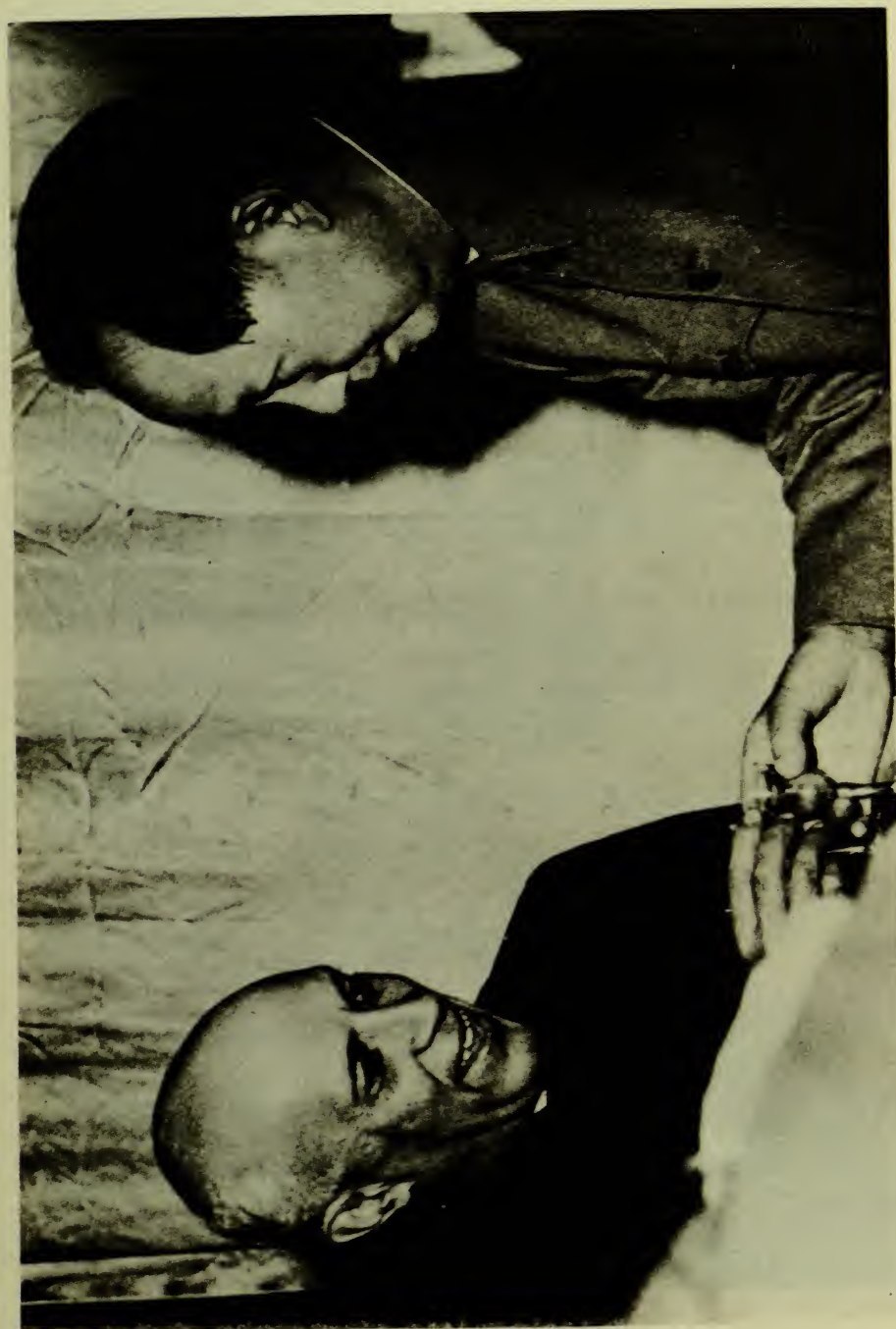
Overseas Chinese: I had said in Delhi and in Rangoon that we have to effectively settle the question of overseas Chinese. What I then said is still valid. To be more specific, the question of dual nationality will be settled and we start first with Indonesia. After my return from Geneva and after receiving the Labour Delegation here,<sup>15</sup> I suggested to the Indonesian Ambassador here that negotiations should be started immediately on this question and that the Indonesian Ambassador should be the Chief Delegate. The negotiations will soon start probably by the end of October. To remove false reports abroad and suspicions, I openly mentioned this (the question of dual nationality) in my political report. And I said that we would settle this question with all countries with whom we have diplomatic relations.

We think there should be no dual nationality. An individual is either Chinese or a national of the country where he resides. It is a question left to us by history. But we would like to make it clear that it should be decided voluntarily and on the basis of parentage. If you remain Chinese then you cannot participate in the activities of the country where you reside. The

15. An eight-member delegation, led by Clement Attlee, leader of Labour Parliamentary Party, UK, visited China from 15 to 31 August 1954.



WITH CHOU EN-LAI, BEIJING, 19 OCTOBER 1954



AT A BANQUET HOSTED BY MAO TSE-TUNG, BEIJING, 23 OCTOBER 1954

Ambassador has conveyed this to his Government and they have signified their agreement. But we must put it down in the form of a treaty. It is a difficult question and any incomplete statement just now will only help create rumours, KMT might exploit the situation to force the overseas Chinese to give money or to become soldiers. It will also give trouble to respective governments and create reactions in overseas Chinese; it will also enable Thailand and Philippines to take more repressive measures. Therefore, I mentioned this to the Indonesian Ambassador and their delegations and asked them not to make any incomplete statement before a treaty has been finalised and they also sympathised with my view. I will also discuss this question with U Nu when he comes here and start discussions with Burma.

Maps: It is a historical question and we have been mostly printing old maps. We have made no survey of the borders and not consulted with our neighbouring countries and we have no basis for fixing the boundary lines. We made our maps and revised them from the maps of other countries. At least we do not have any deliberate intentions of changing the boundaries as KMT had. The whole thing is ridiculous. The question of boundaries between China and Burma was not settled even in Manchu regime and you will find differences even in our boundaries with the Soviet Union and Mongolia. We can further discuss the matter with U Nu but we want time for preparation.<sup>16</sup> U Nu had said that he wanted to go to Yunnan Province. We agreed. He said he would like to go via Yunnan. We agreed.

JN: I thought he wanted to go by road.

Chou: Yes. But then, there are natural difficulties and moreover there is the question of safety.

Singh's case: As regards Mr Singh, it is a simple question. Singh came across the border to China from Nepal with thirty-seven persons armed with nineteen rifles and 500 bullets. We immediately disarmed them, gave them asylum according to the international practice, because he is in favour of peace and cooperation. But if he engages in any activity for overthrow of Nepal Government we would not allow him to do so. It will amount to interference in the internal affairs of another country. I might mention that sometime ago Dalai Lama was not friendly to us and wanted to seek asylum

16. U Nu visited China in December 1954. A joint communique issued on 12 December stated: "In view of the incomplete delimitation of the boundary line between China and Burma, the two premiers held it necessary to settle this question in a friendly spirit at an appropriate time through normal diplomatic channels."

in India. Sardar Panikkar<sup>17</sup> then raised the question with us and said that if Dalai Lama came to India, India will have to give him asylum and all facilities as a religious leader. We agreed. Actually, however, he went only some distance from Lhasa but came back. His brother and sister-in-law are still in India. And in fact, they may be having contacts with Tibet. We do not mind it.

Nepal: We want to have diplomatic relations with Nepal and they have already expressed their agreement.

JN: I am glad you have mentioned this also. Nepal's foreign affairs are looked after by us and we have been giving them aid and training facilities for their personnel, but we do not interfere in their internal affairs. But you will understand that traditionally Nepal and India are closely linked together and according to the treaty the foreign policy of India and Nepal is to be coordinated.<sup>18</sup> Nepal Government had also mentioned to us about your desire to establish diplomatic relations with them and we told them that we had no objection. But I think the question may better be discussed in detail after the King of Nepal, who is in Switzerland for treatment, returns to Nepal.

As regards maps, I just casually mentioned to you some of the anxieties of our neighbours. We are not worried on this point. Our frontiers are clear but I mention it in the case of Burma because questions of this kind become a handle in the hands of enemy. Supposing we publish a map showing Tibet as a part of India, how would China feel about it? But as I said, I am sure, the maps were old maps and you did not mean it.

Finally, there is one small matter which I would like to mention here with some hesitation. It is regarding some Bishop who has been recently arrested here.<sup>19</sup> I am handing over the telegram itself to you for such action as you may deem fit.

Chou: Yes, I know. Taking advantage of your presence here these people would always like to give you some trouble.

17. K.M. Panikkar was the Indian Ambassador in China at that time.

18. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed on 31 July 1950, between India and Nepal specified that both would consult each other to devise effective counter measures in case of a threat of aggression and give preference to each other's foreign policy priorities without any prejudice. See also *post*, pp. 195-197.

19. The case was of one Tarcisius Martina, Prefect Apostolic of Yih sien. In a telegram of 6 November to Y.D. Gundevia, who had conveyed to Nehru the message from the Vatican about the arrest, Nehru wrote that the Prefect had been convicted and Chou En-lai had assured that the Government might take a lenient view of the case.

#### 4. Situation in South East Asia<sup>1</sup>

Chou En-lai: What is the situation in Indonesia? We have invited the Indonesian Prime Minister but he wants me to go to Indonesia first. What do you think about my visiting Indonesia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: An analysis is rather difficult. The Government there is not stable. It is not so much due to external trouble but internal. The trouble is mainly in Java where a bigoted Moslem sect is in revolt.<sup>2</sup> Now it has been curbed but not crushed and it creates certain difficulties and I know about it from the security measures which had been taken when my sister, Mrs Pandit visited the country recently. But it does not affect the Government. Still the Government is unstable. The Government there is a kind of coalition.<sup>3</sup> The Prime Minister's party is a small party and other parties give it a majority. If they go away then Government cannot stand. I cannot say what Government there would be in the next few months. And in view of this instability Premier Chou may better wait, for if the Government changes in between, it may be embarrassing.

President Soekarno<sup>4</sup> is a good man. The present arrangement is that the Colombo countries will meet at Djakarta around December 28.<sup>5</sup> I heard an interesting news today that the Pakistan Prime Minister was cutting short his stay in the United States to enable him to hurry back to Pakistan because of internal difficulties.<sup>6</sup>

1. Minutes of talks with Chou En-lai, Beijing, 21 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. Darul Islam, a motley group of army auxiliaries, was fighting the national and Dutch army in the central West Java since 1948. Led by one Kartosuwirjo, the group held that Soekarno had betrayed the revolution and along with the Nahdatul Ulama (Orthodox Muslim Party): the group demanded incorporation of Islamic principles in the Constitution of Indonesia. Darul Islam was finally crushed in 1962.
3. The Government led by Ali Sastroamidjojo of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party) was a coalition of twelve parties, including the Partai Komunis Indonesia (Communist Party) and Masjumi Party (Progressive Muslims). The PNI had a strength of thirty-seven in a house of 229.
4. Ahmed Soekarno.
5. The meeting took place in Bogor on 28 and 29 December 1954. See *post*, pp. 106-129.
6. Mohammad Ali cut short his visit due to the provincial bickerings over the adoption of the new Constitution and an imminent stand off between the Constituent Assembly and the Governor General, whose powers had been drastically curbed by a resolution adopted by the Assembly in September 1954. On 24 October, Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor General of Pakistan, proclaimed a state of emergency, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and reconstituted the Cabinet.

Chou: Are there any foreign factors in Indonesian troubles?

JN: There is of course a good deal of American influence and pressure, if not to join SEATO, at least to be party to it. American influence in Indonesia was fairly strong three years ago because America helped Indonesia against the Dutch, I mean diplomatically and they brought pressure on the Dutch to agree to the Indonesian demands. Therefore, the influence was strong. Later on came the San Francisco Treaty<sup>7</sup> and the then Indonesian Government despite popular opposition signed the Treaty. Consequently, the Government became unpopular and had to resign. Since then American influence has been declining but the aid in materials etc., however, continues.

Since independence Indonesia is poor in trained personnel. It has not even enough administrative personnel and it has kept a considerable number of Dutch Advisers and that is the weakness of their position. Although there is conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesians on the question of Western New Guinea (Irian),<sup>8</sup> still they are retaining Dutch Advisers.

Chou: What about Ceylon? Our trade is continuing with Ceylon,<sup>9</sup> but Ceylon seems to be unwilling to establish diplomatic relations. Of course, it cannot be imposed and we cannot hurry. But what is your estimate?

JN: Ceylon is independent in law and constitution. But the structure remains the same as in the colonial days. In all these countries like India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, the main struggle for independence was fought in India. Pakistan never fought for anything. Ceylon also never fought. Because India won her freedom they also got freedom. The British thought that it would be useful to give them independence. There is a major British Naval Base at Trincomali. Of course, the British do not interfere. The Ceylonese have their own produce like rubber, tea etc. The present Prime Minister of Ceylon<sup>10</sup> is a landlord and is therefore conservative.

7. Also known as the Japanese Peace Treaty; it was signed on 8 September 1951 by forty-eight countries, except China, USSR and India, who perceived it to be grossly unequal. For India's viewpoint see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 16 Pt. II, pp. 603-624.
8. During transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in 1949, it was agreed that the status of the isle of West Irian (Western New Guinea) would be settled through negotiations between the two parties.
9. A trade pact regarding exchange of Chinese rice for Sri Lankan rubber was signed at Beijing on 6 October 1954.
10. John Kotelawala.

There is no feeling, as far as I can see, against China. But there is fear of America. You will remember that in the Colombo Conference all the five powers advocated China's admission to the United Nations.<sup>11</sup>

I just had a visit from the Ceylonese Prime Minister on the problem of overseas Indians.<sup>12</sup> We have a total number of around twelve million overseas Indians compared to China's eleven million. In Ceylon there are half a million overseas Indians. Many of the Indians went to Ceylon to work in tea estates sixty or seventy years ago, but now the Ceylonese want to turn them out. We will accept any Indian there as our national provided he comes under law and he asks for it voluntarily. Even the Ceylonese language is an Indian language and the Ceylonese are Indians. About two to three hundred years ago many Indians migrated to Ceylon. They are considered now as Ceylonese. But about sixty or seventy years ago British tea planters took with them many Indians to work on the estates. These are the ones whom they want to turn out.<sup>13</sup>

Chou: What about Siam? We want to have contacts with them. What are the chances? We would like to deal with them in accordance with the Five Principles.

JN: We have an Ambassador in Siam<sup>14</sup> but our contacts are not intimate. Recently, Siam wanted to send to India a rice selling delegation, but we do not want rice from them. Her economy is based on rice and so far they have done well. The nation is prosperous and there is no economic distress and the peasantry is not dissatisfied. Government, however, is of a very curious kind as His Excellency, perhaps, knows the Navy fights with the Army.<sup>15</sup> But the peasantry is not troubled with what goes on at the top. The Government is, however, very much tied up with the United States.

Four years ago, we convened a conference in Delhi.<sup>16</sup> Many countries were invited. All countries participated except Turkey and Siam. We were privately told by these two countries that they did not want to displease America. But

11. The Conference was held from 28 April to 2 May 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 423-426.

12. See *post*, pp. 133-175.

13. Out of a total population of Indian origin of eight lakh, seven lakh were estate labourers. This segment was supposed to register either as Indian or Sri Lankan nationals. See also *post*, pp. 137 and 139.

14. P.A. Menon.

15. Thailand was governed by a military regime from 1946 to 1957.

16. Asian Conference on Indonesia held in New Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 9, pp. 143-182.

later America herself told us that she was not opposed to it and that put them in a very embarrassing situation.

I feel Siam may not immediately respond but may do so later on. Recently it is experiencing some economic difficulties on account of the fact that the rice market has become a buyer's market. We do not buy rice from them because if we wanted to buy it, we would buy it from a more friendly country like Burma.

I could have visited Bangkok on my way here but I did not do so.

Another thing is that the Thai Government is corrupt and many high Government officials made money by smuggling arms to KMT troops in Burma.

Chou: What about the three States in Indo-China? This time you would pass through all of them either while coming or going. Vietnam is not yet unified. What about Laos and Cambodia? Is it possible for India and these two countries to have good relations?

JN: I passed through Laos and Hanoi on my way here.<sup>17</sup> I met the Crown Prince<sup>18</sup> and the Ministers of Laos and had a long talk with Ho Chi Minh.<sup>19</sup> On the question of representation, we are recognising them in practice but a formal recognition presents some difficulties because of our Chairmanship of the Commission.<sup>20</sup> If we recognize only some, then there are difficulties; if we recognize all then Vietnam is still divided. Practically we recognize them all and we have decided to set up consulates in all four places.

As His Excellency might undoubtedly know among all these South East Asian countries there is influence of India and China both. Hence, for example, the name Indo-China. In islands like Indonesia influence of India is greater while on the mainland, the Chinese influence is greater. Culturally Cambodia is more Indian.

In Laos especially there is the problem of withdrawal of foreign troops. If all the foreign troops are withdrawn the situation is easy but if it is not so, then

17. On 17 and 18 October 1954.

18. Crown Prince Savang. The Laotian Cabinet, headed by Prince Souvanna Phuma, had submitted its resignation to the Crown Prince Savang on 18 October 1954, due to the crisis following the assassination of Defence Minister Kou Varavong on 18 September 1954. His resignation was not accepted.

19. President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1945-54.

20. The question of recognition came up because by that time Sri Lanka and Myanmar had already accorded their recognition to Laos and Cambodia. Following the Agreements at Geneva three International Commissions composed of representatives of Canada, Poland and India, and presided over by the Indian representatives, were set up in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in order to supervise implementation of Geneva Agreements.

there will be difficulties.<sup>21</sup> The Prime Minister of Laos was apprehensive about withdrawal of foreign troops because there was American pressure on them not to withdraw French troops on the excuse that the resistance troops were not withdrawn. Therefore, if the resistance troops are withdrawn the matter would be easy. Exactly one month from today, 21st of November 1954 has been fixed as the date for withdrawal. If there is withdrawal then it will be easy for internal unity and to make readjustments, otherwise on some ground or the other Americans might intervene. Therefore, I feel the armies of both sides should be withdrawn and position be made more clear. The impression that I got was that the Prime Minister of Laos is a good man and wants to come to terms,

Chou: Your Excellency must have talked with Ho Chi Minh. In our view every article of the Geneva Agreement must be implemented. We wish that the situation in Laos may be stabilised. We support its unity and hope that this will be useful for expanding areas of peace and India in its capacity as Chairman can expedite the implementation of this Agreement.

JN: Of course, India is anxious to help but according to Geneva Conference decisions, Commissions do not interfere in internal matters. Till now the Commission consisting of Canada, Poland and India have reached unanimous decisions. How far they can continue to do so, I do not know.<sup>22</sup> Of course, they had discussions and arguments before arriving at these decisions but they are facing their own difficulties. I am repeating these difficulties which were reported to me by our officers there. Firstly, there are the Joint Commissions.<sup>23</sup> Then a large number of men are required. We have got about 600 men there and we require civilian officers, members to the Delegations and military officers to work on mobile teams.

21. In April 1953, the Vietminh forces, aided by forces of Pathet Lao—the resistance Government composed of the relics of Lao Issarak, under Prince Souphannouvong—invaded Laos and captured large territories from the French army. Following the Geneva Agreements, it was decided that all foreign troops were to be withdrawn within 120 days and pending a political settlement, the fighting units of Pathet Lao were to move into the north eastern provinces of Phongsaly and Sam-Neua, vacating the captured territory.

22. According to the Geneva Agreements, the recommendations of the International Commission was to be by majority, except when dealing with violations or threatened violations of the Agreements which might lead to a resumption of hostilities, when decisions had to be unanimous.

23. Joint Commissions comprising equal number of military representatives of the warring sides in each State, were set up to ensure the observation of the provisions of ceasefire agreement. See also *post*, p. 101.

Chou: Menon asked the question and I then told him that you would require between 500 to 1,000 persons. We can understand that it is difficult to spare so many officers. India has of course a very arduous task and we will always support you. We hope you will achieve more success.

Then comes the Korean question. I discussed the question with Menon. Mr Menon asked me if the question was put up before the UN, whether China wanted India to put forward a resolution and what kind of a resolution would be agreeable to the Chinese side. Then my reply was not so specific but now I can give a more specific reply:

- 1) In our opinion the Conference may be enlarged by adding neutral Asian countries to the already existing 19 nations;
- 2) all South East Asian countries should participate in it;
- 3) the place may be Geneva or Delhi; and
- 4) time: Next year (i.e.1955).<sup>24</sup>

We exchanged views with Kim Il-sung<sup>25</sup> on this question when he came here. If the proposal is put forward in the UN it will be from one side only and agreement of three sides (viz. China, North Korea and South Korea) will have to be taken. At that time Mr Menon had agreed to this principle. We feel that it will be best if the Indian Government put forward this resolution. I had promised Mr Menon that I would convey his views to the Soviet Union and Korea on my way back and the Soviet Union and Korea agreed to these views. I discussed the matter also with Mr Molotov<sup>26</sup> of the USSR on my way back from Geneva.

This resolution may not be easily passed but America cannot also oppose it very easily. America can hardly say that it does not want to give a chance to discuss the Korean question. On the second adjournment at Geneva, Eden told me that Smith<sup>27</sup> had asked him to tell me that US did not desire to exclude China from Korean discussions.

But then these discussions have to be held outside UN, since China is not a member of the UN.

24. Nehru informed Krishna Menon about Chou En-lai's proposals on 22 October 1954. On 23 October Menon replied that India's efforts should be concentrated on a) Geneva Conference continuing; b) preventing armistice machinery from being terminated; c) preventing rigid resolution in UN insisting on international supervision on elections which were being pressed for by the US. He felt that Chou's proposal of Delhi as the venue would be 'unpractical' and cause embarrassment to India.

25. President, People's Republic of Korea.

26. V.M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of USSR.

27. Walter Bedell-Smith, US Under Secretary of State, 1953-54.

JN: I have not much to add to what you have already said. I may, however, reiterate two things:

- 1) We should not allow the situation to deteriorate any further; and
- 2) we should try to devise ways and means to arrive at a settlement.

The first one is a negative step while the second is a positive one and that step should be so timed as to produce results and naturally if we want results, we must have a conference. As to who should be in the conference, I have nothing to say. India will participate in it if she is invited to do so. But two things are important:

- 1) The timing of the conference; and
- 2) what will be brought up at the meeting.

Of course each side will have something in its mind and will have its own ideas. But then this way they will only go away without reaching any agreement.

As regards timing, at present the proposals would not be appropriate and would be rejected not on logical grounds but because most of the countries will think it useless and US will not agree. US will not agree till the elections are over.<sup>28</sup> You must be knowing that a Soviet Resolution on Taiwan has been postponed by the Steering Committee of the UN.<sup>29</sup> This shows that there is a tendency to postpone decisions till after the elections. Further, in making any such proposals always preparatory work is necessary, I mean sounding other countries in Europe and Asia so that they will be prepared for it. If the minds of these countries are not prepared and it suddenly comes up before the UN they may not be able to take any action. Many countries' knowledge on Korea is vague and not clear.

However, I will inform Mr Menon of your views and at the same time we might also keep this in mind.

The US declared at Geneva that she regarded the Conference as ended while Your Excellency said that we would consider the question again, that is, keep the question open. We must, therefore, prepare ground for it and consider the question after the American elections.

Chou: I am grateful to you for your attention to this question. As regards deterioration of the question, it would not deteriorate any more. We have

28. The elections were to take place in November 1954.

29. The Soviet resolution on Taiwan urged the General Assembly to consider acts of aggression by US against People's Republic of China through Taiwan and sought the Assembly to (i) condemn US action; (ii) recommend withdrawal of US military forces; and a declaration on stoppage of military activity in the region. The resolution came up for discussion on 30 January 1955.

withdrawn some of our troops and our side will not commit any provocative actions. Mr Rhee<sup>30</sup> will also not be able to create much trouble. Therefore, the agenda question will not deteriorate. Whatever happens, they will not break. In any case we can prevent small scale conflict.

Let us now talk of our own problems. I would suggest that taking advantage of your visit here we should promote economic cooperation and I would like to mention some specific questions in this connection:

1) Aviation intercourse: We desire that Indian Airlines should come into Canton via Hong Kong so that they can be connected with China. From next year we will completely have our own aviation services and we want to develop them and this has prospects in the future. Similarly, on the basis of equality our airlines also should extend to Calcutta. Of course, we will not be having any airlines to India immediately while India may be able to start airlines to China immediately. But since we are friendly countries Indian extension can start and we are giving it as a gesture to a friendly country. If we agreed here, we can only exchange views now but the matter may be taken up through diplomatic channels later on and an agreement can be reached.

JN: The question of airlines requires careful consideration and these facilities are always reciprocal. We have air agreements with United States, United Kingdom and some other countries. At present we are running an international airline to London via Europe. It used to be a jointly operated, private and State enterprise, but since last year it has been taken over by the State.<sup>31</sup> We have extended it to the East. Our idea was to extend it to Japan but the terms are not yet agreed to. We had an agreement with the United States. We wanted to change it because it was disadvantageous to us. We talked for a year but still no agreement was reached. We have given notice, therefore, to them to cancel the agreement. Anyway, as I said it, the matter is for close consideration. I am glad you have agreed to it in principle.

Chou: Of course, it will take time but we agree on principle and the other details can be worked out through diplomatic channels.

JN: Yes, but diplomatic channels will be helped if you send an expert to Delhi to help.

Chou: Yes, it is a good idea. I would also like to mention that we should have more mutual assistance and cooperation in technical field. In the past

30. Syngman Rhee, President, Republic of Korea.

31. On 1 August 1953.

some Indian firms have asked Dr Hou<sup>32</sup> to go to India for caustic soda, for he has made certain contribution in this field in China and we would like him to go to India.

Some Indian experts may also come here for sanitation and other matters and we would help such mutual cooperation.

JN: I agree. Your Excellency had mentioned about sending two students to India to study statistical instruments. I say that they are most welcome, but language may be a difficulty and I do not know about it. But in a technical subject it may after all be not much of a difficulty. I am very happy that you agree to such exchange and cooperation. But in this respect further developments are to be made. Our experts and writers should not only visit China but can also lecture and do research here. We welcome Chinese experts in every department. A Science Congress is held in India in the beginning of January every year and you can send scientists to attend it. I wonder whether you sent any scientists last year.

Chou: We would participate hereafter.

JN: We want to encourage intercourse between China and India not only in scientific and trade matters but others as well. We might encourage individuals apart from delegations to visit any of the other country at their own expense and they should be given facilities to come and go about. We can also exchange books and journals.

Tibetan Pilgrims: There is a small matter which I may take this opportunity to mention to you. Some complaints have recently been received from pilgrims going to Tibet. Some of them are apparently being harassed by guards and I hope that Your Excellency will look into the matter. As you are aware, every summer there is a large pilgrim traffic between India and Tibet. As an example of the sort of harassment to which these pilgrims are subjected, I would mention that one of my friends was stopped by the border guards who told him that he could not be regarded as a pilgrim because he was not wearing a monk's gown.

Nepal: You had mentioned Nepal's case. I would like to say a few words about it. From the beginning Nepal has been a headache to us. In recent history Nepal was controlled by an autocratic family of Prime Ministers and the King was a prisoner. There were frequent assassinations and India is full of ex-Prime Ministers from Nepal who, however, brought with them wealth to last for generations.

32. Hou Teh-pang (b. 1890); Industrial chemist; educated at MIT and Columbia University, USA; Vice-Chairman, All China Federation of Scientific Societies, 1950; Vice-Minister of Chemical Industry, 1957; President, China Chemistry and Chemical Engineering Society, 1959; author of *Manufacture of Soda Ash*.

Britain did not interfere in Nepal's domestic affairs but controlled its foreign relations. Two or three years ago the young King favoured a popular party and there was a petty uprising by the popular party which would have been easily suppressed, but Nepal Government was afraid of what view India might take. The King, afraid of being killed, took refuge in our Embassy at Kathmandu with all his family, including grandsons, except one grandson. The Prime Minister deposed the King next day and the two-year old grandson was enthroned. We understood that Britishers had decided to recognise this small King but at this time we told them that we would not tolerate it and would not recognize him. This put England in a difficult position since especially Nepal was surrounded on all sides by Indian territory and they hesitated. The Nepal King came to India and stayed as a guest for about three months. Finally, the Prime Minister agreed to come to terms with the popular party and a compromise government was formed. Later, however, the old Prime Minister was pushed out completely.<sup>33</sup>

Conditions in Nepal are unstable and hundred years of despotic Rana rule has left it without any initiative. Our desire is that Nepal should be independent and in fact we do not want to exercise the rights which Britain did. But her foreign policy must be coordinated with ours. America, however, is creating a lot of trouble. Although America has no embassy in Kathmandu, the American Ambassador in India<sup>34</sup> is accredited to Kathmandu. They are further sending books for libraries and lot of money is thrown about.<sup>35</sup> Nepalese are easily bribed and they are thus inducing Nepal to allow America to establish an embassy there, but on our advice they postponed.

The main difficulty is that if China opened an embassy there, America will also do likewise. Therefore, Nepal should be treated with indulgence. After the King's return from Switzerland—and in view of the frequent changes in the Prime Ministers he is a more important and popular figure—this can be considered. I would suggest that you can accredit your Ambassador in Delhi<sup>36</sup> as concurrently Ambassador to Nepal, thus obviating the difficulty of Nepal being also forced to allow Americans to open embassy in Nepal.

Chou: (1) As regards visits by individuals, we agree.

(2) As regards the pilgrims, they will be treated according to the provisions of the agreement.<sup>37</sup> We would like to check up on

33. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 15 Pt. II, pp. 355-404.

34. George V. Allen.

35. During 1950-55, out of a total US economic assistance of \$ 841 million for Colombo Plan countries, Nepal was allotted \$ 4 million. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 452-53.

36. Yuan Chung-hsien.

37. Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, p. 168.

the matter and if there is something incorrect it will be corrected.

- (3) Nepal: We can consider Nepal's difficulties and not allow US to have any excuse. We are willing to appoint our Ambassador in Delhi as concurrent Ambassador to Kathmandu. If any new developments and difficulties occur in future kindly keep us informed through your embassy here or our embassy in Delhi, so that we shall have intimate relationship. But in doing this we do not want to add any trouble. Our purpose is to increasing our solidarity with South East Asian countries in the interest of peace and not create any trouble.

JN: America is creating a lot of trouble in Nepal. They were doing anti-Indian propaganda and we had to warn them that India has a special position in Nepal and it must be recognised.

Finally, I would mention only one small matter regarding supply of cocoons to Kashmir.

Chou: It is an economic matter and of course, it can be done. May be you send a man here to select a variety and talk the matter over.

I have arranged for you to meet my two associates, Vice Premier Chen Yun<sup>38</sup> and Li Fu-chen. Mr Chen Yun knows every thing about our financial and economic matters and if you want any material on any specific topic you can tell him directly and they will arrange to give you....<sup>39</sup>

JN: We would like to send a small team consisting of younger people to come here and study and discuss certain aspects of your national planning. We have already sent one delegation to Soviet Union to study their planning.

Chou: It may be advantageous to you. You can compare. Perhaps we are more backward than the Soviet Union but still....<sup>39</sup>

Now all the problems have been basically covered. After your return from northeast would you like to issue a joint communique?

JN: A formal communique may not be necessary. I would refer generally to talks in my press interviews and statements here and in India. A vague communique does not help and a detailed one may create difficulties.

38. Vice Premier, State Council of China, 1949-75, 1978-80; Vice Chairman, Chinese Communist Party, 1956-59, 1979-81.

39. Omission in the source.

## 5. War and Peace<sup>1</sup>

Mao Tse-tung: How the talks between the two Prime Ministers are proceeding?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have discussed a great variety of questions and the talks were very satisfactory.

Mao: It is but natural. We have no quarrels between us. We had some quarrels with the Labour Party Delegation.<sup>2</sup> We spent three and a half hours in talks with the Labour Party Delegation, out of which two hours were spent in quarrels. But we quarrelled happily. They then talked about a great variety of topics and they spoke of doubts and disagreements and we did likewise. They asked us whether we wanted to destroy or undermine Labour Party. I said we would not and we could not do so. If British Labour Party is to be destroyed, that is to say, if that is to happen then British working class should do it. According to their observation their course was better. They think they are socialists and we are communists and their road is better and effective. I said the question of your effectiveness may better not be talked. However, if you insist then we would express our views. Your policy, I said, would not reach the goal of socialism. You are still an imperialist country. They denied it. They asked whether we could cooperate with such sort of people. And I said entirely so. We said cooperation between two countries of different ideologies is entirely possible. Not only the British Labour Party but even if Churchill's Party wishes to cooperate we will also cooperate. We are also willing to cooperate with America if they want it. And there were some other matters of dispute. This was the Attlee Delegation.

They were further worried (concerned) about our population being too large. They seem to have the idea that greater population would mean aggression. In our view our population problem would be solved under the new social system. It could be solved within the country.

Does any of the South East Asian countries have the same doubts regarding our population?

1. Minutes of talks with Mao Tse-tung, Beijing, 23 October 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The delegation from UK visited China from 15 to 31 August and met Mao on 24 August 1954.

JN: Yes. I mentioned last time that some of the South East Asian countries have apprehensions. Even in the past the Chinese and Indian populations spread out to these countries and so there is not only the fear of population, but in addition, of the strong nation behind it. But their apprehensions are not the same as of some European countries. This applies to India also. In Africa, European settlers are carrying on an anti-India campaign where they are describing India as "Indian imperialism" while actually it is they who are imperialists.

I might mention that I met one or two members of the British Delegation who gave me a brief account of their talks held here.

Mao: Yes. We must talk out differences if any. That is good. Whatever places Labour Delegates wanted to see we allowed them to see. We do not favour Hitler's assertion, also made by the Japanese before, regarding 'have not' countries.

JN: Even before Hitler, Kaiser Wilhem talked the same way in Europe. About fifty years ago he had drawn a cartoon entitled "Yellow peril" in which he showed herds from Asia marching against Europe and he himself defending it. And by that probably he referred to Japanese.

Mao: Yes; ten years ago Japan was just this "yellow peril". Now we need at least scores of years of peace to develop our country and to raise the livelihood of our people. We do not want war. If we can create these conditions it will be good. We will cooperate with anyone who is in favour of this objective. India is undoubtedly in favour of this. So also Burma and Indonesia. Even countries like Thailand, we do not think, are contemplating aggression. We want to improve our relationship with the Thai Government, but Thai Government is peculiar. They do not want to pay any attention to us. Another case is that of Philippines. They all the same say that we want aggression, but they do not say anything when we say we want to establish and improve relations.

On the one hand, they say, they are afraid but when we want to issue something like a statement issued by India and China, about non-aggression, etc., they do not do it. We cannot find any reasons for it. They are depending on America and follow the same track.

Speaking of the United States, in the last conversation there was one question we did not finish, viz. the question of war. Do you think that US wants war and would use war to achieve her interests?

JN: The Chairman has made many observations and I refer to some of them. Countries like Burma, Indonesia, and India not only support peace but they

entirely favour peace. It is not only because peace is good, but out of selfish reasons. It is an absolute necessity. Otherwise all these countries face danger and destruction and it is an urgent necessity. There is no European country which is not desirous of peace and actively afraid of war. So is Asia too.

As regards US, the question is too difficult to have a simple answer. Because there are many elements in the US policy. I believe the majority of people in the United States want peace and there are many even in the Government who want peace. However, in the last few years there has been a growing tendency in US towards war, especially in the Defence Department and the military officials who have gained far greater strength in their foreign policy. Many of these high military officers think in terms of war but many in the civilian administration do not. Thus, there is a conflict between civil and military administrations and many military generals openly talk of war.

Eisenhower does not want war but he may be driven into it. He is weak and he does not understand politics.

I happened to meet Dulles in Paris six years ago.<sup>3</sup> Then the elections were to take place and he hoped to become the Secretary of State. However, in the elections Truman won and Dulles did not then become the Secretary of State. He then said that of course they did not want war but he thought war would come because of the aggressive activities of the communist countries. He said war will not solve any question or questions. It is ultimately the system which pays greatest dividends that will win. Of course, he was speaking in business language. What he meant was the system which will show greater results.

Mao: Indeed, Dulles talked quite well!

JN: A man like Dulles is a great menace. He is a Methodist or a Baptist preacher who religiously goes to Church and he is narrow-minded and bigoted. He thinks every one must agree with him and a man like him might take any move.

I had a long talk with Eisenhower when he was the President of the Columbia University.<sup>4</sup> He then said to me that he had seen much of war and he no more wanted war. And it did seem to me that he meant it. But unfortunately he is so completely in the hands of third rate advisers that he moves from one opinion to another. In about one month's time elections will be held in America and I think Democrats will get majority in the Congress. It will mean a lessening of tensions and from the point of view of war it will be better.

3. Nehru was in Paris in October-November 1948 to attend UN General Assembly session and met Dulles.

4. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 13, pp. 314-320.



WITH MRS KOTNIS, MASTER KOTNIS AND INDIRA GANDHI, BEIJING, 19 OCTOBER 1954



WITH CHOU EN-LAI, PO SHOU-CHANG AND MAO TSE-TUNG, BEIJING, 21 OCTOBER 1954

The only persons who think that they will really profit by war are, perhaps, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

Mao: We must study the questions of the advantages of war. We have seen two Wars and we must study who profited from them. The last two Wars benefited three kinds of countries while all other countries suffered. We might perhaps classify them into three categories:

- (1) US imperialism: They profited by both Wars and made profits;
- (2) Countries led by communist parties or the working class; and
- (3) Oppressed people led by patriotic groups and parties who are still not communists like India, Indonesia, Syria and even Egypt.

If war comes people have to be mobilised and kept under constant tension but then organisation of the people gives rise to revolution as in China and India. By the way, do you call your struggle a revolution?

JN: Most certainly we do.

Mao: Our countries, China and India, achieved independence as a result of the Second World War. As a consequence of War another group of countries like Japan, Germany and Italy became weak. But some of the other countries who won the War also became weak. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek weakened and we stood up; Britain weakened and India, Burma, Egypt, etc., stood up; France weakened and Ho Chi Minh rose. I do not know what the American military groups have in mind. They are probably benefited and advanced by the two Wars and they think they will profit in a third world war. But as a result of the third world war it is not certain that America will be benefited and on the other hand she may find herself in trouble. Majority of Islamic countries like Syria in Western Asia and countries in Latin America and even perhaps America proper may possibly shake-off the yoke of American imperialists. Revolutionary force of the people always needs a chance to come up. For example, the Bolsheviks. If they had no chance of the First World War, revolution would have been difficult. So also in China. We got a chance because of the Japanese War and we came up. This is also true of patriotic parties in the South East and West Asia. The real result of the Two World Wars is like this and in our view if a third world war is started, it will be to America's disadvantage. If a third world war starts, major portion of the world will be in a revolutionary stage. I am not saying it to make the people afraid but because it is really so as shown by the Second War.

Coming to the weapons, US depends on artillery, navy and bomb. They think they are strong, but there is no basic change except that more people would be killed. In olden days they used "cold weapons" (i.e.,

knives, swords etc). Now hot weapons (rifles, guns etc.) are used. Cold ones kill less people and hot ones kill more people; atomic weapons will kill still more people. But besides increasing the rate of mortality they make no difference. In a third world war many more people would be killed.

We have no atom bomb. I do not know whether you have it. We have just started scientific research and we have no money. We cannot possibly undertake it now. But atom bomb is possessed by both America and USSR. So, regarding arms, both sides are equal. The deciding factor is the people, the people who handle these weapons. Most important thing is as to what the soldiers think is to their best advantage. Communist Party like your Congress Party had no weapons to start with, but now we have. Another experience in both the World Wars is that countries on the defensive won and who started the War were defeated. In the First War, Germany marched as far as Paris to the west and Petrograd to the east. In the Second War also the defensive side won though Britain and France were a bit weakened; i.e., to say wars have not been advantageous to the aggressors. Therefore, our conclusion is that there should not be another war. We should have long-term peace.

JN: Chairman has been good enough to give analysis of wars and their effects. Chairman is an expert and his views deserve to be respected. I should say that there is a large measure of agreement between us on many points but with reservations on some.

- (1) Even without war, India would have attained freedom. Actually war provided a pick-axe in the hands of the British to hold on for a long time in India.
- (2) The US gained by War yet the position after War was not to her liking. USSR also had gained and America was facing many problems and although she had won, she was unhappy.

Chairman's arguments would lead to the conclusion that war though bad and therefore, should be avoided, still if it comes, should be welcomed.

I venture to disagree about weapons. It is not a matter of quantity but of quality. It is not mere greater killing but more than that. For, the killing is on such a vast scale that America will not profit and no other country will profit also.

I am not an expert but I have studied science and I am in charge of the work on atomic research in my country. I have studied a little about some of the new developments in European countries. If a war starts it will result in the destruction of military and industrial centres of both sides.

America thinks that they can destroy every administrative (governmental), industrial, productive and army centres of the USSR. Of course, Soviets also

will not keep quiet. They too will destroy American centres. But the hydrogen bomb releases a chain reaction which is uncontrollable. The mere process of that energy creates another energy which will kill and none will be able to control them. The nature of war will be quite different and it will essentially destroy the industrialised countries.

I agree with Chairman's viewpoint that in final analysis human beings count. But third world war may bring in accompanying changes and enormous destruction and there might well be chaos. Again, if all highly trained persons were destroyed we cannot easily start again. I am saying from a purely practical viewpoint, third world war will be quite different from the ones before. We cannot measure now its results. May be, there is no peace at all because there is no one (i.e., to say no organised machinery or government) to make peace. Of course, this is all guess work. China perhaps might suffer less because it is the industrialised nations which will suffer most, since there are nerve centres which can be destroyed easily.

There is another aspect to be considered and that is the brutalising effect of war on humanity. War may result in degradation of large number of human beings. Therefore, on every count war has to be avoided.

Chairman is right when he says that in the two Wars the aggressor was defeated and yet a little twist, speaking from a purely practical viewpoint, may have given advantage to the aggressor. Hitler was a foolish person and he lost many opportunities. It would have been better for him if he had been more patient and wise. In the First World War Germany was defeated but it was just touch and go. It was not so sure.

There are many forces at work in the world and some are exaggerated by war, but some are exaggerated even without War. Even today British and French imperialism exist. Of course, European imperialism today is a dying thing. The French imperialism ceased after the First World War, while the British imperialism ceased after the Second War. It was hastened by war. There is no doubt about it. I do not think European countries are likely to continue as imperialist powers, because there is no strength left in them to do so. Their source of strength has dried up. American imperialism, however, is of a different type.

Mao: They (Britain and France) are not strong. But still they have colonies and semi-colonies.

JN: Yes, but they are weakened and there is no strength left in them. Only place they can hold on to is Africa.

Mao: Is Egypt still under British direction?

JN: No. The American influence is more than the British influence.

Mao: Our conclusions are equal (the same). Regarding analysis, we agree on some and do not agree on others. Prime Minister Nehru's analysis of facts regarding US, viz., that US profited on one side and is facing difficulties on the other, is very good.

And also his analysis of weapons being qualitatively different—if we see the development of weapons there is the arrow stage, the cannon stage and the atom stage—this is also correct.

But when I talked of war—about the result of weapons of war, whatever weapons are used—cold, hot or atomic and how large the scale of war may be—the result is destruction of the other side. But truce was arranged on the 38th parallel. Here, truce was arranged without any power being totally destroyed. If you look back on past wars, in most cases the defeated suffered most destruction; the losing side lost not only men but also in material. So victory or defeat hinges on the scope of destruction suffered.

JN: May I venture to ask you a question? I should have thought that the scope of destruction suffered by the USSR in the Second World War was far greater than any other country, but because of perseverance it still won.

Mao: I was talking about final result when I said so. The German armies were totally destroyed, but the Soviet Armies were not.

Again the Prime Minister's estimate that as a possible result of the third world war one may find oneself in a chaotic situation, this may be correct. It is also true that energy released by atom will destroy not only men but material, agriculture, and human beings in tens of millions. But if one government goes away there will be another and as long as there are people men will always find a way out. The surviving people will also find a way to keep themselves alive. However, people at present are different from those in the past. There is a high degree of consciousness and aspirations for liberation and independence. This is so even in the US. So, in the final analysis it is better not to fight. If we act as Chief of Staff to Eisenhower, we would advise him not to go to war. (All smile). This work, however, can be more easily done by the Prime Minister (i.e., Nehru) rather than us. If we do it, he will think we are intimidating him with revolution and he will say: "I am not afraid of revolution."

JN: We cannot directly influence America. But we may be able to influence her indirectly through countries like Britain, France or Canada.

I recently received a message from Churchill which in brief said that he was anxious over the tendencies towards war and he was trying to curb such tendencies in America. He said he was also thinking about the final admission of China to the United Nations.

Mao: Not only war but tensions also may seem to be to the advantage of those responsible for them, but they are disadvantageous to them. Is it after all better to let people have peace or to allow them to stay in tense situation every day? Tense situation every where will awaken people and will be helpful to revolution.

Between India and China there is no tension, there is no psychological war. We do not spread psychological war among the people. We do not guard against each other as US and USSR do.

JN: In the United States the argument is advanced that they do not want war but they must keep up the tension so that the Congress will sanction money for the armies.

Mao: That is only one advantage they are considering but they are also making countries follow them by intimidation, building military bases, etc. It is not merely a question of appropriations.

What do you think about convening a World Peace Congress? Do you think it is possible? Over a hundred nations all over the world can participate and there should be a sort of treaty for peace and non-aggression.

JN: Well, I cannot say. But with every passing year the possibility of war is getting less and if fifteen years pass without a war the possibility will be very remote indeed. Not that it is the people who will have changed but nobody would dare use such destructive weapons and a time may come when war would be avoided by a world agreement and mutual adjustment.

Mao: Is there any hope within ten years?

JN: Fears of consequences of war are growing and they will grow as the people know more about the weapons and after fifteen years the weapons will be such that no one dare use them for war. It would mean destruction of both sides. Of course, I am giving my assurances.

Mao: Naturally we cannot stand guarantee for what they are doing.

JN: If, for example death rays are invented, not to speak of nations, any group of people can destroy the world.

Mao: One thing is there that is fear of weapons, but there is fear of revolutions also.

JN: Of course. But weapons may be in hands of even certain groups. And as the science of communications advances there may be more types of guided missiles. There is, for example, a machine which plays chess. There might be created a machine which can fight and of course a machine would do it more

efficiently. As science advances rapidly it may give enormous power to a group or a small number of anti-social persons.

Mao: Finally we must work together for preventing war and for a lasting peace.

JN: Undoubtedly so.

Mao: We have just started our Five Year Plan. If there be a war, all our plans will be destroyed. We have spent all money on construction. If war should come we have to gather everything to wage the war and all construction will be stopped and war plan will have to come and it would postpone industrialization of China. Of course, it is difficult to sink entire China into the sea and so too India, no matter how many people are killed.<sup>5</sup>

5. At the end of the minutes Paranjpe recorded that the discussions went on to subjects like evolution of humanity, geological past of India and China till dinner.

## 6. Sino-Indian Friendship<sup>1</sup>

Mr Mayor<sup>2</sup> and Citizens of Peking,

Four days ago I arrived in this ancient and historic city and you gave me a magnificent welcome. During these four days I have been surrounded and overwhelmed by friendship and hospitality and affection and I cannot tell you how deeply moved I have been. This demonstration of affectionate welcome to a visitor from another country has seemed to me to have a symbolic significance.

I came to this great country of China, which is itself a little world, from another great country, which is also a little world of its own. Both have long roots in the past. Going back to the dawn of history, both have received through the ages innumerable streams of thought and culture from outside and have absorbed them and made them their own, giving them the impress of their own powerful personalities. They have changed and adapted themselves from time to time, and now, after long years of suppression, they have changed again and are blossoming out in various ways. These new and revolutionary changes in China and India, even though they differ in their content, symbolise the new

1. Speech at a public meeting in Beijing, 23 October 1954. File No. 8/294/54-PMS. Also available in *The Hindu*, 24 October 1954.
2. Peng Chen, the Mayor of Beijing.

spirit of Asia and the new vitality which is finding expression in the countries of Asia. Both our countries as well as the other countries of Asia have tremendous problems to face and we face them with assurance and self-confidence and with the firm desire to build our countries and bring happiness and contentment to our vast populations. That is the desire of every country in Asia.

We bear no ill will to any other country or people and desire to live at peace with the world. Although we have suffered at the hands of others in past years, I hope that we will bear no grudge against them and that no others will interfere with us.

Each of our countries was conditioned in its own way by its natural genius and the circumstances that faced it. We attained our freedom pursuing different paths. In India we were fortunate in achieving independence through peaceful methods and by a peaceful settlement and today we have no ill will against those who, in previous years, dominated over us. China's struggle was more arduous and more full of conflict.

The emergence of China and India as free and sovereign countries, as well as the freedom that has come to other countries in Asia, has changed the face of this ancient continent. The old balance of forces, which resulted in the domination of Asia, has gone and a new equilibrium is gradually arising through pain and turmoil.

While these great changes have taken place in the political, economic and social spheres, another mighty revolution is gradually taking shape. We stand at the threshold of a new age when man will command the tremendous forces released by atomic energy. Even as the Industrial Revolution, which began nearly 200 years ago, changed the face of the world, we are likely to see a greater change in the present generation.

It is in this mighty context and in this perspective that we have to look at the problems of today. These great forces can destroy the world and can also advance humanity to unimaginable levels of human well-being.

It is this vital choice that the world has to make today. The choice is between peaceful progress and war, a war that will not be like the wars of old, but something infinitely worse and more destructive, something that might destroy civilization as we know it and degrade human beings to the level of the beast.

There can be only one answer to this question. But the mere avoidance of war is not enough. We have to remove the causes that lead to war and promote actively a climate of peace and goodwill. Fear and hatred and violence have darkened man's horizon for many years. Violence breeds violence, hatred degrades and stultifies, and fear is a bad companion. We have to get out of the vicious circle of conflict and try to build a new world based on friendly cooperation, where there is no domination or exploitation of one country by

another, of one class by another, of one race by another. In our endeavours to build this new world, I earnestly hope that our methods will be those of peace and cooperation, for, I am convinced, that evil and violent methods cannot lead to good results.

China is a proud country with the culture of ages behind her. She rejoices in her new found freedom and strength and look forward with hope and confidence to the future. As an individual I may count for little but I am also proud of my country and my heritage and, as a representative of my country and people, I can speak with strength and confidence in the future. But it is with no sense of pride but rather of humility that I face these great problems which confront us and which demand not pride of spirit and national vain-glory and assertiveness, but rather the spirit of accommodation and friendly cooperation between all nations, great and small, to whatever continent they may belong. In this approaching atomic age, the rivalries and conflicts of the past have no place and we have to think and act in a different way, if this world and what it has achieved are to survive.

Great nations are today ranged against each other and there is said to be a conflict between East and West. We talk of disarmament, but each great country adds to its armed strength, and new and terrible weapons of war are forged. That is not the way to peace. We must recognize that the only way to live in this world is through coexistence and cooperation and recognition of the right of each country to live its own life. There can be no East and West ranged against each other in the future. There could be only one world devoting itself in friendly cooperation between its different parts to the advancement of humanity. The recent agreement in Geneva, in which the representatives of China played such a distinguished part and which brought peace to Indo-China, has shown us the way to peaceful settlements by negotiation of difficult problems. There is no reason why we should not apply this method to other problems also, even though there are difficulties and the way may be long. That is the only path we can tread.

The Five Principles declared on behalf of China and India lay the foundations of this new approach. I earnestly trust that they will be accepted and acted upon not only by the countries and peoples of Asia but also by other countries and peoples. Thus, we shall enlarge the area of peace and remove the fear of war and the tensions that exist today.

I have come to you as a messenger of peace and goodwill and I have found here both the spirit of peace and goodwill. So, I have felt in harmony with my surroundings and my faith in the future has strengthened.

I shall ever remain grateful to you, people of China, for the way you have honoured me and my country with your friendship and affection. May China and India in cooperation with other countries, work for peace and succeed in this endeavour.

## 7. Exchange of Views on World Issues<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: In connection with your proposed visit to Indonesia, I wish to correct some of the earlier views I had expressed. Previously I thought that the time may not be suitable for you to undertake a visit just now, but now I feel that no new change is likely to take place in the Indonesian Government for sometime and it might be all right for you to go there as suggested earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, I want to draw your attention to some of the recent changes in Pakistan. As you perhaps have already learnt, a state of emergency has been declared in Pakistan and the Constituent Assembly has been dissolved. A new Cabinet is being organised. What you should take note of is that the position of the Pakistan Prime Minister has suffered and is going to suffer a great change.

We are likely to have a visit within a few months from Marshal Tito.<sup>3</sup> He is going to Burma and on his way he desired to visit India. He wanted to come and we said yes, you are welcome. There are, however, no specific matters to be discussed.

Chou: I would like to say a few words about Yugoslavia. Recently, Yugoslavia's attitude has been fairly good and she supports peace. She shows willingness to work for peace and has taken a positive attitude in opposing splitting of Europe.<sup>4</sup> She has also shown readiness to resume normal relations with us and we are in touch with them.<sup>5</sup> We should not reject any country which desires peace, but we should help it. During his (Marshal Tito's) visit to India, Prime Minister Nehru would be able to promote this work.

1. Minutes of talks with Chou En-lai, Beijing, 26 October 1954. *India-China Relations 1947-1954*, Historical Division, MEA, File No. 12/86/NGO/54 & 12/88/NGO/54.
2. The change in Nehru's views was prompted by the smooth passing over of a brewing cabinet crisis in Indonesia, which resulted in the resignation of three ministers belonging to the PIR (Greater Indonesia Party), on 22 October 1954. A move to topple the PNI Government was averted by securing support from the Independents.
3. Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, visited India from 16 December 1954 to 3 January 1955.
4. The bone of contention between the Western bloc powers and Yugoslavia was Trieste. Under military occupation of US, UK and Yugoslavia, the Free territory of Trieste was divided in zone 'A' (including city of Trieste, under US and UK forces) and zone 'B' (including the Istrian peninsula, under Yugoslav occupation). Earlier Tito had threatened that any attempt to hand over zone 'A' to Italy would be considered as 'aggression' on Yugoslav territory. On 5 October 1954, UK, US, Italy and Yugoslavia signed an MOU terminating military occupation of both zones and agreed to hand over zone 'A' to Italy and zone 'B' to Yugoslavia.
5. On 10 January 1955, Yugoslavia and China agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

JN: Perhaps you might be knowing that Canada has put forward a resolution in the United Nations and France, England and America have also supported it.<sup>6</sup> I hear that Russia is also putting forward a resolution in support. Although USA is rather trying to belittle it, still I might mention that to a certain extent our representation has been a little helpful.<sup>7</sup>

Chou: It is for the first time that four major Powers plus Canada with India's help are sponsoring a resolution. It also shows that USSR is willing to cooperate. The attitude of Britain and France is good. Attitude of America is doubtful. I am sure things will take time but it will come slowly.

JN: I wanted to mention another matter: I had conveyed your views on Korea to Mr Menon and his reply was received this morning. According to him, a draft has been proposed by sixteen countries but it is not yet signed. There seems to be some conflict between the US and Britain. The US still insists on UN supervision to which China and Korea do not agree, while the UK is trying to get the US to agree to a less rigid formula. Our attempt there is to make the report purely factual without any recommendations. If there are recommendations then a conflict arises. We do not want the UN to be committed to anything. We would like to have only a statement of facts and there is likelihood of this succeeding.<sup>8</sup>

Chou: Does it mean that no recommendations will be made on this agenda item?

JN: Yes; if any recommendation is made, it will be a bad recommendation. To prevent that we suggest there should be no recommendation. Of course, we hope that mutual consultations would continue and there should be a continuation of the Geneva Conference. Krishna Menon says that any proposal to have a new conference now will be unwise. So, first there should be consultations. I feel some way can be found if we look upon Geneva Conference as continuing and not ask for a new conference.

6. The resolution calling for resumption of discussion on the recommendations of the "London Sub-Committee" of June 1954 on reaching an agreement regarding establishment of an International Disarmament Commission, including ban on nuclear weapons, was passed by the UN Political Committee on 27 October 1954 and by the General Assembly on 4 November 1954.
7. The new Soviet proposal, put up on 1 October 1954, asked the UN disarmament Committee to prepare a draft on International Convention "aimed at strengthening of peace and security by prohibiting nuclear, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction." This resolution abandoned the previously held Soviet insistence on international inspection of atomic resource sites. The Indian resolution, as a supplement, sought an arms truce along with disarmament.
8. See *post*, pp. 211-213.

Your Excellency (Premier Chou) had also suggested that India should join the Conference. We feel it would be unwise to make it a condition because it will meet with difficulties. Instead, we feel that the Geneva Conference should be convened and then the suggestion made there.

Chou: Good idea. We want to see Asian countries participating.

JN: The whole line of thinking I suggest is:

- (i) To regard Geneva Conference as continuing and eventually we can get the UN to accept it;
- (ii) the Armistice Commission should continue; and
- (iii) to prevent the UN passing any rigid resolution which may come in the way later.

Chou: I agree entirely.

JN: His Excellency (Premier Chou) had suggested that the conference may be at Geneva or Delhi. We feel Delhi may raise difficulties, so Geneva is better.

Chou: Geneva is not bad, but it is more appropriate that a conference on Asia should be held in Delhi. But of course, that is if other countries agree, otherwise Geneva is also good.

JN: We would like to have it in Delhi. But I suggested Geneva to avoid misunderstanding.

Chou: What about conditions in Pakistan? What is your opinion about the coup d'état?<sup>9</sup> It may be difficult to say anything now but I would like to know your views.

JN: New elections will be held. It was obviously because the Government was cracking up and could not simply hold. They will try to maintain and gain time. Last Government also did likewise till they could not hold on any longer. Fresh elections would mean the Constitution will be over-thrown. You know the elections in Pakistan in the past have been very corrupt and they are mostly arranged elections. But if fair elections are held they will affect the present leadership.

Your Excellency (Premier Chou), we had many talks so far and I have profited by them. I hope we will have many more talks and we must talk more because it is helpful to our understanding.

9. See *ante*, p. 21.

Chou: Now that mutual visits have started, there is no need hereafter to be formal. We can increase individual contacts, Next time I go to India there should not be so much formality so that it will be easy to go there.

JN: Yes, but at least on this count you should not complain. You have shown equal formality in receiving me here.

Chou: Hereafter it will be all informal.

JN: I agree.

Chou: I have told you about material on Taiwan and I have brought with me a map and some statistics regarding parachuted secret agents etc., (Premier Chou gives the material to PM). Among the eighteen Americans who were airdropped five died in coming down. We have enough evidence from the captured about their engaging in espionage activities.

JN: Has it been published?

Chou: Only partly. Some of it has been exhibited by our Ministry of Public Security and some newspapermen were asked to go and see for their reference. Mr Bahadur Singh was also invited.<sup>10</sup> There are two cases of American agents and we are going to publish their sentences. As usual, they have been dealt with according to our lenient policy towards foreigners.<sup>11</sup> Even the US papers have admitted that after the Geneva talks with Americans around eight or eighteen Americans who were guilty of crimes here were released.

Another tale is about aircraft intrusions. We have published the total number of sorties and have itemised it. These have also been published. The number of British vessels affected is specially large.

You will be leaving tomorrow. We have arranged for you to over-fly Huai River for forty-five minutes. Madame Pandit also had been there before. Is there anything more to say?

JN: There are many matters, but we must stop now.

Chou: I hope we shall be meeting again next year.

JN: I hope so.

10. I.J. Bahadur Singh was Political Adviser to the Indian Chairman, NNRC in Korea from 1953-54.

11. See *post*, p. 214.

## 8. Large Measure of Agreement with China'

During my few days' stay in Peking and elsewhere in China, I have often spoken in public. I should like to repeat to the press what I have said before, and express my gratitude for the warm and friendly welcome that I have received here. It is my belief that my visit, brief as it has been, will help not only to bring our two countries nearer to one another, but also the cause of world peace which we both cherish.

Peace is the fundamental basis for the progress that we want to make in our respective countries. Peace, therefore, is not merely a pious wish with us but an absolute necessity.

Both our countries are engaged in the great adventure of raising the standard of living of hundreds of millions of people and making all of them full sharers in freedom and prosperity. That is a magnificent task. We have set our feet firmly on the road that leads to it, and I have every faith that we shall continue to march along that path. In some ways our problems are the same and the conditions we have to face are also similar. Thus, we can learn much from each other.

I hope that the contacts between the two countries will grow in many ways. It is important that we should know each other. In the world today isolation for any country is out of tune with the great developments that have taken place. The barriers between different countries should be removed so that free intercourse might take place and bring better knowledge and understanding between different countries. To that end, we in India are anxious to help, not only in China but elsewhere.

I greet the people of China, and wish them well. To the Government of the People's Republic of China of which the cherished head is a figure of historic stature and great achievement, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, I offer my deepest thanks for their gracious and generous hospitality.

I am told that certain press reports in London and New York have stated that there were sharp differences between Prime Minister Chou En-lai and myself in the course of our talks. These reports are wholly without foundation. Although India's basic approach is somewhat different from that of China's in regard to

1. Press conference, Beijing, 26 October 1954. From *Jawaharlal Nehru: Press Conferences 1954*. Information Service of India, Government of India, New Delhi.

some matters, there have been no differences in our talks and I am happy to say that there has been a large measure of agreement.

Question: Both China and India are willing to see the Five Principles enunciated in the Nehru-Chou statement extended, so as to enlarge the area of peace. Could you give us your views?

Jawaharlal Nehru: These Five Principles are excellent. I do not think there can be anything better as a statement of relationship between different countries. The question is how to apply these Five Principles and thereby create full confidence in various countries of the world. At present there is a certain lack of confidence all over the world. Every country seems to suspect some other country. If these Five Principles were applied, that apprehension and fear would grow less, and inevitably the chances of full cooperation will arise. The first thing would be for the different countries to deal directly with each other. The barriers between them being removed, they can show in their dealings how they can live up to these Five Principles.

Q: What do you think of the South East Asian Treaty Organization and its impact on the situation created by the Geneva Conference?

JN: First of all, I would say that the Geneva Conference was an excellent example of people with different viewpoints meeting together and hammering out a settlement. It shows the advantage of people meeting and discussing, even though they differ. The South East Asian Treaty Organization seems to me to come somewhat in the way of the atmosphere of meeting together and settling differences and, therefore, it has been a drawback to that extent. It is based, like other such organizations, on fear and on something approaching military sanctions which add to the element of apprehension and tension.

Q: What has the Prime Minister to say about peaceful settlement of the Korean question?

JN: This is a difficult question for me to answer. I will say this, that when there are difficult problems they should be tackled step by step. The first step that we should take is to keep the Geneva Conference on Korea going. Korea still remains to be discussed. I think that if this process is adopted and at a suitable and proper moment further discussions take place, the powers concerned will be able to find some way out.

Q: Could you tell us something about your talks with Dr Ho Chi Minh?

JN: I had very friendly talks with Dr Ho Chi Minh.<sup>2</sup> Primarily, they were concerned with the situation in Indo-China. Dr Ho assured me that they wanted to abide by the Geneva Agreements completely, and they would do so. We hope that this will result in friendly and satisfactory settlements between the powers concerned. Dr Ho expressed his friendliness to France and said that, in spite of past history, he would like to maintain friendly contacts with France. He also told us that the International Commission<sup>3</sup> was functioning very well. In fact, till that time all the decisions of the International Commission, consisting of India, Canada and Poland, had been unanimous. Dr Ho also referred to Laos and Cambodia, and said that he would welcome their free and independent existence. He hoped to have friendly contacts with neighbouring countries, including Thailand.

Q: Did you discuss the question of Taiwan?

JN: Yes, the question of Taiwan was referred to. The Chinese attitude to Taiwan is very well known. So far as we in India are concerned, we recognize only one Government of China, namely the People's Government of China. We do not recognize any other. So in theory no question arises for us.

In practice it is a difficult question, which we hope will be settled peacefully. May I in this connection remind you of the recent agreement we arrived at in India with the French Government about certain French Settlements in India? The French had been there for over 300 years, and it was a difficult question involving the prestige of a great country like France, and our own interests. We proceeded along peaceful lines and negotiated repeatedly. After several attempts we ultimately arrived at a friendly agreement with the French Republic, and only two or three days ago this agreement was signed and these French settlements were handed over to India in a very friendly way.<sup>4</sup> This is a good example of settlement of difficult problems by agreement and with cooperation. In fact, our relations with France are now better than they had been in the past, and we hope that these French settlements which now form a part of India will remain centres of French culture.

Q: What are the prospects of a settlement in Goa?

JN: There is every hope, but no great expectation.

2. Nehru had a three-hour talk with Ho Chi Minh on 17 October 1954. No record of this talk is available.

3. See *post*, p. 94.

4. The Agreement with France was signed on 21 October 1954 and the de facto transfer of the settlements took place on 1 November 1954. See *post*, pp. 220-221.

Q: What convinced you of the Chinese desire for peace?

JN: That is the resultant impression of many things—the talks I had with the leaders of the Chinese people, the vast number of smiling Chinese faces I saw and the appreciation on the part of the Chinese Government and people that any kind of war would come in the way of peaceful reconstruction of their country.

Q: Would you describe Dr Ho Chi Minh as a man of peace?

JN: Dr Ho Chi Minh struck me not only very much as a man of peace, but as an extraordinarily likeable and friendly person.

Q: What are your views about the holding of the Asian-African Conference?

JN: We—the Colombo countries—have already agreed in principle to hold such a Conference, since we feel that it will help in mutual understanding and in promoting peace, but details have not been decided upon. Probably in the course of a month or so, the Colombo countries might meet to consider this very question.

Q: Would Dr Malan, the South African Premier, attend that Conference?

JN: Well, that raises various questions. The first is of inviting him to join the Conference and the second, his agreeing to join. I think both are unlikely. I might add that Dr Malan is not African but Euro-African.

Q: What are your impressions about China and the places you have seen?

JN: I have seen Peking, Mukden and Dairen. In the north-east, industrialization is proceeding apace, and I have no doubt that the pace will be fairly swift not only there but elsewhere. In India we have the problem of industrialization as well as the problem of land. We are probably more industrialized at present than China is, and we are also trying to raise the pace of industrialization. So far as the land question is concerned, we have proceeded more slowly than China. We have put an end to the big landlord system in India. That is the first step. Other steps are being contemplated now. In the main, however, we are concentrating on an intensive development of community life in innumerable villages, and they are bearing good results.

## 9. To Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

Canton

29 October 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

I have repeatedly expressed my gratitude to you and to your Government, both formally and otherwise. On the eve of my departure from China, I am writing to you this personal letter. As you were good enough to state, our relations have ceased to be purely formal and it is my privilege to claim friendship with you.

No words of mine can tell you how deeply impressed I have been with my visit to this new China and with the welcome that I have received both from the leaders and the Government of China and the people. That welcome was tremendous enough to have moved anyone. I have had a good deal of experience of mass gatherings and popular welcomes in my own country, as well as in other countries and I have grown receptive to not only what I see but what I feel. I have felt, during these ten days of my stay in China, something deeper than a popular welcome of an individual, whoever he might be. It has seemed to me that there was some emotion behind it, some conscious or sub-conscious awareness of the significance of my visit at this juncture of the history of our two countries. Your visit to India had that significance also and the people of my country showed their awareness of it by the welcome they gave you, even though you came suddenly.

My visit to China was in continuation of your visit to India and a further link in the chain that is binding our countries to each other. It was this feeling in the popular mind, whether in India or in China, that these two great countries, both with their tremendous past and their great promise for the future, are drawing closer to each other and are destined to cooperate in the building up of that future. That, I believe, influenced our peoples.

To some extent, even peoples of other countries have realised the significance of this new development in the relationship of India and China, and so, apart from individuals, these visits have become important events in a historic process. I welcome this because I firmly believe that we can be of help to each other and to the larger causes of Asia and the world.

In some matters we may not agree, but I do not think this need come in the way of our cooperation. If we had time and leisure, I would have liked to discuss many matters with you. That would have helped me to understand a

1. JN Papers. NMML. A copy of this letter was sent to N. Raghavan.

little more the viewpoints and urges and objectives of China. I have endeavoured to understand them from reading the statements of the leaders of new China and I believe I have some knowledge of them now. Nevertheless, a personal talk is always more helpful rather than formal writings and declarations. Perhaps also I might have been able to explain to you and your colleagues how we function and what we hope to achieve in India.

The history of the last fifty years in China and India has been very different. It is natural, therefore, that the two countries and their peoples should have been conditioned differently, apart from the conditioning of past ages. We have to function in terms of our environments and the conditions that have made us and govern us today. I cannot say how I would have functioned in China or another country, because, if I lived there, I would have been conditioned differently. Nor, perhaps, can anyone living in another country say how he would have functioned if he lived in India. We have, therefore, to function in our respective environments in accordance with the backgrounds of our people and the objective conditions that we find among them at present.

As you know, our people have been powerfully influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. That itself was an outcome of the past and recent conditions in India and reflected the basic urges of the Indian people. We have, therefore, adopted peaceful methods, believing not only in their validity but also in their practical utility. I cannot say what we would have done if conditions had been different. Nor can I presume to say anything about another country where these conditions were entirely different and the choices were limited.

Therefore, I do not presume to criticise any other country or any other way. But in my own country I have to function according to our own likes and our understanding of our people and our problems. We try to learn from the experience of other countries as well as from our own experience and our successes and failures. Because of this attitude, we try to be tolerant to others and seek to understand them, even though we may differ from them. We believe firmly that each country has to function according to its own genius and with roots in its own soil, though it should always learn from others. We believe also that in the world today there are great forces at work which inevitably bring different nations together, even though they might differ from each other. We should help that process in an understanding way and always avoid adding to those differences and the bitterness that comes from them.

While this is our attitude generally towards all countries, it is natural for us to be drawn closer to some of them, more especially to our neighbour countries. That drawing together may be due to political reasons, which are important. But far more important is the emotional tie, which brings two countries and their peoples together. I believe that recent events have shown that there is this emotional tie, in addition to political considerations, between

China and India. That, I am convinced, is a matter of great significance and historical importance.

During my journeys across China and the varied impressions that I have gathered, this feeling has been uppermost in my mind and I have continuously thought not only of present day problems but of the future. I think that it may be given to our countries to serve the cause of peace and human progress in a big way. Certainly the future of Asia can be influenced considerably, and that means influencing somewhat the rest of the world also.

I am anxious, as you are, that the contacts between India and China should grow. There is everything in favour of this, except one basic difficulty. That difficulty is of language. Unfortunately, very few of our people know each other's languages and few know any other common language. Language plays an important part in the relationship between countries, because it is only language that leads to real understanding. I can only hope that more and more of our people will learn each other's languages or be able to converse in some common language. I am afraid I am too old now and too much occupied otherwise to endeavour to learn the Chinese language.

Among minor matters, I hope that a wireless telephone communication be established between Peking and Delhi. I was surprised to learn that there is such a link between Peking and Karachi, but none with Delhi.<sup>2</sup> I hope also that more news would be exchanged between the two countries and that newspapermen will be able to help in this process.

I have written to you frankly as to a friend. I hope you do not mind. I thank you again for all that I have received and experienced during this memorable and unforgettable visit of mine to China.

With all good wishes to you and to China,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 31 October 1954, Nehru wrote from Saigon to Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Communications, that it was necessary to establish wireless links with Beijing, when "even Karachi" had it. And that he was surprised that the Chinese were perfectly willing and "it was our own Government which was reluctant".

## 10. Voyage of Discovery<sup>1</sup>

I came to Calcutta sixteen days ago on my way to the east and am returning today. I feel very happy to be back among my own people and in my country. But I am very sad too about the passing away of my dear friend and colleague for thirty-five years, Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.<sup>2</sup> The news reached me in Peking and it grieved me deeply. After so many years of close contact and working together, I am a little baffled as to how we are going to carry on without him. Well, these things have to be faced and the life of a nation goes on. No matter what blows life deals, we cannot allow any setback to the nation. I heard after coming here that one of your deputy ministers and some assembly members were killed in an accident a couple of days ago.<sup>3</sup> That too was a shock.

I had held a press conference here on the day I left at which I had been asked about the reasons for my visit.<sup>4</sup> I remember that I had said on that occasion that my visit to China would be a historic one. I did not mean that I was making history. But a visit of India's Prime Minister to China, on their invitation, is something which is bound to have a great impact on the history of Asia. I have become more than ever convinced in the last sixteen days that my visit to China, or let me say that the visit of anyone from India to China at this time, is a historic event. It is bound to have an impact on the Sino-Indian relations and also on Asia. In fact, I would say that it is bound to affect international relations too, to some extent.

I was in China for eleven days which is not enough to see very much of such a huge country. You must bear in mind that China is double or more the size of India, which is itself a very large country. I visited Indo-China too in the course of my trip. The fighting has stopped. But the major issues of dispute have not been solved. I stopped in Laos and in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh on the way back.<sup>5</sup> Then just yesterday I visited a place which I have wanted to see for years. I went to the ancient city of Angkor Vat<sup>6</sup> which lies in ruins and yet is regarded as one of the most extraordinary examples of architectural excellence to this day. Every stone in that ancient city reminded me powerfully

1. Speech at a public meeting, Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta, 2 November 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Kidwai died on 24 October 1954.
3. Shasi Khan, MLA and Chairman of Santipur Municipality and three others, including his elder brother Phanindranath Khan, were killed and Deven Dey, Deputy Minister, West Bengal Government, and Chief Whip, Congress Legislative Party, was seriously injured in a motor accident at a railway level crossing between Santipur and Krishnanagar in Nadia district on 30 October 1954.
4. See *ante*, pp. 3-6.
5. On 30 and 31 October and 1 November, respectively.
6. On 1 November 1954. It was built by Suryavarman II (1113-50); known for its sculptural design and craftsmanship.

of the glory of India's past, her culture, civilization, religion and the influence that she exerted on the countries all around her. It was most evident in Cambodia and when I stood at the ruins of Angkor, I was struck by the greatness of the people who could conceive of and execute a plan of such bold design and architectural beauty. They must have indeed been people of broad vision and great daring and courage. It was a joint effort of India and Cambodia and the end product rivals anything that you can find even in India in beauty.

So, if you want to learn about India's past, perhaps the best way is to go outside the country. The people of India travelled far and wide in those days and married and settled down in other countries. In this way, we spread our culture. There are not many instances in history of military conquest by India over other countries. We went out to trade, carrying the message of our religion and culture and civilization to far-off places, and conquered them with our love. Similarly, it is strange that in two thousand years of contact between India and China, there is no mention of war at any time between the two countries. Isn't it extraordinary that two such powerful countries should have existed side by side for two thousand years without fighting a single battle. During this long period in history, both China and India exerted a great influence on the countries all around them, in South East Asia particularly, in every imaginable field, in religion, culture, civilization and the arts. Yet, they never came into conflict. The people of those countries were influenced by both our cultures.

So, we must try to remember this extraordinary fact that great nations can influence one another through the medium of culture and peacefully give and take, and not necessarily through military might always. All these thoughts passed through my mind because my visit to South East Asia and particularly China was a voyage of discovery. At one time, as you may perhaps know, I was very curious to discover and know India. I wrote a book about it in jail.<sup>7</sup> It is to some extent a history of India in the present times and her people, cities and villages. But to understand their thoughts and behaviour, I delved into India's past and tried to understand it. The history of ancient India can, of course, be read in books. But more important are the monuments and ruins of the olden days which provide a vivid picture of India's past glory and cannot be obtained from any book.

So I set out to discover India and the more I searched the more I understood. I began to realize that India is something so profound that it is very difficult even to understand her fully. You can see her myriad forms, in Calcutta, Bombay, Kashmir and Madras, or again at the borders of Burma and Tibet, which is a wholly different world altogether. So India has innumerable forms.

7. *The Discovery of India*, written during his imprisonment in Ahmednagar Fort Jail. The book was first published by the Signet Press, Calcutta in 1946. See *Selected Works*, (first series), Vol. 13, pp. 401 and 480.

Very often, we cannot think beyond our own little city or village or province. But we must understand that all of us are citizens of India and as such, small parts of the bigger whole which is India. I have always been in search of that India. But then came a time when India became free and the shackles of two hundred years of foreign rule were broken. During those years, we were cut off from our own neighbours like China, Japan and in West Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, etc., and instead we were forced into close proximity with England and Europe. We became well versed in English language and literature. Not that there is anything wrong with that, for knowledge is always a good thing. So we learnt about European civilization and culture and in the process, forgot a little about our own. We were also cut off from our Asian neighbours. The moment we became free, however, our thoughts once more went towards them.

Most of us today would be able to write learned articles about European history and literature. But how much do we know about the history and literature of, say China, or Indonesia, or other Asian countries like Iran or the Arab countries? I think very few of us know very much about our own neighbours. That is because our minds have become conditioned in a certain way which is not surprising when a country is dominated by a foreign power.

But once we became free, the barriers of the recent past were broken down and our thoughts turned once more to our neighbours, which was absolutely necessary. We began to search into our past to find the answers to our problems in the present. As a result, we have been drawing closer, day by day, to our neighbouring countries. In that sense, my visit to China and other regions of South East Asia was a voyage of discovery. We read about our neighbours in newspapers and books and form some impressions, right and wrong. But it is difficult to have a clear mental picture of any country merely from such sources. The fact is that Asia has been in a process of change for the last few years after centuries of stagnation under colonial rule. Now that the obstacles to change have been removed and new forces are coming into play, Asia has become a revolutionary place where all kinds of upheavals are taking place. What does that imply? Years of stagnation and absence of change and progress have created tremendous problems for all Asian countries which need a solution. If they fail to solve them at the proper time, the problems will resolve themselves by revolutionary and chaotic methods.

The Asian countries under colonial rule have chosen different paths to freedom. As you know, in India, it is the Indian National Congress, formed nearly seventy years ago, which spearheaded the struggle for freedom. It started in a small way but soon became a huge national organization backed by the people's support. We had great leaders to show us the path and the greatest of them all, Mahatma Gandhi, led us to freedom through the unique path of peace and nonviolence. He taught us to cast out fear and hatred from our hearts. Many were sceptical but history records how we followed the path shown by him and succeeded.

Modern India and all of us who live in it today have been moulded by the events of the past sixty or seventy years. We were born in that atmosphere and moulded by it. But the circumstances were different in other countries of Asia. For instance, there was a great revolution in China which was preceded by decades of turmoil and chaos and constant internal strife which brought great ruin in its wake. The people of China had to bear tremendous hardship. I am telling you all this because it is wrong to judge another country by one's own history. We cannot expect everyone else to follow the path that we did.

Every country has a different history and its people are moulded by that history. I do not have the right to demand that the people of China must follow the path that we took, because their history and experience have been quite different. They moulded them as a people and as a nation, and contributed to their strength as well as weakness. Similarly, they do not have the right to dictate to us as to what we should do. Every nation grows according to its own experience. We may learn something from others and teach them something in return. For instance, the British and the French came to India more than two hundred years ago and gradually they established their dominion over various parts of the country. There is no sense in criticising the British or the French because we fell due to our own incompetence and weakness. We lacked strength and unity and there was constant internecine strife among the rulers in the country. We completely lacked the spirit of nationalism. Most important of all, we had lagged behind in science and technology, while the West had made rapid strides in them and became militarily strong and wealthy. We continued to repeat the old lessons learnt by rote and did not bother to learn anything new. We lagged behind and lay ourselves open to conquest by foreign powers. Therefore, it is extremely important to learn from the experience of other countries.

It has become extremely important for us to learn about the scientific inventions and discoveries of the past two centuries because as you know, the modern age is the age of science. We are surrounded by the wonders of science. Therefore, we cannot afford to lag behind in this field. That does not mean that we should copy the West or Japan, because what we need is original research and thinking and the capacity to increase production. So the first step that we had to take was to lay the foundations of scientific education and practical training. Our educational system is good in its own way. But we need to make some changes in it to include knowledge of modern science. Our task of building a new India will become easier if we understand the importance of scientific education and training.

As I had said recently, although it is very difficult to provide jobs for all our BA and MA degree holders, thousands of overseers can get jobs immediately. Things are changing in the country. What was done under the British is no longer enough. We have to take up new tasks in order to build a new India. That is why we took up the Community Development Projects and

introduced the National Extension Service which are spreading rapidly in the rural areas. We are training thousands of young boys and girls under these schemes.

We must keep before us a vision of the future that we wish to build and then train our youth accordingly to enable them to participate in the task of nation building. There is no point in people going through schools and colleges and being fit for nothing except white collar jobs. We need to do things in a new way in order to build a new India.

We have been moulded by our own history, whereas China has a different history behind it. China is also a very ancient country with thousands of years of history behind it. I think India and China are perhaps the only two countries in the world with such a long record of unbroken history, in spite of the innumerable ups and downs, victories and defeats. Culturally, these two countries can boast of thousands of years of continuity though everything else may have changed.

So, I was very curious to see what an ancient country like China looks like now. I cannot say that during my ten days stay in China, I could see this great country in its entirety. But I was able to form a pretty good picture in my mind even in that short time. I could not go into the interior of China to see her villages. But I visited the great and historic cities like Peking, which is the capital, Mugden and Anshan in the north where the great steel mills are located, Shanghai, Nanking and Hangchow which is a very beautiful city, and Canton in the south. I saw millions of people in these cities, and that gave me the opportunity of knowing them a little. I meet millions of people in my own country and there is a mutual recognition of one another's thoughts and desires at these meetings. There is a definite bond between the people of my country and myself. I do not know Chinese at all, which is a very difficult language, but in spite of the difficulties in communication I felt a sense of discovery and recognition merely by looking into the eyes and faces of the millions of Chinese I met.

First of all, I would like to tell you that the welcome which I received from the Chinese people—you may have read accounts of it in the newspapers—can be compared only with the warm and loving reception that I am given in our own country. I need not say more than that because I have always received the love and affection of the people of India in great abundance. It is something rare indeed to have been accorded a similar reception in another country. There is no doubt about it that I had gone to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. But the people in the cities participated in large numbers and very enthusiastically in my receptions. There were large numbers of boys and girls among them and the enthusiastic reception given to me made a profound impression upon me. Then I thought about the reasons for this warm welcome for it is obvious that it was not because of me, Jawaharlal, or my qualities.

They welcomed me with affection because I had gone there as the Prime Minister of India. So, in fact, their affection and enthusiasm was for India, not me personally. I have no doubt that it showed a deep desire in their hearts to have friendly relations with India. I liked that very much because I myself feel that it is crucial for Asia and for the two countries to be friends even though we follow slightly different paths. India and China are two great countries of Asia and if there is peace and friendship between us, it is bound to have an impact on Asia and the cause of world peace as well. So I liked what I saw and the fact that the people of China wanted friendship with India made a deep impression upon me.

Secondly, as you know, there are thousands of Chinese living in Calcutta. They are extremely hard working and efficient and disciplined. If the kind of discipline and organization which we find in the twenty-five, thirty thousand Chinese in Calcutta translated into the fifty or sixty crores of Chinese in China, it is bound to be a great power. There is no doubt about it that military weapons and armaments are great sources of power. But you must remember that ultimately, the strength of a nation depends on the organization and ability of its people. We got freedom because we learnt the importance of unity and discipline. Most of you, who are in schools and colleges today, may not be able to visualize the events of thirty or forty years ago, for you read about them only in history books. But those were difficult years and we succeeded in our struggle for freedom by facing up to the challenges with courage, unity, strength and fearlessness, not by shouting slogans.

I want you to understand that the people of China have a tremendous amount of organized strength, discipline and enthusiasm which counts for a great deal in any country. Particularly, in a large country like China where the people are intelligent and hard working; discipline and organization make the country extremely strong. I was profoundly impressed by the extraordinary discipline among the youth there. We can learn a great deal from them in this respect. If our youth are disciplined, they can become a powerful factor because discipline, particularly self-discipline, makes a nation strong. Wherever I went, people would line both sides of the streets. But there was no pulling and pushing or spilling on to the streets. People stood where they were, not moving a step this way or that. It creates an impression of great strength and discipline. We can also learn something from this. I invite you, the people of this great city of Calcutta to try a dose of self-discipline, for it will immediately make you three or four times as strong. You can show yourselves and the world how to go about your tasks without breaking the rules or making a noise.

Like China, we in India also face great tasks. The great task before China is the reconstruction of a nation of fifty or sixty crores of people, which is almost one fourth of the entire population of the world. Every fourth person in the world is a Chinese, just as every fifth or sixth human being is an Indian.

When India and China were under colonial rule, the people did not count for more than sheep, for they had no status. But ever since we became free to give full rein to our energies and choose our own path, our numbers have acquired a new significance. After all, the people of the areas that I visited, China, Burma, Indonesia and other South East Asian countries along with India together constitute half the population of the entire world. I do not want you to think that mere numbers make a country great. After all, we were thirty-five crores of people during British rule too. But we were in a state of bondage. So what counts in a nation is the ability and discipline of mind and body, and the courage and daring of its people. Quality is always superior to quantity and ultimately that can be seen from the work of a people. Now we face the problem of reconstruction in India just as in the past we faced the problem of freeing India from foreign rule. We have to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment of millions of people, which is not an easy thing to do. We have adopted the five year plans in order to tackle these problems.

When I went to China, I found that they too were facing similar problems though their method of dealing with them was different. They have also taken up a Five Year Plan. But they feel that it may take three or four more Five Year Plans before they can find a satisfactory solution to the problems of their country. They were not trying to find excuses. It was a calm assessment on their part that it would be another 15-20 years before they could bring prosperity to the people. It is obvious that these are not things which can be solved by magic, no matter what ideology a country follows, whether it is socialist, communist or something else. Everything takes time and very hard work. There is no other alternative. It is true that the direction in which a country chooses to travel is very important because if we are on the wrong course, we may never reach our destination. If we are on the right path and adhere to it with courage and strength we shall, step by step, attain our goals in time and bring prosperity to the people.

In a sense, the problems of India and China cannot be said to be absolutely identical though they are similar. They too have a huge population, most of it in the rural areas and though the people are extremely hard working, they are very, very poor. So they must work for better living standards for the people to provide them with the daily necessities of life like food, clothes, shelter, medical facilities, education, training and employment. In China, too, there is great problem of unemployment. In spite of some slight differences, broadly speaking, they are the same. The Chinese are also busily engaged in trying to solve their problems as we are in India. They have started their first Five Year Plan just this year. They admitted quite frankly that it would take them fifteen to twenty years more to solve the problem of unemployment fully. Some people seem to think that the magic formula of socialism, communism, Gandhism or capitalism can solve these problems instantaneously which is not

true. It is only through hard work that any country can progress. We must of course decide upon the goals we wish to achieve and the path we should follow to attain them. Once that is done, we must march ahead boldly and the farther we go, the greater will be the strength that the nation gains. Once the ball is set rolling, it automatically gathers momentum. The difficulties arise in the first few years, particularly in poor countries because there is no surplus to invest in tasks of development. Once production increases and the national income rises, rapid progress becomes possible because the more the surplus at our disposal, the greater will our capacity be to take on tasks of development.

One problem that both of us have in common is the raising of the standard of living of the people. It would be interesting to compare notes every five years to see which country is faring better. In some areas, India leads at the moment, just as in some others, it is China which is ahead of us. As I mentioned just now, we want friendship with China and we must learn what we can from them just as they can learn something from us too. Then we must observe which country makes greater progress in five years. It is a test for China and India.

In this context, the question of war and peace in the world become crucial. If a war breaks out in the world, our progress as well as theirs will come to a grinding halt. We do not wish to go to war with anyone and we have said repeatedly that we will not strike a blow unless we are attacked. We advocate the cause of world peace because apart from the fact that peace is superior to war, a war in modern times brings tremendous destruction and ruin in its wake. The time has now come when war can solve nothing. I am quite convinced about that. Apart from the fact that there can be no victor or vanquished in a war today, it can annihilate the world completely.

So, for all these reasons, particularly the Asian countries which have recently freed themselves from colonial rule and desirous of progress in peace, are opposed to war anywhere in the world. This is fundamentally the reason for China's opposition to war. They too need time to solve their country's problems and to make progress. I have no doubt in my mind that the Government as well as the people of China are not in favour of war and will make every effort to prevent one. I feel that the common people all over the world are opposed to war. But somehow, the situation has become extremely complicated because of mutual distrust, bitterness, hatred and suspicion. It is an extraordinary situation and nobody knows what may happen at any moment. We have to remain constantly vigilant and strive to prevent things coming to a head.

All of you know how our foreign policy has evolved during the past few years. It is not my personal policy. I think no matter which party comes to power, it would have to follow more or less the same policy, because it is born out of our history and experience. Most people in the country have accepted our foreign policy as the most appropriate one. But there have been some

bitterness, hatred and suspicion. It is an extraordinary situation and nobody knows what may happen at any moment. We have to remain constantly vigilant and strive to prevent things coming to a head.

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All of you know how our foreign policy has evolved during the past few years. It is not my personal policy. I think no matter which party comes to power, it would have to follow more or less the same policy, because it is born out of our history and experience. Most people in the country have accepted

great extent and the world has also acknowledged this. It is a different matter that some people continue to be critical of it. But it has been proved beyond question that the policy of non-alignment has not evolved out of pressure or fear. We may make mistakes but they are our own mistakes, not made out of fear or pressure. Secondly, our policy is an honest one, for we do what we think is right. The world has now become convinced of our good faith. There are some countries which are so full of anger and anxiety over the prosperity of others that they do not like the idea of any country standing aloof from their camp. They feel that those who are not with them are against them. I cannot understand why India should become involved in the quarrels and animosity of other nations. Why should we become anyone's enemy and abuse them? India will follow her own policy quite independently of others. At the same time, we do not wish to criticize the policies of other countries or abuse them. This is not the way to solve any problem. It only increases tension and bitterness. It is not civilized to abuse one another and in fact, there is very little of civilized behaviour in international dealings.

However, I hope you will agree with me when I say that our foreign policy has been fairly civilized and we have served the world through it. We have managed to prevent a war at a time when the world was on the brink of one. It would be wrong of me to boast that we are making a great impact upon world affairs. The world is much more complex for that. But sometimes even a small push in the right direction goes a long way. In Korea and Indo-China, our efforts to bring about peace have paid off. Therefore, I am more than ever convinced that this is the right policy for us to follow. There can be no greater disaster than to have another war in the world. We should try to prevent it with all our might. We cannot do it on our own. But we shall make every effort on behalf of peace. I found that in China too, the Government and the people are completely opposed to war. It is not out of fear that they want to avoid war. It is pretty clear that their attention is directed towards the task of reconstruction and of solving the problem of poverty. Therefore, if India and China and other countries of South Asia throw the weight of their opinion in favour of world peace, I am sure it will have an effect.

As you know, China has a different system from the one that we have in India. We are a parliamentary democracy, with a Parliament in Delhi and legislatures in the states, an elected executive and freedom of the press and a strong Opposition and so on. In China, they have a totalitarian system and nobody is allowed to voice any criticism of the Government. No newspaper there can publish anything against Government. During the fortnight I spent in China, the thing that I missed most was news from India or the world. Here we are used to innumerable newspapers daily. In China, I could get some news about what was happening in the United Nations and some local news. Then I used to get daily reports from Delhi at our embassy there. But to a man used to scanning a number of newspapers everyday, their absence leaves a void. I

am trying to show you the difference between the two systems. As I told you earlier, the history of China has been full of wars and strife. They have had to bear great hardships which have moulded their character. At the moment, they have taken on a historic task. Who am I to criticize their way of doing it? Similarly, I do not think they have the right to interfere in our internal affairs.

You may remember that when the Prime Minister of China visited India, we had agreed upon Five Principles. They were: friendship between the two countries; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; mutual respect for the sovereignty and independence of each other. These Five Principles cannot be criticized by anyone and in fact, if they were adopted by the whole world, there would be no question of war. Some people say that though as principles, *Panch Shila* is excellent, how can we trust them to abide by them and not to break their promise? Now this is a very difficult question to answer. How can I take on the responsibility for the future? It is enough for me that we in India and China want to follow the right path, and if we continue to do so, we shall make it difficult for anyone to be led astray. If we lack mutual trust, then written treaties are also of no use. The fact is that trust begets trust and confidence begets confidence in return. At the same time, a nation should not become slack but remain eternally vigilant and strong in every way.

China is twice the size of India and its centralized Government gives it added strength. In India, as you know, the different provinces have their own governments and so there is a bifurcation of authority between the Centre and the states. In China, the Centre rules with an iron hand from top to bottom. This is a source of strength as well as weakness, in a sense. There is no doubt about it that work gets done faster under this system because when the Centre takes a decision, it is implemented throughout the country. There are other advantages too.

On the other hand, the federal system with state autonomy also has many good points because the masses participate to a greater extent in the task of government. We want that every village should participate in governing the country. Well, I shall not debate on this further here. I am merely pointing out the difference between our way of working and theirs. I have no right to judge, for they are the best judges of what is good for them. I feel that the democratic system is best suited for India. We can make alterations in a federal system if we think they are necessary. As you know, one of its disadvantages is that it has led to greater provincialism and parochialism which weaken the country. China's great strength lies in her unity. As far as I know, there is no provincialism in China and casteism is of course unknown. Casteism has put a great weight upon India and has been responsible for a great deal of our backwardness and caused setbacks time and again in the past. We cannot march full steam ahead until we root out casteism completely. When we talk about

political equality in the country it means the right to vote for everyone which is no doubt a good thing. But equality is meaningless if some people are millionaires and the others are starving. There should be equality in other respects, equality of opportunity and standard of living, etc. I do not mean to say that everyone is exactly alike. As you know, there are physical and mental differences between people. Some are tall, some short, some strong and others are weak. But everyone must have equal opportunities to make progress.

We have established political equality among the people. Now we must ensure economic and social equality by reducing the disparity between the haves and the have-nots and providing equal opportunities for all. So long as the caste system continues there can be no equality. You must understand this clearly. It is absurd to think that there can be equality while we continue to live in separate compartments. Casteism, provincialism and communalism weaken the country. The communalists try to bring religion into politics. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, to a large extent the Jana Sangh, and the Muslim League are all tarred with the same brush. They have done incalculable harm to the country by bringing religion into politics. We must combat their designs.

When I look at China, I find that they do not labour under these disadvantages. There is no provincialism in China, as far as I know, unless it is hidden. It is not visible to the eye. Nor have they had any problem about religion. Buddhism went from here to China and Taoism and Confucianism were her ancient religions. But it is very difficult to differentiate between them because all three have influenced one another. Now, of course, people are interested in other things. And because they do not suffer from things which weaken India like provincialism, communalism, and casteism, it is easier for them to move forward quickly.

As you are perhaps aware, a commission has been set up to go into the question of the reorganization of our states. I do not know what the commission is doing at the moment but there is a great uproar over the issue. Such excessive provincialism is not becoming. We must take the necessary steps with calm minds.

Our goal is to work towards world peace. Our foreign policy aims at achieving this goal because if there is a war, all our work will come to a standstill. We must cooperate with other countries with similar goals and make an effort at least to save Asia from a holocaust. We must cooperate fully with China in bringing about peace in South East Asia.

The other problem which all of us in Asia face is of reconstruction and development. I am aware that our achievements during the last six or seven years have by no means been negligible. At the same time, there is a great deal of poverty and unemployment in the country. As I said, we cannot change anything by magic. It requires time and intense efforts. Anyhow, we have laid

the foundations. We have made progress in the field of science. We have had great success in tackling the food problem. We have the situation well under control. As you know, the role played by Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in this was remarkable.

Further, we have laid the foundations of industrialization by setting up basic heavy industries. Then we have started the Community Development Schemes and the National Extension Service in the rural areas and we have great hopes from them. I think already sixty or seventy thousand villages have been covered and within the next few months, another one lakh villages will be taken up. We have decided to take up fifty thousand villages every year. It is not merely to put down on paper. It means making arrangements for providing amenities to the rural areas. The best thing is that the people are responding with enthusiasm and cooperation, which reveals their ability to take on great tasks. This is not a government job. It is the people who have to work for their own betterment. The government and the people must cooperate.

The time is approaching for us to draw up the Second Five Year Plan. We want it to be bolder and more ambitious. We want to pay more attention to industries, particularly as a means of solving the problem of unemployment. We are laying the foundations for building the edifice of a new India. The problems that we face are very similar to what other countries in Asia are facing. Therefore, we must cooperate with one another. I think India is leading in industries. For one thing, there are more trained and skilled technical personnel in India, and though our own need is very great, we have sent more than a hundred of them to various Asian and African countries to help them. We must help our neighbours.

I want you to look at the situation in India and the world. It is a great testing time for all of us, particularly our youth, for we have been given yet another opportunity to build a new and prosperous India in mutual harmony and cooperation. We, who belong to the older generation have done our share and will continue to do so as long as we have life left in us. Please do not think that I shall run away from my responsibilities. But ultimately the burden of building a new India which will influence the world by her devotion will fall on the youth.

As I told you, I also visited the countries of Indo-China where a number of our officers have been sent as delegates to the International Commissions. Three Commissions have been set up under the Geneva Agreement—one each in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia or the ancient Kamboja. The Chairmen of all three Commissions are Indians<sup>8</sup> and there are a number of other Indian officers

8. The three Chairmen of the International Supervisory Commissions were M.J. Desai for Vietnam, G. Parthasarathi for Cambodia and J.N. Khosla for Laos. See also *post*, p. 94.

in senior positions. Apart from that, there are military teams attached to these Commissions to supervise the implementation of the Geneva Agreement. These small teams are sent wherever a dispute or complaint arises. There are three countries—India, Canada and Poland—in the International Commissions. Canada and Poland are regarded as representing two opposing sides and India has been kept in the chairmanship role because both sides have trust and confidence in us. So India's responsibilities have increased enormously. I want to tell you that wherever I went, I heard praise of the way Indians were working. Both sides were full of praise. Some of our troops are also stationed in South East Asia, less than a thousand of them, for supervisory purposes. I heard praise for their work everywhere, particularly for their discipline and attitude of friendliness and cooperation towards the local people. It made me very happy to hear all this because any Indian who goes abroad, in any capacity, is responsible for maintaining the dignity and honour of India. Respect for India goes up when good people go out to other countries. So I was very happy.

Well, my fifteen-day tour is over. I am once again on Indian soil and will take up my regular work of trying to improve the levels of living of the people with their cooperation. The outcome of this great venture ultimately rests in the hands of the people of India. How fast we progress and the direction in which we move depends on them. But I feel that my tour of South East Asia was an important event in the history of India, and to some extent, the history of Asia. *Jai Hind*.

## 11. To Edwina Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

Raj Bhavan  
Calcutta

2 November 1954

My dear Edwina,

... This visit to China as well as the Indo-China countries has indeed been an event which has some historic significance. For me, it was a further discovery of Asia and it has left a powerful impress on my mind. China of course is dominant in this impression—huge, massive country with an enormous population. But the point is that this enormous population, or much of it, is unified, organized and disciplined. It is a hardworking population with great capacity. One has a tremendous sense of vitality and strength. People sitting in the United Nations in New York may argue about China's admission to the

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

UN or the recognition of China by this country or that. The fact is that it makes little difference to China. But it makes a great deal of difference to the countries as to what they do or do not do in this matter. The gain from recognition and from admission to the UN, will be largely of the other countries. China has passed the barrier when it could be made to suffer much from non-recognition. It is a world in itself and it has more or less intimate contacts with many countries. It can carry on in this way without much difficulty, though of course, it would be easier if the present friction and blockades were removed.

I had a welcome in China, such as I have in the big cities of India, and that is saying a great deal. I do not think there was any precedent for it in China. A week or two before I reached Peking, some of the big people of the Soviet Union were received there with all honour.<sup>2</sup> But they had, what might be called, an official welcome. They were placed on the high seats and much praise was showered upon them. The welcome given to me was both official and popular. It is said, probably correctly, that a million people took part in it on the day of my arrival in Peking. They lined the twelve-mile route from the aerodrome and crowded the streets. There was perfect discipline and there were few policemen about, though no doubt there must have been plenty of other people to maintain this order. School boys and girls and college students and workers in factories had turned out with banners. And then there were others who joined them. I was taken in an open car with Chou En-lai and I was standing in it. That seemed somewhat odd in, what is called, a 'Police State'. Indeed, I was told that this was the first time Chou En-lai or anyone of his high position in China, had appeared in public in this way. Normally, they appear from time to time on high balconies to see a review or a parade. Evidently, Chou En-lai wanted to show me that they could function as we had done in Delhi, when he came, and better. Anyhow, it was an impressive spectacle.

It was not only the numbers but their obvious enthusiasm. There appeared to be something emotional in it. For once, official direction and public feeling completely coincided, though no doubt they do so to some extent often enough. I had a feeling, and others confirmed it, that my going to Peking brought certain reactions on the Chinese people. Thus far, they had dealt with or welcomed people from the Soviet Union or other communist countries. There was certainly more of fellow-feeling for them. But my arrival there produced a somewhat different type of release. They felt happy that a great country like India, which was not in the communist fold, was friendly to them. Their outlook widened and their self-assurance increased. A sense of Asian cooperation, apart from communism and the like, produced this sense of relief and release. India became,

2. A high level Soviet delegation led by Nikita M. Khrushchev, Secretary, Soviet Communist Party, visited China from 29 September to 11 October 1954.

in their eyes, a friend and her stock went up. As a representative of India, I became a symbol, which they honoured and cheered.

There were many functions and I am surprised that I have survived all of them, especially the banquets which took place every day. You know Chinese banquets, how long they are, how full of toasts. Most of these banquets had as many as 700 or 800 guests of all type—apart from the official hierarchy and the diplomats, there were scientists, medical men, professors in the colleges, etc., actors and actresses and specially honoured workers at the end. Even there, there was genuine enthusiasm. I would have been less than human if I had not been influenced by all this.

The impression of the vitality of a people that I got was very great. The younger people were especially full of it. They were nearly all clad in the official uniform or something like it—buttoned up coats and trousers, dark blue. This produced a certain impression of drabness, but also of discipline and efficiency. Women are evidently playing a big part in China and some of them hold high posts in the factories and elsewhere.

Although I arrived in an open car standing up, most of the time I went about in a car which was evidently used by the big leaders there. This was a bullet-proof car with nearly four inch thick glass. I was rather surprised to see the number of automobiles. There were not so many of course as in a big Indian city, but still the number was considerable and this in spite of blockades and the like. There were Soviet cars, Czech cars and trucks and a good number of American cars. Usually, when I moved, there was a procession of twenty cars following me.

Apart from the feasting and the long talks I had with the big leaders and others, I spent some time in visiting famous sights and some new factories. Also the Peking opera as well as the Shanghai opera which, on the whole, I rather liked.

It is clear that the Chinese Government and people are determined to go ahead and further that they will do so unless some catastrophe comes. They do not boast as the Russians are apt to do. They were continually pointing out their own deficiencies and sometimes laying stress on India being more advanced in some ways. They were all Chinese, in spite of communism and the like. Their courtesy, their artistic sense (so sadly lacking in India), their hospitality, their references to old Chinese literature and culture. Mao Tse-tung on two or three occasions, quoted to me from some ancient Chinese poet.<sup>3</sup> Mao is a pleasant faced person in good health but looking slightly aged. Chu Teh, number two, had a square face of granite, pleasant enough when he smiled and when both of his eyes completely disappeared. I do not think he is too much interested

3. In a banquet hosted by Nehru on 26 October, Mao quoted a 2000 year old Chinese poem by Chu Yuen that 'no sorrow is greater than to bid farewell and no joy greater than to make a new acquaintance'.

in the niceties of politics or even of communistic dialectics. But he is honoured for his past career and is the Commander-in-Chief now. Number three was Liu Shao-chi, a person with an intellectually rather harsh face, though by no means unpleasant. He is the theoretician of the Party and the Government. Number four was Chou En-lai, who was by far the easiest to get on with and with a wider knowledge of the world. Number five, Madame Sun, who remained quiet throughout our talks. These talks were conducted en bloc, though I had separate talks with Chou En-lai.

I saw no one in Peking without shoes and people seemed to be well-fed. I visited the big state department stores. Some of them as in Shanghai, were very big seven-storied buildings, full of various kinds of goods, though there were no luxury articles. There were hundreds or thousands of petty shops privately owned.

I did not see much of village life except for a cooperative farm I visited near Mukden in Manchuria. Among the cities I visited, apart from Peking, were Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangkow, Mukden, Anshan (where the steel works are) and Dairen. Also Hanchow, the beauty spot about which so many poets have written. Everywhere there were warm receptions.

Just before I got to Peking, a huge Soviet exhibition had been opened there. A vast building had been constructed especially for it by the Soviets. This was rather garish with golden spires and the like. This building and its courtyards were full of Soviet goods of all kind—small and big. Machinery was specially displayed. Huge agricultural machinery, tractors, earth movers and the like. Also many kinds of auto mobiles, small cars, big cars, trucks, etc. I must say that the exhibition was very impressive showing what the Soviets were manufacturing. Vast crowds went to see it. In fact, during the first week about a million people saw it and there were enormous crowds waiting to enter. Even when we went there, it was so crowded that it was not easy to move about. This whole exhibition building was prepared from start to finish in rather record time of about a year. Having done all this, the Soviet Government made a grand gesture and presented the building and all it contained to the Chinese Government.

In the Five Year Plan the Soviets have agreed to put up 141 major enterprises in China. Many of their technicians have come or will come. But they were not evident. Chairman Mao told me that they lacked technicians and they had to go to the Soviet for help. They trained their own men and went away and there were no political or other strings attached.

There are so many things that I could write to you about China, but I cannot continue now. The other countries I visited, in Indo-China,<sup>4</sup> were very different. Laos was a sleepy depressing place. Cambodia was somewhat better

4. See *post*, pp. 93-105.

and the King is an active, fairly clever and a popular person, because he led the struggle against the French and also actually led his army against some Vietminh invaders. Nevertheless, the position in Cambodia is not an easy one. The fact is that independence having been more or less obtained, the social problems are immediately coming up and the King does not appear to be competent to deal with them. At the same time he is a little afraid of some prominent leaders who would help in solving these problems and who are suspected of republicanism.

Saigon was a mess and nobody knew what was going to happen and even within the Government there were rival factions. There were private armies. The Prime Minister had fallen out with the Generals and Emperor Bao Dai of course continues to live in the south of France. The whole thing was fantastic, the French and the Americans exercising their influence often in contrary directions. The Americans were obvious in Laos and Cambodia also. At Saigon I was driven from the airport and through the city at a speed of fifty miles an hour, presumably for security reasons. Even corners were taken at that speed, with the occupants of the car rolling about in it.

Hanoi had changed hands just five days before I arrived there and the Vietminh were in possession.<sup>5</sup> Ho Chi Minh had not made his official entry, but he came down to see me. The city had a queer rather fearful look. The streets had been cleared, people sat on their thresholds, looking rather glum. But there were many Vietminh flags in the shops and houses. Ho Chi Minh produced an instant impression upon me, which was good. He is one of the most likeable men I have come across. He gives one the impression of integrity, goodwill and peace. His Foreign Minister and Vice Premier, Pham Dong, also struck me favourably.

Not only in Hanoi but in the other states of Indo-China some of the communist or near-communist leaders I met were obviously superior in character and ability to the others who seemed to have no clear aim and who were unable even to cooperate with each other. There is no doubt that if there was an election now in Vietnam, there would be a tremendous majority in favour of Ho Chi Minh. The Americans think that with various kinds of aid they might change this in the course of the next year or two. I doubt it. The Americans have not yet learnt the art of winning over people and think in terms of money which does not go far.

You will forgive me for this typewritten letter. But this was what I could manage tonight and I did not wish to delay writing to you. Early tomorrow morning I am going to Darjeeling with Dr Roy<sup>6</sup> to open a Mountaineering Institute there. The Chief Director of Training will be Tenzing.<sup>7</sup> From Darjeeling I shall go to Delhi.

5. On 11 October 1954.

6. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

7. Tenzing Norgay.

My return to India has been clouded by the fact of the death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This is a heavy blow for me. You did not know him well. But he was outstanding both in our struggle for freedom and in our Government. His recent achievement in largely solving our food problem has been remarkable. He was throughout a man of the people, with intimate contacts with the people all over India and with very strong commonsense. No one who went to him for help, and large numbers went to him, ever came back without some kind of assistance. He did this at the cost of himself and his family is in a state of poverty with a broken down house in a village to live in.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 12. Collective Security in South East Asia<sup>1</sup>

No question has arisen, so far as I am aware, of any special non-aggression pacts between China and the South East Asian countries. Nothing of this kind was even mentioned to me in China. So far as we are concerned in India, we do not propose to have any such pacts with any country. Of course, even joint declarations based on the Five Principles are declarations of non-aggression. That is good enough.

2. A collective non-aggression pact would be still more undesirable.

3. The establishment of friendly relations with China on the basis of the Five Principles would definitely tend to weaken the danger of internal communism.

4. The question of large Chinese communities abroad has been repeatedly discussed with the Chinese leaders and they have accepted the principle that the Chinese abroad should either (a) become nationals of the country they are in and have no constitutional relations with China, or (b) should remain nationals of China and not interfere with the internal politics of the country they are in. The Chinese leaders are, however, reluctant to lay down a general principle applying to all countries because of its possible effect on the Formosan situation. Therefore, they propose to deal with each country separately, notably Burma and Indonesia. When U Nu goes to China, this matter will be discussed and presumably settled. So also with Indonesia separately.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 7 November 1954. JN Papers. NMML.

5. Pakistan's attitude and recent events in Pakistan have, I think, very definitely weakened not only Pakistan but American position in South East Asia. It almost appears that where the United States goes with its military aid, it creates new problems and weakens that country internally. I have no doubt whatever that if the Indonesian Government joined them in a pact or accepted some kind of military aid from the US, they would have to face grave internal difficulties. Instead of getting security, they will have further insecurity. I don't think there is any reasonable chance of the Indonesian Government doing this.

6. As for the Afro-Asian Conference, I have already expressed my opinion that there should be a general invitation to all free Asian or African countries. This would include China as well as Japan and Siam and Turkey. As regards the Indo-China States, the matter will have to be considered carefully.

7. You may convey my views to our Ambassador in Djakarta.<sup>2</sup>

8. It is my intention, as soon as I have some little time, to send a note on my visit to China to the Indonesian Prime Minister.

2. B.F.H.B. Tyabji.

### 13. Impressions of the Visit<sup>1</sup>

Question: During the last session of Parliament, before your visit to China, two questions were raised, one of Chinese population overseas, and the question of international communism. After your talks with the Chinese leaders do you feel reassured on these two questions, without going into the question of guarantees etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as the question of Chinese overseas is concerned, that is not our problem in India, they are there in Indonesia, in Siam and the rest. Well, I was told in Delhi and later, what their general policy with regard to that was.<sup>2</sup> Further they said that in this matter they propose to deal with the people directly. They appealed to the Prime Minister of Burma with regards to the Chinese there and to the Prime Minister of Indonesia also. They propose to deal with them in this way ; not in some kind of a vague manner, for conditions differ in different places. And as for international communism etc, I presume what you mean is about aggression or...

1. Press conference, New Delhi, 13 November 1954. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For the rest of the press conference See *post*, pp. 100-103.

2. See *ante*, pp. 18-19.

Q: About *sub rosa* activities.

JN: Well, you know those Five Principles the *Panch Shila*. It is definitely stated that we do not want external or internal interference. The internal interference naturally refers to any kind of help given to others in national affairs. So far as the statement is concerned, it is there. So far as acting up to the statement is concerned, there is nothing to be said except to wait and watch. One can really judge all these things in the general approach by a country. If the approach of one country is friendly, it normally follows there is nothing to be done. If it is not, then things are different. I am convinced that China, entirely for its own sake, wants peace, wants time to develop its country and thinks in terms of at least three or four five year plans—fifteen or twenty years' time to lay the foundations of a socialist state. So all this question of aggression, internal or external, has to be seen in that context, of their not desiring to get entangled.

Q: What about the broadcast of K.I. Singh from Peking ? Or about the ex-Thai Minister?

JN: I do not know anything about the Thai Minister. About Dr K.I. Singh, well, this case was mentioned by me not as affecting us here but as a general thing. I was told that political asylum had been given to him in the normal way and nothing more. There is no further argument about it, and I do not think Dr K.I. Singh will function in future.

Q: Do you believe that this word coexistence is meant as an antidote to prevent a third world war ?

JN: Antidote or a preventive to the third world war ; that little statement brings in so many ideas and things, you can't deal with it. It is surely a simple proposition, exceedingly simple. Either you coexist or you codestroy. There is no third way out of it. Is it not so ? I prefer the former. I have not the least, the faintest fear of China or any country. I want to assure you gentlemen that if you think that the policy of India is governed by fear of anybody, you are entirely mistaken. We may be conceited people in this, that we are not afraid of anybody, either the communists, or international communism or any other country. That is all right. But I recognise that other countries are afraid. I want other countries not to be afraid because fear is a bad thing, is a bad companion, it perverts one's thinking, one's functioning. Therefore, I am anxious that whether it is China or any other country, it should not do anything which is likely to make other countries afraid in Asia or elsewhere.

Q: What do you mean by saying that K.I. Singh would not function in the future ?

JN: I did not say that. I don't think K.I. Singh has been functioning against his own country in the past. I don't know what he will do in the future....

Q: You said that you were anxious that neither China nor any other country should do anything that would create fear. Did you express this opinion in Peking ?

JN: Yes. I did....

Q: It was reported after your return from China that two concrete results of your visit to China had been that China has accepted that Nepal was in the sphere of influence of India, and that China will start its diplomatic relations with Nepal.

JN: I am sorry, but many statements that have appeared in the press since my return from China, i.e., about my visit etc. have been very far from accurate. Sometimes they may have had some grain of truth. So far as Nepal is concerned, it is a well known fact and it is needless for me to state it. It is contained in our treaties and in our other agreements with Nepal that we have special position in Nepal—not interfering with their independence, but not looking with favour anybody else's interfering with their independence either. You will remember that in the past i.e., before India became independent, well, Nepal was not independent in any reality. It was very much under the British Government not internally I mean, but in regard to external matters. When we became independent, we went much further in recognizing the independence of Nepal than the British Government had done. India's special position in regard to foreign affairs in Nepal was recognised and that has been an admitted fact. As for diplomatic relations between Nepal and China, that is a matter which the Nepalese Government no doubt will deal with in its own way.

Q: Does China recognise this position—India's special position regarding Nepal?

JN: I did not ask them to recognize anything. I don't want anybody's assurance or guarantee of my position. I am quite happy about it....

Q: You might have discussed with the Chinese leaders their attitude towards SEATO. Do you propose to do anything to coordinate their attitude and your attitude?

JN: There was no discussion about SEATO, there might have been just a reference here and there. There was a little reference to Asia because it dealt with Asia also and among the powers are no doubt some Asian countries, but many Asian countries have nothing to do with it. Therefore, I refer to it as the Manila Treaty and not as SEATO. There is no point in discussing it with them. Our attitude in regard to the Manila Treaty had been clearly stated by me in the Parliament<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere and I presume you all know what that attitude is.

Q: According to a news item in an American magazine issued by the Associated Press of America you made an offer in Peking that you would use your good offices with the British Government for the return of Hong Kong to China.

JN: I may mention that throughout our talks—I don't know for how many hours—Hong Kong was never mentioned, not even casually. But it might interest you perhaps, I hope, when I say, that I casually asked them once "What about Macao?" The answer was, "It is like your Goa".

Q: Did the question of China's possible participation in the Afro-Asian Conference come up during your talks?

JN: Not in that way. I was asked, "What is this Afro-Asian Conference? Is it going to be held?" And I told them that the general principle had been accepted but we did not discuss it in detail, and that we were likely to go to Djakarta to discuss this matter further....

Q: Is it correct that China was very keen to establish normal diplomatic relations with all the countries in the world?

JN: That is the impression that I got quite clearly that they will be happy. Perhaps they will have relations with every country including the countries which are opposed to them.

Q: Would it be correct that in your discussions at Peking on the question of Formosa you advised tolerance and patience? I presume Formosa was discussed.

JN: Yes, it was discussed in the sense that, as you know, Formosa or Taiwan was very much talked about there. There was a considerable feeling or excitement on this issue. And to say that it was discussed, perhaps it is not

3. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 318-332.

quite correct. But I listened to their viewpoint about it, not so much about Formosa as such, but rather about the nearby islands. There are many islands near the Chinese coast and many of them are at present occupied by the Formosan troops.<sup>4</sup> And they pointed out to me how dangerous it was for them. Those islands on their coastline were a menace to them. They bombard, they carry out aerial flights and throw bombs sometimes from the air. Also they pointed out how all their coastal shipping was very severely interfered with, not only theirs but of others also. In fact, they gave me a statement giving the names of the ships and the deaths. It was a long statement and I should say that ninety per cent of the ships mentioned there were British ships.

Q: It has been asserted in some quarters that China maintains a very huge standing army of about ten million. And the very size of the army creates misapprehensions in the minds of some people. Is it your opinion that China has such a huge army?

JN: I know from the same facts as you have that China has a large army. I cannot say what numbers they are. But I did not discuss their army with them at all. I have no doubt that it is a big army and probably it includes a big militia merged in it. I do not know the figures. It is a very big one undoubtedly....

Q: Could you, Sir, give your own impression as to what the Chinese Government thinks about the twelve million Chinese abroad, whether they will accept them as their own nationals or not?

JN: I thought that this had been stated that their broad policy was, I was told, that the Chinese overseas should either elect to remain Chinese nationals; if so, they should not interfere with the internal affairs of the country they are in, or should become the nationals of the country of residence and then they have nothing to do with the Chinese Government. They wanted to deal with the question with each country separately....

Q: You said we could learn also from China, could you particularize the way in which you are thinking?

JN: They have got, as I say, the problem of industrialization; they have got the problem of land. We have dealt with in a different way the problem of land,

4. There are two sets of islands, namely, the Formosa group, consisting of thirteen islands and the Pescadore (Penghu) group, consisting of sixty-four islands. Out of these about thirty islands were under Nationalist occupation.

but we have also put an end in India to what might be called the big land estate system, the zamindari system. We are now dealing with the second phase of this, that is of further distribution, of limitation, of ceilings in land. I do not know the details of the Chinese system. I did not go into any village; I cannot say anything about villages but I would personally imagine that the conditions in our villages, an average village, are much better than the average village in China. But then conditions vary in villages. There are so many things there which are very interesting; how they are dealing with various problems, industrial or other. One can learn from them as we can learn from other countries too....

Well, I would better stop. There are one or two matters which I will explain to you. One thing is that in spite of many irritating and rather dangerous tendencies, there is no doubt that world tension has decreased greatly and in people's minds there is less fear and danger of war. Now, this may be due to many reasons, but certainly, I think, one of these reasons was the Geneva Agreement and its consequences, that is, there is a feeling that although the problems are very difficult, they can be solved without recourse to war and that is a very healthy feeling.

There is one other small matter. I referred to conditions in China and India about public criticism. In China that does not exist; in India there is an abundance of this. That is my impression. It is healthy, but I must say that sometimes the way the press or some papers behave is not only strange but has been most objectionable....

Q: Can you give us an idea as to the extent of Russian influence on China?

JN: How can I tell you that? There is no doubt about it that the Chinese are relying on Russia for their technological advancement. There are a considerable number of Russians or Soviet technicians helping them. In fact, in their Five Year Plan, I think, they have (the Soviet) agreed to put up some major enterprises in China in the course of the five years. As soon as the Soviet technicians come, the Chinese technicians are attached to them to learn from them. As soon as the Chinese learn, the Soviet people go away. I saw there an entirely new plant built there by the Soviets,<sup>5</sup> at a fairly rapid speed, I believe, in the course of a year or 14 months, and it is a fine plant. I am not an expert, but other people have said that it is a fine plant....

5. On 24 October 1954, Nehru spent two hours at the new Soviet-built Anshan Iron and Steel Works—a giant metallurgical complex of some forty plants.

## 14. Implications of China Visit<sup>1</sup>

During my visit to China, I had a number of talks with the Chinese leaders.<sup>2</sup> I had long talks with Premier Chou En-lai separately. I also had joint talks with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his principal colleagues, viz., Vice Chairman Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Peoples' Congress, Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee, Sung Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen), Vice Premier Chen Yen and the Chinese Ambassador in India. On our side in these joint talks, we had our Secretary General, N.R. Pillai, and our Ambassador in Peking, N. Raghavan. We both had interpreters with us.

2. I met separately the principal Ministers dealing with economic and financial policy and the Five Year Plan. Also Ministers dealing with land problem and flood control.

3. All these talks were through interpreters. Chairman Mao and most of his colleagues did not understand English at all. Premier Chou En-lai understood English a little and occasionally said a word or two in English, but his knowledge of English was limited. Madame Sun Yat-sen, of course, knew English well and I had a separate direct talk with her also.

4. I met large numbers of other leading personalities including the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and scientists, medical men, engineers, people connected with cultural affairs, some representatives of nationalities, educationists, actors and actresses. My talks with these groups were brief and usually took place in big receptions.

5. Our talks covered a large range of subjects. I was interested in the finances and economic implications of the Five Year Plan. I do not, however, propose to deal here with these talks regarding financial and economic matters as it was not possible for me to get a full grasp of these rather complicated subjects. I was promised a full note on these matters which I have not yet received. I might mention here that the Chinese budget for this year amounted to about: Revenue-4,500 million US dollars, and expenditure over 5,000 million US dollars. There was thus a deficit of 500 million US dollars. I was told that during the two previous years there had been considerable surpluses and the

1. Note, 14 November 1954. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 25(6)/54-PMS, and G. Parthasarathi (ed.). *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 76-89.
2. In a covering note to the Commonwealth Secretary and the Foreign Secretary on 13 November, Nehru wrote that he had glanced through the notes of conversations in China and found that "they were not always quite correct. However, they give a fair idea of what we said to each other."

present deficit was covered by them. The chief sources of income were the turn-over tax and profits from State undertakings. Income from land was inconsiderable. It should be remembered that China is very much a unitary and centralized State, so that the budget was for the whole of China.

6. My discussions about flood control and cultural matters were also interesting.

7. The real discussions were with Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Mao and party. Although we talked about a large variety of subjects, I shall refer here only to some principal points that arose in the course of these discussions.

8. Chairman Mao referred to the age old association as well as to the new friendship between China and India. Both countries were struggling for peace. They had more or less common experiences in recent history and both countries needed peace to reconstruct their economies as both were industrially backward. The Chairman considered that India was industrially somewhat more advanced. But both countries were in this respect backward and had large populations. Industrial development had to be achieved quickly in both. Given peace, it might take China about four five year plans, i.e., twenty years or so, to become an industrial country with foundations laid for a socialist economy. China, therefore, was anxious for peace. But some countries, notably USA, were obstructing this process. USA was occupying, or helping in the occupation, not only of Formosa, but many islands very near the Chinese mainland. There was bombardment of the Chinese mainland from these islands and air raids were frequently carried out. During the past two years, there had been airdropping in the Chinese mainland not only of groups of men, but also of wireless transmitters and other equipment. Many of such groups had been rounded up and caught. Most of them consisted of Chinese Kuomintang agents, but there were some Americans also among them.

9. China was not a threat to any country and wished to live in peace with all other countries. But the USA did not permit her to do so and even brought pressure to bear upon England, France, and other countries to prevent them from cooperating with China.

10. The question of Formosa or the other islands occupied by Formosan troops was not discussed by me. But it was made clear to me that great importance was attached by the Chinese Government to this issue of Taiwan and, even more so, to the islands of the mainland, and the interference with normal coastal trade and attacks on the mainland.

11. Some reference was made to the Manila Treaty and Chairman Mao pointed out that this Treaty was the result of the American reaction to the Geneva Agreement. The American Government did not like that Agreement and wanted to come in the way of peaceful settlements.

12. Reference was also made to the Five Principles which had been included in the joint declarations issued by India and China, and Burma and China. It

was agreed that if these principles were agreed to by other countries and acted upon by all of them, this would go a long way in removing tensions and fears.

13. I agreed to this and pointed out that there was no doubt that there was a certain amount of fear in the minds of the smaller nations in Asia or China. That fear might have no basis, but the fact remained that there was that fear. Some of these countries were perhaps also afraid of India. It was essential, therefore, that this fear and suspicion should be removed. In the past both the Chinese and Indian peoples had spread out to countries in South East Asia and there were considerable populations of overseas Chinese and overseas Indians.

14. Chairman Mao agreed that these fears must be removed and nothing should be done which might cause apprehension to these countries.

15. In this connection reference was made, especially, to the Chinese overseas and to the question of their nationality. I was assured, what I had been told previously, that the Chinese Government wanted to settle this question in cooperation with the countries concerned. There were some difficulties in dealing with it as a whole. They proposed, therefore, to deal with it separately for each country. The Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, would be visiting China soon and they would discuss this with Indonesia. Their general approach was that the Chinese abroad should choose their nationality, that is, whether they would continue as Chinese nationals or become nationals of the country they lived in. There should be no dual nationality. It seemed to me that while this point was quite clear in the minds of the Chinese leaders, they had some apprehensions lest any step that they might take might be to the advantage of the Formosa Government. Hence this caution in approach and the separate approaches.

16. The Chinese leaders repeatedly assured me that they did not want war and that they were prepared to cooperate with every country and have diplomatic relations with it, even though that country was opposed to them. They mentioned, in this connection, particularly, Thailand and the Philippines which, they pointed out, were completely under the influence of the USA. This itself was evidence of the Chinese desire to live at peace with other countries. These countries, I was told, accused China of thinking in terms of aggression, but did not respond to the Chinese offer to establish improved relations. China was prepared to issue joint statements on the basis of the Five Principles with other countries. This would rule out aggression as well as internal interference.

17. Reference was made by me especially to this internal interference through local communist parties. I was assured that China did not wish to interfere in any way with local affairs.

18. Chairman Mao dealt at some length with the past two World Wars and their revolutionary consequences. He pointed out that China had no atom bombs or any equipment of the latest type. But the US and the USSR had both. Ultimately, it was the people, who would count and who would be the deciding

factors. He pointed out that the experience of both the World Wars was that the countries who started the war were defeated and those who were on the defence won. Another consequence was revolutions in some countries and the freedom of some colonial countries. Thus, if unfortunately another world war took place, disastrous as it might be, it would lead to the defeat of the aggressors and possibly other revolutionary changes might take place. He was not afraid of a war if it came, but he did not want it because of its disastrous consequences to the world and because it would come in the way of developing their country.

19. I was not fully in agreement with Chairman Mao's analysis, but I entirely agreed with him that war must be avoided and every step which might lead to war should also therefore be avoided.

20. My talks with Premier Chou En-lai covered larger ground. He referred also to the United States policy which came in the way of peace and created tense situations in the Far East. "Why", he asked, "was America so aggressive and what was her motive in carrying on this aggressive activities in the Far East?" I replied that I did not think that the American people wanted war but undoubtedly they were afraid of communist aggression and wanted to take action to protect their interests. Premier Chou did not quite agree with me and said that America's policy was an expansionist policy. He referred to the military aid given to Pakistan which had nothing to fear from China or the Soviet Union. America, according to him, wanted to bully weaker nations and rule the world.

21. I pointed out to Premier Chou that this was exactly what some countries in the West said about Soviet imperialism and communism endangering the peace of Europe and the world. They said also that communists did not want war because they thought they could get everything without war, that is, by infiltration and other tactics.

22. Premier Chou said that this was absurd. China had already made a declaration of Five Principles, and revolution could not be imported from outside. He referred to the Kuomintang forces on the Burmese borders and said that China would have been justified in attacking them as they were creating trouble on the Chinese side. But the Chinese Government realized the difficulties of the Government of Burma and wanted to be friendly to them. Therefore, they desisted from any activity against the Kuomintang troops there.

23. I referred to Chinese maps which still showed portions of Burma and even of India as if they were within Chinese territory. So far as India was concerned, I added, we were not much concerned about this matter because our boundaries were quite clear and were not a matter for argument. But many people took advantage of these old maps and argued that China had an aggressive intent, or else why continue to use these maps. In Burma also this caused apprehension.

24. Premier Chou replied that these maps were old ones and China had not done any surveying to draw new maps. Their boundaries even with Mongolia and the Soviet Union were still not clearly demarcated and there were discrepancies. I pointed out that this might be so. So far as India was concerned, I repeated, there was no doubt about our boundaries and I was not worried about them. But I wondered how China would feel if a part of Tibet had been shown as part of India in our maps.

25. I referred also to the case of K.I. Singh, a Nepalese national, who had rebelled against his Government and who, according to reports, had been given encouragement in China. This kind of thing created apprehensions in the minds of Asian countries. Premier Chou replied that K.I. Singh crossed into Chinese territory with some other men in possession of rifles and ammunition. According to international custom, China disarmed them and gave them asylum. Nothing more was done. He referred in this connection to the intention of the Dalai Lama at one time to go to India. The Indian Ambassador had told the Chinese Government then that if the Dalai Lama came to India and sought asylum, they could not refuse this and they would treat him with courtesy but would not encourage any political activities on his part. As a matter of fact, the Dalai Lama did not go to India but some of his relatives did go there and had been given asylum. The Chinese Government did not mind this. In K.I. Singh's case, the Chinese Government had given him asylum and he would not be allowed to take part in any political activity against his country.

26. Premier Chou asked me questions about Nepal and various other countries. He referred to his invitation to the Indonesian Prime Minister to come to China. The Indonesian Prime Minister had expressed the wish that Premier Chou should first go to Indonesia. This was not possible for some time as he was very busy with important work, more especially as he had been absent for a long time in Geneva and elsewhere. Premier Chou was particularly interested in foreign influences at work in various countries of Asia, more especially American influences. He referred especially to pressure brought upon them to join the so-called South East Asia Defence Organisation. He referred to Thailand also and said that they were anxious to have normal relations with it.

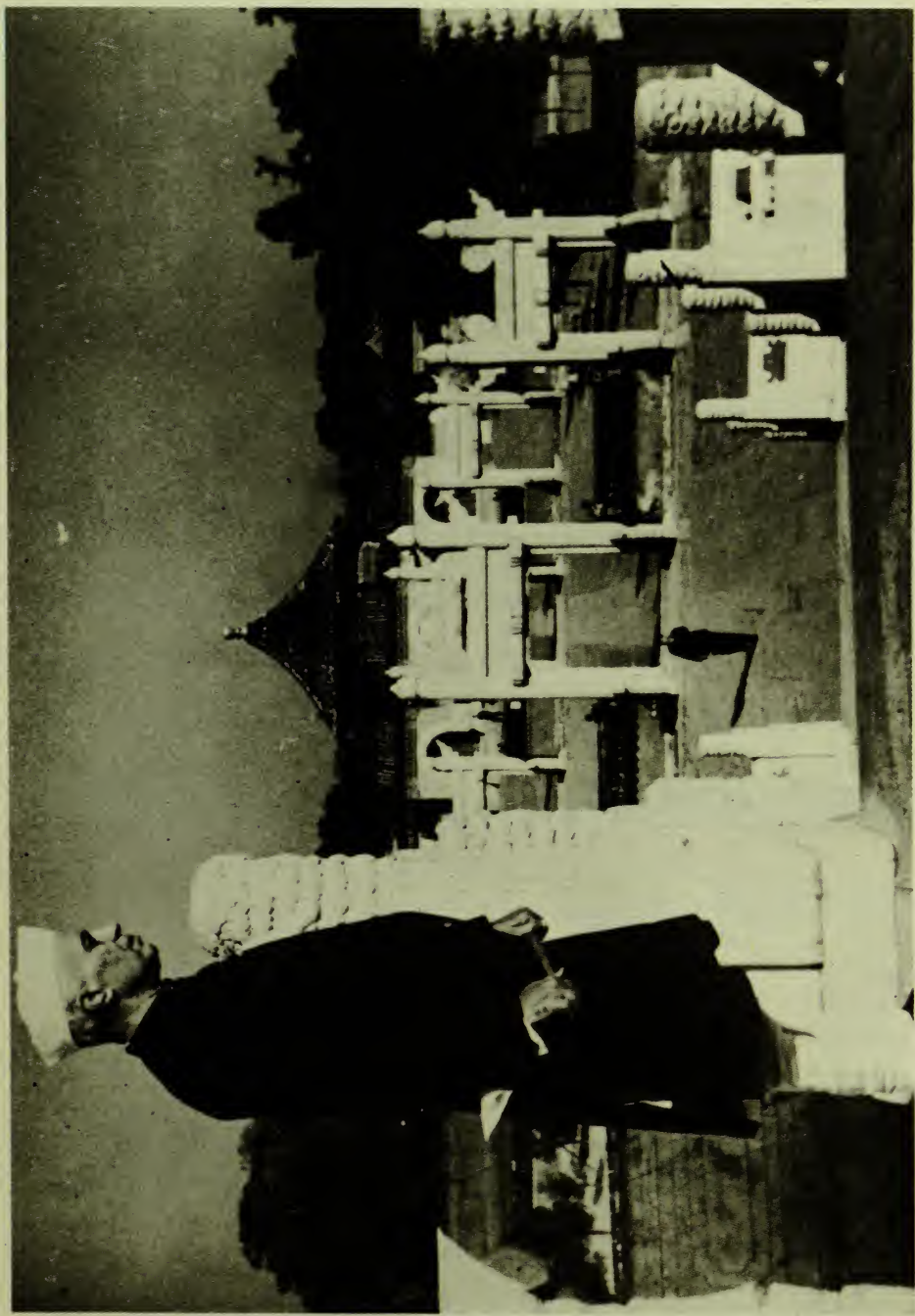
27. Premier Chou also asked me about my visit to Indo-China and the position there.

28. Premier Chou referred to Korea. He was anxious that something should be done to settle the Korean problem. He thought that a conference should be held soon to consider this and that the old Geneva Conference should be enlarged for this purpose by adding neutral Asian countries.

29. I said that I agreed that we must pursue methods to arrive at a settlement in Korea and a conference for this purpose would be necessary. But such a conference should be held at the right time when some ideas about a settlement



GOING ROUND THE SHIPYARD AT DAIREN, 25 OCTOBER 1954



AT THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, BEIJING, 21 OCTOBER 1954

were clearer. Merely to have a conference without such ideas might lead again to a deadlock. Meanwhile, it was important that we should not allow the situation in Korea to deteriorate.

30. We discussed India-China relations and the exchange of technical personnel, books, periodicals, etc. Also an agreement about air services. It was agreed that there should be a reciprocal arrangement for an Indian air service at a Chinese port, probably Canton. This matter was to be discussed further through diplomatic channels.

31. I referred to certain difficulties of pilgrims going to Tibet. Premier Chou agreed to look into this matter and to remove such difficulties. He also agreed to the supply of silk cocoons to Kashmir and suggested our sending an expert to select the varieties.

32. He informed me about the Chinese desire to have diplomatic relations with Nepal. I told him that the Nepalese Government had kept us informed of this. The King of Nepal had been ill and had gone to Switzerland for treatment. On his return, they would no doubt take up this matter. So far as we were concerned, we would welcome friendly relations between Nepal and China.

33. I gave him a brief outline of recent Nepalese history and how previously Nepal was far from independent, that is, before India became independent. There was no interference in internal matters, but otherwise the United Kingdom was the suzerain power. Independent India had accepted the full independence of Nepal and had not claimed some of the rights that Britain had exercised. But the two countries had agreed that their foreign policies should be co-ordinated. It was clear that India had a special position in Nepal and it became necessary, therefore, for their foreign policies to be in line with each other. India did not approve of foreign intervention in Nepal in any way. As for Nepal and China, it was desirable that they should settle such problems as existed in regard to Tibet. The question of diplomatic representation could probably be dealt with by the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi also being accredited to Kathmandu. I pointed out that Nepal was passing through grave internal difficulties and we wanted to help her to get over them and not add to these difficulties.

34. Premier Chou asked me about the Afro-Asian Conference. I told him that we had agreed on the principle of it but, had not decided the details and that we were likely to meet soon at Djakarta to consider this matter. Premier Chou welcomed the idea and it was evident from his talk with me that he would like China to be invited to it.

35. I have given a brief summary of our talks. These talks both with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were frank and friendly. We did not discuss the theories or ideology underlying our respective political and economic structures. We knew that they were different and yet there was much in common in the work of both the countries and many of our problems were similar. We

entirely agreed that we should respect each other's viewpoints and without interference cooperate in dealing with our problems. More specially we should cooperate in the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world at large.

36. Essentially our problems were alike that is, vast countries and populations, chiefly agricultural, with low standards of living, and the necessity to raise these standards by industrialization and agricultural reform. Even in regard to floods, we had similar problems. Our approach to the solution of these problems was not the same and yet there was much in common with it and we could profit by each other's experience, provided always there was a friendly approach and no interference with each other.

37. I received an extraordinarily cordial welcome everywhere in China. This was not only an official welcome but a popular welcome also in which millions joined. I was greatly impressed by it. It was clear to me that this welcome represented something more than political exigency. It was almost an emotional upheaval representing the basic urges of the people for friendship with India.

38. I have no doubt at all that the Government and people of China desire peace and want to concentrate on building up their country during the next decade or two.

39. I saw many of the famous sights of Peking and elsewhere. I visited their steel plants in Manchuria to which a new addition had been made with Soviet help. This was a fine addition rapidly constructed. I also visited Dairen, their port and ship-building yard, and various factories.

40. Chairman Mao told me that they lacked technicians and that they were receiving a great deal of help from Soviet technicians which he welcomes. These technicians came for limited periods, trained the Chinese and went away. There were no political or other strings attached. In their recent agreement with the Soviet Government,<sup>3</sup> the Soviet had undertaken to put up 141 major enterprises in China as a part of the Five Year Plan.

41. I would add that I hardly saw the villages of China and my impressions were gathered entirely from the big cities. I visited Peking, Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Mukden, Anshan and Dairen. The major impression I got was of a country smoothly running with enormous potential strength which was being translated gradually into actual strength. The people I saw in the cities looked well-clad and well-fed, and I noticed no depression in face or

3. The Sino-Soviet Agreement, announced through a joint communique on 12 October 1954, provided for: restoration of Port Arthur to China by May 1955; grant of a long term credit of 520 million roubles to China; construction of two trans-border railway lines by the USSR; and relinquishing of the Soviet share in certain Sino-Soviet joint venture companies, formed in 1950 to assist in the economic development of China.

demeanour. Young men and girls and children were particularly in evidence and they were a pleasant-looking crowd, jolly and full of enthusiasm. Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of regimentation as it is called. Their discipline was remarkable. But I would say that the Chinese have always been a more or less disciplined people. The shops appeared to be full of goods. There were thousands of small privately owned shops. There were some big state-owned department stores. These were also full of various kinds of goods, though luxury articles were not in evidence. These department stores were crowded with literally thousands of persons.

42. Another impression that I gathered was of the essential Chineseness of almost everybody I met, from leaders to the public. Few persons know foreign languages. Everything is done in Chinese. Chinese art and cultural activities were encouraged and there was a great deal of pride in China's great past and cultural accomplishments. Chairman Mao, in the course of his talks with me, referred on two or three occasions to some lines of a Chinese poet of a thousand years ago.

43. I visited Chinese operas of the old style. I also saw a modern play of a propagandist nature.

44. I did not sense the presence of any fear among the Chinese. They had plenty of self confidence and self assurance.

45. It must be remembered that the Chinese passed through forty years' of revolution, war-lords, civil war, Japanese invasion and the World War. During this period, they had no peace or security. The mere coming of peace and security is a tremendous blessing for the people now. The feeling that they are strong and united and playing an independent part in the world adds to their self esteem.

46. I could not help feeling during my visit to China, even more than I have done before, how completely irrelevant was the idea that this great nation could be ignored or bypassed. The idea of not allowing them to function in the United Nations appeared fantastic. The time has passed when they can be injured much by this policy. It is the rest of world that is more likely to suffer from it.

47. I paid brief visits to Vientiane in Laos, Hanoi and Saigon, and Phnom Penh in Cambodia. I also visited the famous ruins of Angkor Wat. In all these places I met prominent personalities.

48. The person who impressed me most was Dr Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, who came to see me at Hanoi. Hanoi had passed into his hands just five days previous to my arrival. This was a peaceful and very disciplined transfer from the French to the Vietminh. Dr Ho Chi Minh impressed me as an unusually frank, straight-forward and likeable person. Although he has been engaged in a war for seven years against the French, he was the very reverse of a warlike person. He struck me as a man of peace and goodwill. He did not say a word against the French to me. Indeed, he expressed

his desire for cooperation with the French and even to be associated with the French Union, provided his country had complete independence. He mentioned the relationship of India with the Commonwealth and asked me for further particulars about it. It was evident that Vietminh was well organized and disciplined.

49. South Vietnam produced a completely opposite effect on me. The whole place seemed to be at sixes and sevens with hardly any dominant authority. The Prime Minister and his General were opposed to each other. There were three private armies of some kind of semi-religious sects. Foreign representatives apparently also pulled in different directions. It was generally estimated that if there was a vote now, ninety per cent or more of the population would vote for Vietminh. What would happen a year or two later, one could not say.

50. Laos also appeared to be a sleepy and rather depressing place. There was a good deal of French influence there still and the International Commission was facing rather difficult problems.

51. Cambodia was somewhat different. It could be considered more or less independent although there were one or two issues still to be settled with the French. The International Commission had completed the greater part of its labours and the Joint Commission of the two parties<sup>4</sup> had finished its work. The young King<sup>5</sup> is popular and is a bright and agreeable person. But it was said that he was in the hands of palace clique. Some of his high placed officers told me that unless the King got the support of some prominent leaders who stood for far reaching political and economic reforms, the future would not be happy.

52. Premier Chou En-lai asked me as to whether we were going to recognize these Indo-China States. I told him that for all practical purposes we were dealing with them, either through the International Commission or otherwise as if we had recognized them. We intended sending Consuls General to them. For the present, we did not intend going any further because of our delicate position as Chairman of the three International Commissions.

53. Since my talk with Premier Chou En-lai, I passed through Cambodia and I felt that the case of Cambodia was somewhat different from the others and we might perhaps go a little further in our relations with that State. We are considering this matter now.

4. See *post*, p. 101.

5. King Norodom Sihanouk

## 15. China's Desire for Peaceful Coexistence<sup>1</sup>

Norman Cliff wanted Nehru to give his reactions to the warm welcome he received in China.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Mr Cliff. I had a very cordial welcome which, from the popular side, was very spontaneous and I was naturally very much impressed by it. Even the weather cooperated and we had lovely weather in Peking in October when Premier Chou En-lai told that they wanted to be very hospitable to the guests. So they did and provided a cold wave when the Russians came and warmer weather when we came. But he was sorry that he could not provide a London for Mr Attlee.

Cliff wanted to know whether it was possible for India to emulate the discipline and enthusiasm of the Chinese in nation-building activities without resorting to regimentation.

JN: I think so, certainly, but not exactly the same type. It may be, we have seen in our country in the past, during Gandhiji's time, tremendous enthusiasm apart from our struggle, in nation-building activities, and we see even now, more especially in the rural areas, a great deal of enthusiasm and cooperation. It is difficult to compare and it may be that in China it is much more. But we certainly hope to increase the enthusiasm of our people and go ahead with these activities.

Cliff wanted to know whether it was possible without regimentation.

JN: Well, it is certainly possible. To what degree, is a matter for guessing. We may not be able to do it to the same extent as the Chinese but we prefer to do it our own way.

Cliff said that he felt that Nehru during his talks with the Chinese leaders expressed his viewpoints without trying to harmonize incompatible theories to reach agreement on particular problems and it was said that Nehru had opened windows overlooking Asia for his hosts, while they opened peepholes on the Russian side.

1. Interview to Norman Cliff, BBC, New Delhi, 19 November 1954. From *The Hindu*, 20 November 1954. Extracts.

JN: We did not discuss theories of any type. We knew that we were functioning with different political and economic structures, and we left it at that. There is no question of their opening peepholes on the Russian side. Certainly, they gave me many peepholes from the Chinese side, and I hope I made them understand the Indian side, as well as perhaps that of some other parts of Asia. The objectives in each case were building up of our country, raising our standards. We discussed these questions from the practice point of view entirely apart from theory. We discussed industrialization; we discussed flood control; we discussed land, population problems; we discussed finances even—how to raise money and all that kind of thing—on the basis, of course, of peaceful development. So, the means were peaceful and the aims were development. We did not discuss any theoretical approach to these problems. Peace was the basis of all these—world peace as well as internal peace.

Cliff asked whether Nehru thought that the Chinese leaders accepted the possibility of peaceful coexistence not only with friendly neighbours but those with whom relations are not so cordial at the moment.

JN: Surely, there is no question of having peaceful coexistence with friends, that is inevitable. When you refer to it you mean peaceful coexistence with those who are not friends. There is no doubt that the Chinese leaders meant it because they told me definitely and precisely that they wanted peaceful existence with those who are opposed to them and they were prepared to have friendly relations, diplomatic relations with countries including those who were opposed to them.

Cliff referred to Dulles' statement to the effect that there was no evidence of a change of intentions on the part of China and that subversive activities in South East Asia were becoming acute.

JN: My own impression is that the Chinese People's Government have given many evidence of their peaceful intention during the past several months. They, of course, deny any desire to interfere; I am not aware of any interference recently anywhere. It is a little difficult of course to judge of internal activities in a country which may have nothing to do with the Chinese Government.

Cliff asked whether Nehru had any evidence to that effect.

JN: I have no such evidence anywhere, but I do know that the Chinese leaders are very anxious to have these peaceful relations, and those peaceful relations can only subsist on a basis of non-interference. They realize that and they said, "we have no intention of interfering internally or externally."

Cliff said that meant Nehru accepted their word at its face value.

JN: For my part I accept their word because that word fits in with objective conditions in Asia and their country and in the world.

Cliff asked whether peaceful cooperation was possible so long as the Chinese people were kept misinformed about the world outside and now that Chinese people could learn, they were not allowed to know.

JN: Well, it is not quite correct to say they are not allowed to know. You may be correct in saying that the information available to them is limited. But that information is growing. We are receiving Chinese people in India to study in our institutes and other places. We are sending our people there. I am sure they would like to send their students and others to other countries too. Apart from this I have seldom come across—I am judging from impressions of large crowds and I am used to large crowds—a people inclined to more friendliness and peaceful cooperation. I am talking about crowds now so that whatever information they may have had or misinformation, has not affected their friendly approach.... The people everywhere are friendly and peaceful in the mass. Only I found—if I may use the word—a little more of it in China than I normally find anywhere else. Of course, in India it is different, I know my people.... I think that security can only be ensured by a friendly approach to each other. By an aggressive approach which has an element of threat or fear either way security is endangered. Of course, every country wants to take steps to protect itself from danger, but where an organised attempt is made apparently against another country or group, that immediately means that the other group is doing likewise. It is immaterial who takes the first step, the result is the same.

Now, I think a change is taking place since the Geneva Agreement and going into past history does not help much. And it is desirable since this Geneva Agreement to pursue that path further, not through any element of threat but rather by friendly cooperation and understanding.

Cliff asked whether that meant Nehru was proposing a continuance or resumption of the Geneva Conference?

JN: I would suggest so far as the Geneva Conference is concerned, in a sense, it is in existence for Indo-China, that is, in case something arises in the course of settlement in Indo-China. In the case of Korea, I would certainly suggest at the right time, I do not say immediately—the Conference should meet again to consider the Korean question.

About Nehru's declaration in a press conference<sup>2</sup> that India was not afraid of any other country whereas other countries were afraid, Cliff wanted to know on what was India's fearlessness based.

JN: May I say that when I said that I was not referring to powerful countries but rather to countries in Asia. I was not referring to other outside countries either. It is rather a long question to answer. First of all, we have been mentally conditioned by Gandhiji and that is important. I think secondly, even our geographical situation is such that it preserves us. Thirdly, we think we are not so weak as to internally or externally meet any danger if it comes, but we don't invite it by taking any steps to that end....

2. See *ante*, p. 73.

## 16. Consequences of Visit to China<sup>1</sup>

It is a little difficult to make an appraisal of the political consequences of my visit to China or to measure its effect on India's relations with China. Normally the political test is some pact or treaty or agreement or some guarantee asked for and given. Apart from these, the consequences, however great they might be, are imponderable. They can be seen and felt though it may be difficult to state them precisely.

I did not go to China as a casual tourist or visitor, nor did I go there to discuss the terms of any agreement, or ask for or given any guarantee. During the long talks I had with the leaders of the Chinese Government, at no stage was any reference made by either party to any pact or agreement. Those talks dealt with a large variety of subjects in which either of us or both were interested. Both of us knew well the differences in political or economic structure of our respective Governments and countries and we did not argue about these matters. Proceeding on that basis, we found a large measure of agreement in our approach to different questions and many problems, both internal and

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 22 November 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VI, Part I, 1954, cols. 343-348.

external, which were common to us. We discussed these frankly and without inhibitions or reservations. We found that such differences as existed in our political or economic structures need not come in the way of our cooperation in many fields and, more specially, in our working for peace in Asia and the world. Indeed, the basis of our talks was the preservation of peace, because we were both firmly of opinion that peace was essential in order to enable us to build up our respective countries, apart from its beneficial aspects in the world at large.

We envisaged peace not as a negative avoidance of war, but as something positive and healing, bringing in its train freedom from fear and suspicion and a measure of confidence, enabling progressive cooperation.

I did not go to China as a stranger to its past or present. For many years past, I had made some study of its history and great culture and paid particular attention to recent developments. And yet, the reading of books and the study of statistics do not always bring in their train an understanding and awareness of the larger meaning of events. I had hoped that some such closer understanding will come to me by a personal visit and by meeting those who were responsible for the new China. I think I can say that my visit was successful in this respect, as I hope and believe that Premier Chou En-lai's visit to India some months ago, brief as it was, gave him some clearer picture of our country and its hopes and urges.

The visit of Premier Chou En-lai to India and my visit in return opened up for both of us and, I think, our respective countries vast vistas of history as well as the present period of revolutionary change in Asia in its various forms. Although this past was our background and gave us the proper perspective, it was the present that absorbed our attention and the future that we were seeking to build.

I saw in China, as I hope Premier Chou En-lai sensed somewhat in India, the process of history in the making. I found China not only a country big in size but great in spirit, full of confidence in itself and determined to march ahead. The great changes that had come there during recent years had undoubtedly made a tremendous difference to the vast population of that country. Perhaps the greatest change of all was in the social sphere and yet, I also found that the people had their deep roots in the past and were not cut off from their great cultural inheritance which had been their pride. I found also a deep and widespread feeling of friendship for India and her people which itself was not an outcome of the present only, though the present had much to do with it, but had far-reaching roots.

All these matters are to me imponderables about which people may have differing opinions. But sometimes, the imponderables of history and current events are more important than factual data. I had a sense in China, as I often have in India, of the vast changes that were coming over this Asian continent

of ours, which had upset the old balances and were searching for a new equilibrium. Unless this overwhelming fact is recognised, and unless it is fully appreciated that there can be no reversal of these historic processes, there will be no understanding of what is taking place in various parts of Asia. Perhaps some of the difficulties of the present day world are due to a lack of understanding of this great development in human history.

The mere fact of a closer understanding between India and China is a factor of vital importance not only to these two countries but to others also. Therefore, the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to India and my visit to China assumed a significance of some historic importance.

Apart from conflicts which exist in many parts of the world, the major difficulty appears to be the prevalence of fear and the reactions to that all-pervading fear. The two great groups of nations which have been ranged against each other for several years suspect each other of aggressive designs. Each charges the other with evil intentions and with preparations for external aggression or internal subversion. Every act of one country or one group which is aimed at the other, leads to a counter act. Thus tension grows and the vicious circle continues.

We discussed this matter in Peking, as we had done previously in New Delhi, and we agreed that everything should be done to remove this fear and apprehension from men's minds, so as to produce an atmosphere which is more helpful in the consideration and solution of problems. The leaders of China assured me that they were anxious to do this and I have no doubt that they meant what they said, because the circumstances that exist today demand such a course of action even from the point of view of national interest. The Five Principles or the *Panch Shila* as I would like to call them, to which we agreed some months ago, appear to me to offer a firm basis for friendly intercourse between nations.

It has seemed to me that the people of every country desire peace and would like to be friendly with other countries, but circumstances come in the way of normal contacts and understanding and leads to deep distrust of each other. I feel that the removal of all these barriers to contact and understanding should go some way to remove this distrust. This understanding of each other has happened to some extent between India and China, and therefore, it has to be welcomed in the larger context also. It has been a step towards peace in Asia and even in the world. My visit to China might by itself have had no great importance. But, in the context of things today, it fitted in with a gradual change in the world situation and therefore, it was helpful. Hon. Members will remember the crises through which we have passed even during this year—in March and September—when war on a big scale appeared to be near. Fortunately those crises were passed without disaster and, in this matter, I should like to pay a tribute to the part played by the President of the United States of America

in the avoidance of war.<sup>2</sup> The Geneva Conference marked a turning point in postwar history. Unfortunately, the Manila Treaty came somewhat in the way of that new atmosphere which Geneva had started. Nevertheless, there have been many indications in recent months of this improved world atmosphere for which credit must go to all the Great Powers.

Briefly put, I would say that the political consequences of my visit to China were a deeper understanding between India and China and what they stand for and what they work for, and a knowledge that there is much in common in the tasks that confronts them, and it is desirable for them to co-operate in as large a measure as possible. India, as she is situated geographically and politically, can be of some service in interpreting some countries to others and thus helping to remove misunderstandings. Probably my visit also helped a little in easing the existing tensions in Indo-China and in South East Asia. As such, it helped in the larger and vital problems of world peace.

2. In March the Vietminh invaded Laos and war intensified in the Indo-China region. In September the attack on Quemoy and Amoy islands started triggering off a long drawn out battle between China and Taiwan. On both occasions it was anticipated that the USA would join in and enlarge the scale and scope of war, but at crucial junctures Eisenhower followed a policy of restraint.

## II. VISIT TO INDO-CHINA

### 1. Indo-China States and Geneva Agreement<sup>1</sup>

My visit to China was not for any set purpose but was a return visit. Naturally I wanted to continue the conversations I had had with the Prime Minister of China during his visit to Delhi and I also wanted to see as much of the new China as I could, during the few days of my visit. This visit to China gave me the opportunity, which I welcomed, to pay brief visits to the Indo-China States.<sup>2</sup> I went to Vientiane in Laos and to Hanoi on my way to China, and on my

1. Press statement and interview to Agence France Presse and Radio France, Palace of Independence, Saigon, 31 October 1954. From *Jawaharlal Nehru: Press Conferences, 1954*, Information Service of India, Government of India. Extracts.
2. Nehru was in Vientiane, capital of Laos, on 17 October and in Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam, on 17 and 18 October 1954. On his way back he stopped over at Hanoi on 30 October; in Saigon, capital of South Vietnam, on 30 and 31 October; and at Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia on 31 October and 1 November 1954.

return I am glad to visit Saigon. From here I shall go to Phnom Penh in Cambodia before returning to India.

Even though my visits had been brief, I have had the privilege of meeting leading personalities in all these countries and having talks with them. It was not my intention to interfere in any way with local problems or to ask for any assurances or guarantees. Naturally, I am deeply interested in the success of the work of the International Commissions in Indo-China<sup>3</sup> and in the continuance of peaceful conditions here. I am happy to find that these Commissions have received the cooperation of the Governments concerned and have been successful, thus far, in dealing with the problems presented to them. I am particularly pleased to learn that the Commissions are working harmoniously and that their decisions are unanimous. I am sure that given the necessary cooperation all round, even the most difficult problems will gradually be solved. I fully realise that the problems concerning Vietnam are formidable, but I earnestly hope that even these, if dealt with in a spirit of cooperation and peaceful settlement, will gradually be solved.

If there is any allegation of direct or indirect violation of the Geneva Agreements by any of the signatories, this should be considered by the International Commission. If that does not lead to a satisfactory result, the matter has to be referred to the Geneva Powers.

In the world today there are countries with differing ideologies. If war is ruled out between them, as it should be, then the only alternative is peaceful coexistence, recognizing the differences and deciding not to interfere with each other. Any other course means an attempt to crush the ideology or the structure of a government that one does not like, which means war on a world scale. That will make matters worse and will certainly not lead to the result aimed at, excepting wholesale destruction and, maybe, chaotic conditions afterwards. War in the modern world and with modern weapons has ceased to be an effective instrument of any policy, apart from its horrors.

The Five Principles which have been agreed to by India, China and Burma mean coexistence without interfering externally or internally in one another's problems. If these principles are acted upon, there should be no difficulty about coexistence. If they are not acted upon, then naturally conflicts will arise. I believe they will be acted upon, for the simple reason that it is to the advantage of every country to accept them. In any event, the fear that some country might not act upon them should not deter us from following the right course.

3. Three International Commissions for Supervision and Control, in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, set up under the Geneva Agreements of 21 July 1954 to supervise implementation of the Agreements were headed by India, with Canada and Poland as members. Their recommendations were to be by majority, except when dealing with violations of the Agreements which could lead to resumption of hostilities, in which case the decision had to be unanimous.

For fear of future conflict, we should not produce conflict now. The mere fact of agreement to act on those principles is itself a gain and a deterrent.

My visit to China has led me to believe that the people of China are anxious to have peace and avoid war. China's agreement with the Five Principles also indicates that they do not wish to interfere in the problems of other countries.

The only peaceful future for the Indo-China States is to be independent and not be interfered with by other countries. If there is interference on one side, this will not only be a breach of the Geneva Agreements but also an inducement to the other side to interfere, and thus will conflict arise.

I did not discuss with President Ho Chi Minh about the two Provinces to which reference is made. But President Ho Chi Minh assured me that he would abide by the Geneva Agreements fully.<sup>4</sup>

I have already expressed India's views in regard to the Manila Treaty.<sup>5</sup> We feel that this does not add to security or to the peaceful atmosphere generated by the Geneva Agreements.

I would welcome direct relations between the States of Indo-China. It is far better for them to deal directly with each other than through intermediaries.

Vietnam has been guaranteed full independence and has achieved it in a large measure. It is in a process of transition now and I hope at an early date this transition will be completed.

The Colombo Plan<sup>6</sup> has undoubtedly done some good to some of the under-developed countries in South East Asia. But the problems that these countries face are much bigger and can only be tackled by their own efforts.

I have no adequate knowledge of the success achieved by similar plans in the communist countries.

The problem of Formosa or Taiwan is undoubtedly difficult. I hope that it will be solved peacefully.

I believe in the freedom of the press. This is a part of the normal democratic principles. But in abnormal conditions, such as war, it is well known that abnormal remedies have to be applied. Conditions in Indo-China are far from normal and I am not competent to judge what should be done here and what should not be done.

4. In accordance with the Geneva Agreement, forces of both, the French and the Vietminh, were to withdraw in stages, within 300 days to regroupment zones on either side of a provisional military demarcation line which divided Vietnam at about 17° North. For the French it was laid down that they would withdraw from Haiduong perimeter within thirty days of the implementation of the Agreement and from the Haiphong perimeters within 230 days.

5. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 414-423.

6. Accepted at the Commonwealth Consultative Committee on Economic Development of South East Asia at Sydney, in May 1950, the Colombo Plan provided for technical assistance to the countries of Asia and South East Asia. A bureau was set up at Colombo, with eight million pounds, for this purpose.

My reference recently in India to my desire not to continue as President of the Congress Party and as Prime Minister is entirely a personal and domestic matter.<sup>7</sup> That does not mean that I am retiring from active politics and work. I shall continue to take full part in them. I do not propose to run away from difficult problems. What I had suggested was entirely a matter for our internal arrangement and involves no change in policy. I shall not come to any final decision till I have fully consulted my colleagues.

Question: What is your view on the question of the status of Chinese outside China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This question did not affect India as much as it did Indonesia and Burma. The Chinese Government had made it clear even earlier that they intended to leave this question to the wishes of the people concerned, either to become nationals of the countries concerned, or remain Chinese nationals. The Burmese Premier, U Nu, who was expected to visit China in the near future, might discuss this problem so far as it related to the Chinese in Burma.<sup>8</sup>

Q: How would you compare Dr Ho Chi Minh with President Diem?<sup>9</sup>

JN: It is an odd question to put to me. I have been greatly impressed by both these men and I have also found them desiring peace.

Q: Would the refugees from the North be happier and better off in the South?

JN: I cannot say anything on this matter. However, the refugees should be helped and rehabilitated with the least possible delay.

Q: Have you discussed the possibility of an air link between China and India with the Chinese leaders?

7. See *post*, pp. 312-316.

8. U Nu visited China in December 1954 and along with Chou issued a joint communique conveying desire of both the parties to settle the issue through normal diplomatic channels. A large number of Chinese residents in the border districts of Myanmar were actively aiding the KMT and the Myanmarese Communists, both of which were acting against Myanmar.

9. Ngo Dinh Diem (1901-1963). Premier of South Vietnam 1954-55, and its President till 1963 when he was assassinated in a coup. In September 1954, Diem succeeded in bringing together the three influential religio-military sects of Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen, to form a coalition Government. But his inability to take along the army continued to give rise to speculations regarding the stability of the Government.

JN: There had been some talk about this matter, but details are yet to be worked out.<sup>10</sup>

Q: Would Vietnam become another Korea and the partition likely to become permanent?

JN: These are hypothetical questions which no one can answer.

Q: Have you discussed the Five Principles with the Chinese leaders?

JN: I had mentioned these but did not discuss them at any length. The Five Principles can never be unacceptable to any one, but some people might doubt the possibility of their being acted upon.

Q: During your meeting with Dr Ho Chi Minh, have you gathered the impression that the President of North Vietnam is sincere in his desire to collaborate with France?

JN: Although it was my first meeting with Dr Ho Chi Minh, I was convinced that the President desired peace. Dr Ho had assured me that his Government would honour the Geneva Agreements completely and cooperate with France also in that process.

Q: Have any agreements been arrived at between India and China during your talks with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai?

JN: There have been no formal or informal agreements. I have mentioned the question of establishing a telephone link between China and India and the Chinese authorities have welcomed the idea.

Q: Are they convinced about the possibility of coexistence between communist and non-communist countries?

JN: There is no question of their being convinced or not convinced because this is the only possible course to be adopted if war is to be avoided. If this possibility does not succeed at any stage, conflict will certainly arise; but most people in the world have expressed a wish to make all possible effort to avoid a war. As far as China is concerned, the Chinese authorities are, at the moment, very busy with their present Five Year Plan and also subsequent Five Year Plans. They are very anxious to establish their economy on a firm footing and

10. See *ante*, p. 28.

they are all the time thinking seriously in terms of economic rehabilitation and progress in general; the Chinese authorities naturally wish to avoid anything that will come in the way of their progress.

Q: Did you discuss the question of Chinese support to the revolutionary movements in other countries?

JN: The Five Principles expressly refer to non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another.

Q: Have you discussed the present world situation with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai and do you regard it as an improvement on the past?

JN: The Geneva Agreements not only signify cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, but are also a significant contribution to an easing of international tension.

Q: What are the difficulties that stand in the way of peace in Asia?

JN: This depends largely on what is meant by the term 'peace'. If by 'peace' one means absence of war, then peace does prevail for the moment, but there are still a few problems which give rise to a state of tension in the world. The problems of Korea and Formosa, as well as the general situation in Indo-China have not been completely solved. I did not discuss Formosa with the Chinese leaders, but it is obvious that the Chinese Government and the Chinese people feel strongly about this problem. No proposal have been made by me but I feel that every difficult problem can be solved peacefully, provided the parties concerned are sincere in their desire for a settlement.

Q: Would the Government of India recognize the Indo-China States?

JN: Although India has not formally recognized them mainly because of her being on the International Supervisory Commission, for all practical purposes India recognises the Indo-China States and has dealings with them....

I wish to refer to the Agreement recently arrived at between the Governments of India and France about French Settlements in India.<sup>11</sup> This is very significant, because it shows that with the goodwill and cooperation of the countries concerned, every difficult problem can be solved. The actual handing over of the French settlements to Indian authorities is to take place on November 1, 1954. The result of the Agreement is not only the settlement of a

11. The Agreement was arrived at on 21 October 1954. See *post*, p. 224.



WITH NORMAN CLIFF, DEREK HOLROYDE, BBC, NEW DELHI, 19 NOVEMBER 1954



AT THE CHILDREN'S PALACE, SHANGHAI, 28 OCTOBER 1954

very old and difficult problem, but the actual creation of greater goodwill and friendship between India and France. India has given assurances that it would help to maintain Pondicherry as a centre of French culture and the French language. Actually, this has brought India and France even closer to each other than ever before....

## 2. A New Beginning for Cambodia<sup>1</sup>

Your Majesty,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,  
On coming to Cambodia today, I have fulfilled a long cherished desire—a desire cherished for many years. It so happens that I have come here on an auspicious day that is your Majesty's birthday also. As you have said, Cambodia can rightly claim to be independent. So my coming here has been doubly fortunate and it has been a great pleasure to meet your Majesty and you Ministers here. For many years past, I have thought of this country because it represented to my mind a place where the genius of India had cooperated with the genius of this country to accomplish something which is magnificent and is said to be one of the finest manifestations of human genius—Angkor. So, whenever I used to think of Cambodia, I used to think first in terms of that old friendship and comradeship between our peoples which yielded such rich results. Then other factors intervened; other problems came in the way. We were cut off from each other for a long period and then something happened and is still happening. That is Asia began to wake up and change. I have been trying to understand, in so far as I can, this changing face of Asia. To me it is a fascinating spectacle. I do not like some things in it, though I like some things very much. But it is not a question of my liking or disliking, but the fact of a tremendous change coming over this ancient continent. It is time of course that it changed. We were long enough in a more or less stagnant condition. Even now during the last two weeks or so, I have been watching at close quarters this changing face of Asia. The contacts of India were particularly in South East Asia and so, I have been particularly interested not only as a reader of history but, if I may say so, emotionally interested in these changes. Inevitably they led me to think of picking up the old threads with our neighbour countries, and fate and circumstances have to some extent brought that about. So, I am particularly happy that we in India are coming closer to this little country,

1. Speech at a banquet given in his honour by King Norodom Sihanouk at Palais Khemarin, Phnom Penh, 31 October 1954. From the Press Information Bureau.
2. Prince Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia/Kampuchea.

which is so rich in past achievements and history. I hope that our cooperation will continue to the advantage of both and to closer friendship and comradeship. Your Majesty has referred to many things, to the role of India in your own struggle for freedom, and the principles we followed therein and also to our present policy. It is not for me to say anything at this stage about our past struggles and our present policies. I speak often enough about them and I can only say this, that as in the past, so now, we struggle hard to do what we think is right. We may make mistakes. I have no doubt that we make mistakes. Once we are convinced that a course is the right one, we follow it. Above all, we try to work for peace and for friendship between nations. I believe we have succeeded in some measure in having that friendship of many nations even though we may not agree with them and they may not agree with us. I am convinced that there is no other way for the world at present except to tolerate each other and all that goes with tolerance. Your Majesty has referred to problems, difficulties, and tribulations through which your country has passed. We are all well aware of that and if I may say so, we have extended to you our full sympathy. But may I add that countries, like human beings, are only made through trials and tribulations, and not through a succession of soft living. If India has made some progress today and has a unity of spirit and strength, it is because we have for some generations struggled hard and thereby, strengthened ourselves and have confidence in ourselves. So there is also a good side to the suffering of nations, provided we can profit by it. Anyhow, that chapter has ended in Cambodia and a new chapter is beginning which will bring prosperity to her people as it has brought freedom. This is your Majesty's birthday and I am sure I represent all those present here to wish your Majesty many happy returns. In saying this I am not just referring to you as a King but, if I may say so, as something bigger than a King. You have been a patriot leader of your people. That is the right honour than any other. Therefore, I ask all of your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of His Majesty, patriot leader of this country.

### 3. Situation in Indo-China<sup>1</sup>

...Question: In the beginning you said you would touch upon China and Indo-China. You have not said anything about Indo-China.

1. Press conference, New Delhi, 13 November 1954. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For the other part of the press conference relating to visit to China, see *ante*, pp. 72-77.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All right. Shall I say something about Indo-China? In Indo-China, as you know, there are at present practically speaking four States functioning—Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. So far as the Vietnam States are concerned, two years after the Geneva Agreement, they are supposed to have an election and that presumably will decide the fate of Vietnam.<sup>2</sup> Laos and Cambodia stand on a different footing. Even as between the two, they are different in the sense that Cambodia offered fewer initial problems to our International Commission, and the International Commission has largely finished its work; not quite completely, but major problems have been dealt with. You will remember that in addition to the International Commissions in all these places, there were Joint Commissions<sup>3</sup> of the rival parties. Now, the Joint Commission in Cambodia has finished its work. The International Commission continues but having done the major part of its work, if I may use the word in a metaphorical sense, is “mopping up” little problems here and there. The Laos problems are comparatively more complicated and the International Commission has much more to do.<sup>4</sup> So there are these variations in these places. I saw a number of important persons there on both sides. In Laos I saw the Crown Prince,<sup>5</sup> the Prime Minister,<sup>6</sup> Members of Government; in Hanoi, Dr Ho Chi Minh, the Foreign Minister<sup>7</sup> and other Ministers; in Saigon I met the Prime Minister and other Ministers and then finally in Cambodia the

2. The two States of Vietnam were created in September 1945 when the French recaptured large portions of South Vietnam territory, including Cochin China, from the Vietminh and entered into an agreement with the Vietminh regarding the line of control between the North and South Vietnam. In December 1946, the French accorded recognition to the Communist North Vietnam state. Till the Geneva Conference in July 1954, it was hoped that the two States might be merged. The Agreement at Geneva mentioned that after withdrawal of forces, a general election should take place in July 1956. It is worthwhile to note that the Government of South Vietnam did not sign the Agreement.
3. Joint Commissions, composed of an equal number of military representatives of the warring sides in each State, were set up under the Geneva Agreements to ensure that the provisions of the ceasefire were observed. If the joint commission disagreed on the interpretation of a provision or on the appraisal of a fact, the dispute was to be referred to the International Commission. The main function of these joint commissions were: to provide direct contact between belligerents and to provide channels and machinery to the International Commission to resolve disputes.
4. The problem regarding Laos arose along with the Geneva Agreement, which was signed by the Commander in Chief of French Union in Indo-China and the Commander of Pathet Lao and the Peoples Army of Vietnam, leaving out the King of Laos. The state of affairs in Laos were complicated by all the above mentioned forces controlling small pockets and pulling the country in different directions, making it difficult for the International Commission to function efficiently.
5. Crown Prince Savang.
6. Prince Souvanna Phuma.
7. Pham Van Dong.

King and his Ministers and some others who used to be what might be called the rebel leaders, who now acknowledged the King, and were working with him.<sup>8</sup> Everyone I met assured me that they were anxious to work out the Geneva Agreement fully. There were some slight complaints of the other party, that they were not likely to do it, or that they were not doing it fully, but everybody had agreed to work it out, and if I may say so, thus far by and large, this has been done by all the parties, although they may occasionally differ about minor matters. And it is rather extraordinary to find how well the three International Commissions had functioned, that is, the Indian Chairman, the Poles and the Canadians. So far as I know there has been no major disagreement among them and most decisions have been unanimous, if not all, thus far, in spite of their approaches being not the same. So they are working in a very cooperative way and they are getting a great deal of help from all the people there.

Q: Has your attention been drawn to a report in this morning's paper about Mr Dulles' statement?

JN: What was it? I don't remember.

Q: The statement in which he describes—I will read only just one sentence—he described the situation in the southern half of Vietnam as “extremely confused” and he hoped the SEATO would meet soon to discuss the “acute threat” of communist subversion in the treaty area, particularly in Indo-China.

JN: I have not seen this morning's paper. I am sorry I had not the time to read it. Who said what?

Q: Mr Dulles said that the State of things in Vietnam was confused.

JN: Yes, if I may say so, I entirely agree with him, it is confused.

Q: But he has asked for a meeting of the SEATO to discuss it. At the day before yesterday's press conference, he said the terms of the Geneva Agreement were being defeated.

JN: By whom?

Q: By the International Commission.

8. Most prominent of them was Son Ngoc Thanh, leader of Khmer Nationalist movement. He was imprisoned by the French from 1945-51, when at Norodom Sihanouk's intervention, he was freed.

JN: Not by the International Commission, surely.

Q: He was talking about the Vietminh.

JN: Yes, as I said, these charges are being made by both sides. Charges are being made by the Vietminh people also. But I don't think there has been any major infringement from either side. I may give an instance. In Cambodia all the foreign troops enumerated have withdrawn. They have been withdrawn definitely. But some small groups or "cells" of outsiders, they say, are still there in distant hills. This was said to me. I asked the International Commission and they said, "Yes. We have been told about this. We have completed our work so far as the lists supplied to us are concerned about the withdrawal of troops. They have been withdrawn wherever they were. But when this was mentioned to us, we asked for a formal complaint, so that we could investigate it. We have not yet received that formal complaint and as soon as we get it, we will investigate it." And you know communications are bad. So there may be some small group here and there still in the distant hills. But all the big problems have been cooperatively settled; petty things may remain.

Q: Mr Dulles was saying that the situation in South Vietnam was confused and that there is a communist threat there and so he wanted the SEATO powers to meet and consider what action they could take.

JN: Well, as I said, Mr Dulles' statement about the confused state of South Vietnam is not only perfectly correct, but he has put it moderately, if I may say so. And the SEATO or SEADO may meet or may not meet, I know nothing about it. But I may say one thing with reference to SEATO or SEADO, whatever it may be, it is hardly a correct designation for an organisation which has not too much to do with Asia at all....

#### **4. Situation in Cambodia<sup>1</sup>**

There is, I think, much truth in this survey though I differ basically in his

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 29 November 1954. JN Collection.

proposals to meet the situation in Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> It is fantastic, at this moment of crisis, to spread the widespread teaching of the English language as a means of fostering the introduction of fresh ideas and of creating a new professional and commercial class.

2. It seemed clear to me, even with the limited opportunity I had in Cambodia, that the King could not continue as an autocratic monarch for long.<sup>3</sup> Such popularity as he had would gradually fade away unless something was done. That something could only be an alliance with the Democratic Party (the Issarak). The principal leader of the Issarak is Son Ngoc Thanh,<sup>4</sup> whom I met. (I hope I am not getting mixed up in these names which were rather confusing. I am referring to the Issarak leader and not to the communist leader whose name is rather similar.)<sup>5</sup>

3. Although the King had pardoned the Issarak leader, their relations were obviously strained and Son Ngoc Thanh kept away in the forests. I gathered from various sources that this man was not only by far the ablest administrator in Cambodia but had a big following. There was no doubt that, if a fair election was held, his party, namely, the Democratic Party would win easily. Son Ngoc Thanh was Prime Minister some years ago.<sup>6</sup>

2. The survey was prepared as a background for the new British Head of Mission for Cambodia by Littlejohn Cook, the British Charge d'affaires in Phnom Penh. Cook had averred that while the Americans and the French were concentrating upon building up the material strength of Cambodia, the British effort should be concentrated upon "raising the educational standard of the nation, both with a view to replacing gradually the foreign experts with Cambodian technicians and...to weaken the influence of the backward looking priesthood."
3. Norodom Sihanouk, the King of Cambodia since 1941, got into trouble with the Democratic Party controlled National Assembly over the Treaty of November 1949 with France, which granted de jure independence to Cambodia. Under pressure from the French to remove anti-French elements from his Government—mainly the Democrats—he dissolved the National Assembly in January 1953 and declared martial law. In November 1953, he successfully negotiated the independence of his country with the French, but that still did not endear him to his people, the priesthood or the Democrats.
4. Educated in France, Thanh came back to Cambodia in 1930 and joined as the Librarian of the Buddhist Institute at Phnom Penh. He founded the first Khmer language newspaper, *Nokor Wat* in 1936, and led a nationalist demonstration against the French in 1942. He was known to be a republican and had close relations with the US secret service.
5. Son Ngoc Minh, whose real name was Thach Choeun, was the Chairman of the Kampuchean Communist Organisation in 1951. He lived in Hanoi since 1951, had very little to do with the politics of Cambodia and died in 1972.
6. Thanh was the head of the Government for a few months in 1945, during the Japanese occupation of Cambodia.

4. Son Ngoc Thanh was reputed to be anti-monarchist. I spoke to him about this matter and suggested to him that any such policy in present circumstances was not advisable. I told him I was myself a republican and India was a Republic. He agreed with me and said that he did not wish to press this and he quite recognised that it would be better for the King to continue. But he insisted on democratic liberties and social reforms. At present there are no democratic liberties in Cambodia and the King's rule is autocratic, tempered only by the advice of some close associates and chiefly his mother, who is said to be a strong personality and who is rather friendly to the Americans.

5. Even the Governor of Siem Reap<sup>7</sup> told me that the only hope for Cambodia was for the King to come to terms with Son Ngoc Thanh. If this happened, then the elections would be successfully conducted and lead to a democratic Government with the King as a constitutional ruler.<sup>8</sup>

6. It is evident that neither the British nor the Americans like Son Ngoc Thanh although he is not a communist.

7. It is because of this that the British envoy is so unhappy particularly because Son Ngoc Thanh is the outstanding figure. The other important figure is the communist leader. The only way to deal with the communist leader and his followers is with the help of the Democratic leader. If both are made enemies, then the King's position will become progressively feeble and he can only continue with foreign help.

8. The position as I saw it was that a number of prominent Cambodians were rather sitting on the fence waiting for developments and more especially to see what the King would do. They were very much opposed to the immediate entourage of the King and especially his mother.

9. The Bonzes referred to are the Buddhist monks. It is perfectly true that they have sided with the Democrats or with the communists. They are popular with the people and represent the people's urges for reform. It is no good saying, as Mr Cook says, that they are reactionary conservatives.<sup>9</sup>

7. Siem Reap was a province in Cambodia which was for long under Thai occupation. After the de jure transfer of power by the French to Cambodia on 8 November 1949, the province was returned to Cambodia, but remained a bone of contention between Thailand and Cambodia, and the abode of Khmer resistance groups.

8. Earlier, Sihanouk's experience of holding an election had not been very encouraging. In order to oust the Democrats he held an election in September 1951, where the Democrats won a 2/3rd majority. The tussle between the two groups, along with the involvement of the major Western powers in their politics made Cambodia the most difficult country for the International Commission.

9. Contrary to Cook's perception, the Buddhist clergy of Cambodia were deeply nationalist and played a vital role in spreading the anti-French sentiments among the people. In the 1942 movement, according to the communist sources, about 4,000 monks participated. In fact, the demonstration started in protest against the arrest of one Achar Hem Chieun, a prominent monk.

### III. PRELUDE TO BANDUNG

#### 1. Inclusion of China<sup>1</sup>

We have no desire to create a bad impression about anything in the US or the UK. But the world is somewhat larger than the US and the UK and we have to take into account what impressions we create in the rest of the world. In particular, we have to take into account the impressions created in our own country. For us to be told, therefore, that the US and the UK will not like the inclusion of China in the Afro-Asian Conference is not very helpful.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it is somewhat irritating. There are many things that the US and the UK have done which we do not like at all.

2. As for the sentence of American prisoners in China, I find it incomprehensible how the UN can condemn a nation in a one-sided way as they have done.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to the Secretary General, 18 December 1954. JN Collection.
2. Ali Yavar Jung, the Indian Ambassador at Cairo, had informed Nehru on 16 December 1954 that the Americans had brought pressure on the Arab States representatives in Cairo not to participate in the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference, in case People's Republic of China was one of the invitees. It was further rumoured by 'certain interested quarters' that the suggestion of inclusion of China had emanated from India, knowing fully well that it would not be acceptable to the Arab countries, who recognised Nationalist China.
3. The UN General Assembly on 10 December 1954 passed a resolution directing the Secretary General to "secure the release and freedom" of American prisoners in Chinese detention. See also *post*, p. 213.

## 2. Thoughts on Afro-Asian Conference<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the proposal to have an Afro-Asian Conference was made by the Prime Minister of Indonesia at the Colombo Conference, we have given much thought to it.<sup>2</sup> The proposal was obviously attractive and it was desirable that there should be some such meeting. But, the moment one began to think about it, various difficulties arose. Who was to sponsor this Conference? Who was to be invited? What should be the purpose of the Conference? What should be the agenda? And, finally, the date and venue of the Conference.

2. So far as the venue is concerned, it is generally agreed that the Conference should take place in Indonesia. India is quite agreeable to this. The date will, no doubt, be settled at the meeting at Djakarta to be held soon. The difficulty about the date is that any such Conference requires a good deal of previous preparation. On the other hand, to postpone the Conference for a considerable time also appears to be undesirable.

3. The sponsors of the Conference should presumably be the five Colombo Conference countries, namely, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India, provided, of course, all the five are willing to sponsor it. If, by any chance, any of them is not so willing, then the remaining countries will have to sponsor it. The sponsoring countries should share the cost of the Conference.

4. The purpose of the Conference can only be defined in general terms, that is, to bring these countries closer to one another, to enable them to discuss broad problems which are common to them, to facilitate their cooperation with each other, etc. Obviously the maintenance of peace must be in the forefront. Most countries that attend will be interested in the removal of colonialism and racialism. Economic cooperation should also be considered.

5. The countries that participate in the Conference have differing political and economic policies. They have also their particular problems and, sometimes, there are problems inter se. Any discussion of controversial political issues between any two or more countries would not be desirable in the Conference. Such issues can only be considered by the countries concerned themselves and not in a Conference of this kind. Broad issues, however, might be considered even though there is some slight difference of opinion or emphasis. The whole

1. Note, 20 December 1954. JN Collection.

2. The proposal was made by Ali Sastroamidjojo on 30 April 1954, during the sixth session of the Colombo Conference. For Nehru's views on the proposal see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 431-433. The second meeting of the Colombo Powers to draw up an agenda for the Afro-Asian Conference took place at Bogor, Indonesia, on 28 and 29 December 1954.

object should be to create an atmosphere of cooperation and to put Asia and Africa more in the world picture. During the last few years, the position of Asia in world affairs has gradually changed and the relationship of Asian nations to European or American nations is also a changing one. The old balances no longer hold good and Asia and Asian problems cannot be treated as the sole concern of non-Asian countries.

6. Better understanding of and between the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa and good neighbourliness as between them should receive consideration. The Five Principles which should govern their relations with each other and which were agreed to in the communications exchanged between India, Burma and China, may well form the basis of such consideration.

7. We have no desire to impose these Five Principles as such on other countries or to consider them as unalterable in their present form, but they do represent a reasonable approach for the problems of today. In world affairs, lowering of existing tensions and the necessity for countries of differing systems of government and ideologies, respecting each other's sovereignty and independence and without interference in each other's internal affairs and also without basing their mutual relations on conflict and armaments, should be considered. This alternative is often referred to as peaceful coexistence.

8. As this will be the first Conference of its kind, we shall have to proceed a little cautiously so as to attain some results and avoid too many differences on highly controversial topics. Controversial topics cannot wholly be avoided where opinions differ on the basic approach to world problems. But they can well be avoided on specific issues.

9. The agenda for the Conference ought to be a broad and general one. In fact, there should be no formal agenda at all to begin with. Only certain general subjects need be indicated. This is the usual practice in Conferences of the kind we propose to convene. For example, in Conferences of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, where, as is known, there are marked differences among the participating countries and yet, it is possible to discuss these subjects and, sometimes, arrive at some general conclusions.

10. It would, therefore, be desirable to indicate these broad subjects and inform the countries invited about them, adding that the real agenda will be drawn up when the conference itself meets. This appears to be the proper course. Any other course might well be objected to by the other countries who might say that they were not consulted about the agenda.

11. Probably, the most difficult point to be decided now is the composition of the Conference, that is, who should be invited. At one time, it was suggested that the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations might be invited. This excludes some important countries and it, therefore, is unsatisfactory. Indeed, any approach, which is a selective and exclusive one, would lead to difficulties. What test are we to apply to the process of selection? In view of the two great

rival blocs of powers, any selective process will be criticised and might well be unfair to one or the other. Therefore, some general rule has to be applied which is, for all practical purposes, inclusive of the sovereign countries in these two continents.

12. I, therefore, feel that we must invite every independent country in these areas, subject to some minor variations which I suggest below.

13. I would not invite the Soviet Asian Republics. We should consider the Soviet Union as a unit. It can hardly be described as an Asian Power. Therefore, we should leave out the Soviet Asian Republics.

14. In Asia, apart from the five Colombo Conference countries, the independent countries are:-

- (i) Japan
- (ii) China
- (iii) The Philippines
- (iv) Thailand
- (v) Nepal
- (vi) Afghanistan
- (vii) Iran
- (viii) Turkey
- (ix) Iraq
- (x) Saudi Arabia
- (xi) Yemen
- (xii) Lebanon
- (xiii) Syria
- (xiv) Jordan
- (xv) Israel

There are also four States in Indo-China which occupy a somewhat peculiar position.

15. It is difficult to differentiate between the four States of Indo-China for the purposes of our Conference. We have to invite them all or none. They constitute a major issue in the context of peace and stability in South East Asia. They participated in the Geneva Conference and were treated as four independent units, each speaking in its own name. Therefore, I think that we should invite all of them, namely, Vietminh or North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

16. Logically speaking, we should include Israel as not only an independent country, but one represented in the United Nations. It is likely that the Arab countries will take strong exception to the participation of Israel. The sponsoring countries should seek to explain to the Arab countries that the basis of the Conference is of "no exclusions" and the sponsoring countries, or the majority of them, are alone responsible for the invitations and that the presence of an invited country does not constitute or suggest any change in the relationship of

one invited to another. Further, as China must, I think, be invited, if there is to be a proper conference at all, it could be less embarrassing for states, who have not recognised China, if another state to which also they have strong objections, who is in the area, is invited. The Arab countries might first refuse to attend or raise objections, but we should seek to persuade them. They could be informed that they can make their position quite clear. After all, such a Conference includes all kinds of countries and an invitation does not mean agreement with that country. We sit in the UN with countries with whom we disagree or with whom we have no diplomatic relations. However, in the final analysis, I think it is better not to include Israel if that is likely to lead to the Arab countries keeping away.<sup>3</sup>

17. I think it is not at all feasible for us to invite Formosa. The sponsoring countries do not recognise the Formosa Government and four of them recognise the People's Government of China. We cannot invite both China and Formosa.

18. It has been said that if the People's Government of China is invited, this will displease the USA and I understand that some pressure has been brought to bear on some of the countries which might be invited, in regard to China.<sup>4</sup> I feel that it would be out of the question for us to leave out China. Most of us are pressing for the inclusion of China in the UN and for us not to invite China would be opposed to our entire policy. It would also be a little absurd for Asian countries to meet and the biggest Asian country to be left out. Nobody can accuse us of inviting countries belonging to one group of nations when we are inviting, at the same time, the other group fully; but we will be accused of partiality if we do not invite China and there will be no answer to that accusation. Therefore, I feel that China has to be invited even though this might displease some people. It must be remembered that we are likely to invite Japan, Thailand, the Philippines and Turkey which are definitely aligned with the opposite group. Some countries of Western Asia may also perhaps be said to be inclined that way.

19. Therefore, I would suggest that, of the countries of Asia, the following should be invited (the five sponsoring countries are not mentioned below):-

- (1) Japan
- (2) China
- (3) The Philippines
- (4) North Vietnam (Vietminh)

3. Ali Yavar Jung the Indian Ambassador in Cairo had informed Nehru on 16 December 1954 that the Arab States were being very 'sensitive' regarding the possible inclusion of Israel in the Afro-Asian Conference. They alleged that it was well known that the Arabs never sat together with Israel and that the Afro-Arab-Asian group in the UN did not include Israel. Ali Yavar Jung felt that at Bogor, Pakistan was likely to voice the Arab objections.

4. See *ante*, p. 106.

- (5) South Vietnam
- (6) Laos
- (7) Cambodia
- (8) Thailand
- (9) Nepal
- (10) Afghanistan
- (11) Iran
- (12) Turkey
- (13) Iraq
- (14) Jordan
- (15) Syria
- (16) Lebanon
- (17) Saudi Arabia
- (18) Yemen

20. In considering countries in Africa, we have to face the difficulty of colonial powers. There are few independent countries. South Africa is independent, but, in the circumstances, I do not think we can invite it. If we did invite it, our invitation would be refused. The Central African Federation stands on a somewhat different footing and we may consider whether it should be invited or not. I have no objection to its being invited. If they are present, it will be good for them to feel the weight of Asian opinion. Also the deferential treatment offered to them, as compared to the Union of South Africa, might be a good thing. In the larger context of world politics and in our approach to Asian and colonial problems, we should seek to avoid drawing racial and colour bars. The chances are that they may not accept the invitation, but it would be worthwhile to invite them.

21. The other independent countries in Africa are:-

- (1) Egypt
- (2) Ethiopia
- (3) Libya
- (4) Liberia.

Sudan and the Gold Coast are not completely independent, but they are well on the way to it. They are important and I think that they should be invited.

22. The other countries of Africa are under colonial administrations. However much we might sympathize with them, it is difficult to include them in this list.

23. Thus, we might invite from Africa:-

- (1) Egypt
- (2) Sudan
- (3) Ethiopia
- (4) Libya

(5) Liberia

(6) The Gold Coast and, possibly, (7) The Central African Federation.

24. I do not think we should invite Australia or New Zealand as they are outside the Afro-Asian area.

25. I think that we should only have full members of the Conference and not Observers.

26. If we want this Conference to be businesslike and effective, we cannot make it a vague, amorphous gathering. It should be strictly a ministerial level Conference, and I would invite each country on the list to send, as its representative, its prime minister or its foreign minister. Each delegation can, of course, have advisers.

27. Once a decision has been taken on these preliminary issues, it will be necessary to set up a secretariat to undertake the preliminary work which will be heavy. The secretariat should be set up in the country where the Conference is going to be held. It should consist of representatives of the sponsoring countries. As I have said above, the expenditure of the Conference should be shared equally by the sponsoring countries.

### 3. Objective of the Proposed Conference<sup>1</sup>

Prime Minister, I would like to express my gratitude to you and to your Government for the fact that we are meeting here today.<sup>2</sup> When we met at the Colombo Conference at the instance of Sir John Kotelawala, I ventured to say that the mere fact of our meeting there was of historical significance. That has been justified by subsequent events and the fact that a good part of the world took then a great deal of notice of our meeting and of what we decided. In fact, it may be said that the deliberation of the Geneva Conference which was held about that time were considerably influenced by our recommendations in regard to Indo-China.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, our meeting here today is of importance not

1. Statement at the first session of the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo Countries, Bogor, 28 December 1954. From the *Short Report on the First Session of the Conference*. JN Collection.

2. The Conference was opened by Ali Sastroamidjojo, who recalled the important developments in Asia since the Colombo Conference. He also put forward the items for the consideration of the Conference. The Myanmarese Premier, U Nu, contended that the Conference should not aim towards creation of a power bloc, but through mutual understanding 'enlarge the area of peace.'

3. The Colombo Powers recommendations urged an immediate ceasefire in Indo-China by an agreement and not adding to the "war potential of the combatants." See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 423-426.

only to our respective countries, but in a much larger and wider sense. From that flow certain consequences and responsibilities for us. For instance, because of our recommendations in regard to Indo-China, certain actions were taken there and in a sense we are very much interested in that, partly because it is in this area in which we are specially interested and also partly because our recommendations were largely adopted. As you have said, Sir, and the Prime Minister of Burma, the tensions in South East Asia have been lessening considerably. Therefore, we are interested in these developments and in the carrying out of the Agreements arrived at in Geneva. Then we are naturally interested in other aspects of the world situation because whatever happens elsewhere affects Asia and our countries. You said, Sir, that the prospects of peace are better. I agree with you that many things that have happened in the course of the last few months have eased tensions. Nevertheless, we cannot be complacent, and in fact there are events happening both in Europe and Asia which fill one with some concern. You referred, Sir, to the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to India and Burma and to U Nu's visit and my visit to China. Those visits have led me, and I believe U Nu also, to some greater understanding of the position in China and the relation of China with other countries. Recently, as you all know, the President of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia visited India and he is going to visit Burma soon. Naturally, I took advantage of that visit and had talks with him and at the end of our talks we issued a joint statement which you, no doubt, have seen.<sup>4</sup> For facility of reference I shall distribute copies to the Prime Ministers present here. That statement, you will see, is largely in line with our thoughts, as previously expressed. So, I am glad that while we meet here for a specific purpose, namely of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference, this gives us an opportunity to discuss other developments too. The Prime Minister of Ceylon, and a little earlier the Prime Minister of Pakistan, have also been visiting distant countries and meeting statesmen and it is of advantage to all of us to know these major world problems that are so closely related to each other and affect us.

In so far as the main purpose of our meeting is concerned, i.e., the proposal to have an Afro-Asian Conference, we agreed to it in principle in Colombo and I have no doubt that subsequent thinking has confirmed all of us in the desirability of having such a Conference; and the reactions we have had also, generally speaking, from other countries in Asia and Africa have been favourable. Again, the mere fact of our thinking in these terms is itself important

4. Tito was in India from 16 December 1954 to 3 January 1955. The joint statement issued on 23 December 1954, underlined the need for peaceful coexistence for the survival of the world communities and declared that the adherence to *Panch Shila* would "widen the area of peace and diminish the terrible prospect of war and open up greater opportunities of world cooperation."

because, apart from the problems of individual countries in Asia and Africa—and those problems are important—there is a basic problem of Asia and Africa, if I may use the words, pulling their weight together regarding their own problems in world affairs. But the position has changed greatly in the last few years because of countries becoming independent. That process is not complete yet, either in Asia or in Africa. Nevertheless, Asia certainly has been exercising more influence and that influence has been exercised in the direction of peace. It is important that we should help this Conference and the subsequent bigger Conference that we are thinking of, to help to place Asia and Africa in proper perspective in the world, because the old perspectives no longer apply. Although they do not apply, nevertheless, it is difficult for some people in other countries to realise that the world has changed and the old balances are no longer there. Therefore, it is of particular importance that this Afro-Asian Conference should meet at a suitable time and discuss broadly the questions that are common to us. I do not wish to say anything about that Conference now because that is the main subject of our Conference. I agree with U Nu that it is not our purpose in meeting here today or at a later date in that Conference to form blocs and the like. We meet for mutual cooperation amongst ourselves as well as with others.<sup>5</sup>

Thank you.

5. Nehru was followed by Mohammad Ali, the Pakistan Prime Minister, and John Kotelawala, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister. Ali emphasised the need for adherence to the principles underlying the UN Charter for promotion of peace. Kotelawala urged the Premiers of India and Myanmar to narrate their experience of their visit to China and speak about the impressions that they gathered about the Chinese attitude.

#### 4. Discussions on the International Situation<sup>1</sup>

...The Indian Prime Minister found himself in full agreement with the idea.<sup>2</sup> He

1. Statement at the second session of the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo Countries, Bogor, 29 December 1954. From the *Short Report on the Second Session of the Conference*. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Ali Sastroamidjojo had suggested that the Conference should have some general discussion on the international situation, especially about Indo-China, because the Colombo Conference too had dwelt upon it.

was of the opinion that at least the Conference should express appreciation for the results of the Geneva Conference and the hope that all parties concerned would execute the decisions of that Conference in good faith, so that the two parts of Vietnam could develop on their own line without interference from outside. It should also be expressed that war should not be used to achieve political aims and that disputes should be settled by negotiations.

On the conditions in Indo-China, the Indian Prime Minister made the following observations. So far there were hopeful signs in the development. Practically no incidents of any consequence had occurred so far, the troops having been withdrawn from the demarcation lines. The conditions were most favourable in Cambodia, the Joint Commission having finished their task in that part of the country. In South Vietnam, however, the situation is very confused. Here the Joint Commission had not yet finished their job. There was no single authority and foreign countries were pulling this country in one direction or another. France and USA did not see eye to eye. The Indian Prime Minister, however, contended that the French have been very cooperative all the way.

As to the problem of Korea the Indian Prime Minister stated that at the Geneva Conference nothing was decided. In his opinion the Armistice Commission should continue to exist. He felt that the Korean question should be kept alive and that the way of negotiations should be kept open, although at this stage nothing can be achieved.

On the case of the eleven American Flyers, imprisoned in China for alleged espionage, the Indian Prime Minister told the Conference that Chou En-lai had strongly complained about the espionage activities by the US agents. He also strongly protested against the activities of Formosa and the American 7th Fleet. According to Chou En-lai, the US 7th Fleet in some 250 cases stopped ships from neutral countries trying to trade with China. He strongly protested against the bombardment of the mainland of China by the planes of Nationalist China, in which they were assisted by the US. Finally Chou En-lai also complained about the dropping of some 250 Nationalist Chinese spies from Formosa of whom some were captured.<sup>3</sup>

The Indian Prime Minister was of the opinion that it was difficult to judge the facts of this problem. It is wrong of the United Nations to condemn China without giving her a chance to be heard.<sup>4</sup> He noted that now strong feelings were prevailing both in the USA and in China and that the question had become a matter of high prestige. In this connection the Indian Prime Minister remarked that the United Nations had solicited India's mediation to ask China to receive

3. See *ante*, p. 7.

4. See *ante*, p. 106 and *post*, p. 213.

the United Nations Secretary General, Mr Hammarskjöld,<sup>5</sup> who would discuss this matter with the Chinese Government. India succeeded in convincing Peking and Mr Hammarskjöld was now on his way to China. He would stay for one and a half days in Delhi and the Indian Prime Minister hoped to meet him there.<sup>6</sup> The Indian Prime Minister was also of the opinion that the Chinese should be approached in a special manner as had been proved in the case of the Archbishop who obtained his release through the mediation of the Indian Prime Minister.<sup>7</sup>

After recalling the role of the NATO as a defensive organisation, the Indian Prime Minister remarked that the Manila Treaty brought about quite a new conception. Since the members of this organisation are not only responsible for their own defense but also for that of areas they may designate outside of it if they so agree, this would mean creating a new form of spheres of influence. The commitment is not only made for the signatory countries, but these countries may take action in other countries as well whether the latter agree or not. The Indian Prime Minister was of the opinion that the Manila Treaty only tends to increase tension and apprehension in the area and might endanger peace, because it can only be directed against China and not against other Asiatic countries.

The Indian Prime Minister was convinced that China is anxious to avoid war, anxious even to avoid friction and possibilities of conflict. China urgently desires peace, because she is passionately concerned about the problem of economic uplift. She would like to be left in peace and to develop relations with other countries. So no attack will come from China. She fears, however, that the neighbouring countries could be used to endanger her security. It is important for her to know what the neighbouring countries are doing. That is why the Geneva Conference is so important, because of its clause that no outside interference will be allowed in Indo-China.<sup>8</sup>

5. Dag Hammarskjöld had conveyed to Nehru his desire to visit China and had sought his mediation regarding the American prisoners issue. Krishna Menon had suggested to Nehru on 11 December that "it may be desirable to inform Chou En-lai that irrespective of merits of issue...he should agree to receive Hammarskjöld. To refuse to see Hammarskjöld would only assist China's enemies and embarrass her friends." On 12 December Nehru requested Chou to receive the UN Secretary General. Chou agreed to this suggestion on 18 December 1954. See also *post*, pp. 215-216.
6. Hammarskjöld was in Delhi on 2 and 3 January 1955.
7. See *ante*, p. 20.
8. The specific clause in the Geneva Agreements prohibited introduction of fresh troops, military personnel, armament and munition into the Indo-China States and banned their entry into any military alliance not conforming to the UN Charter.

The Indian Prime Minister also recalled the joint statement issued after Chou En-lai's visit to India<sup>9</sup> and to Burma,<sup>10</sup> containing the Five Principles. In the joint statement issued during the visit of the President of Yugoslavia to India no reference was made to these Five Principles, but the same idea was included in it.<sup>11</sup> The Indian Prime Minister would like if the Conference could also consider these Five Principles, as the South East Asian countries too are concerned with problems of aggression and interference.

Speaking about communism, the Indian Prime Minister was of the opinion that the communist parties in South East Asia are at least morally aided by outside parties. However, he did not think that there is direct support from China. Neither did he think that Soviet Russia is encouraging local communist parties; she rather discouraged them, as she also wants peace.

As for China, she was logically and practically thrown in the arms of Russia. The Prime Minister of India reminded the Conference of the history of China during the Second World War and after, when she had to cope with the Korean War and the embargo. During the War when Chiang Kai-shek was in power, Russia even told Mao Tse-tung to tone down. Of course it became a different matter after Mao's success. The Indian Prime Minister was of the opinion, after what he saw in China, that the people in China are essentially Chinese.

Speaking about the industrialization in China the Indian Prime Minister recalled the discovery of rich mineral resources in the Sinkiang. China intends to make the region a highly developed industrial area. For China the development of industrial resources of the country comes first while political problems are considered minor to it. Like India, China has tremendous difficulties with regard to trained personnel.

The Indian Prime Minister concluded his observations with the remark that the whole face of Asia has now changed. In Geneva the Asian question was discussed without Asia at large being represented, except for China and Indo-China, which were directly concerned. However, in the background the views of Asia expressed through the Colombo Conference predominated the scene. He, therefore, urged the other countries that Asia should function, industrially, economically and politically, so that it may get its proper place in world affairs.

... The Indian Prime Minister, having in mind that the Conference took place in Indonesia and that this country is facing a specific colonial issue, suggested that something be said about West Irian, since the four other Colombo Countries have all supported Indonesia's stand in that matter. The Prime

9. See *Selected Works*. (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 410-412.

10. The joint statement issued by Chou En-lai and U Nu at Rangoon on 29 June stated that "the principles agreed upon between China and India ... should also be the guiding principles for relationship between China and Burma."

11. See *ante*, p. 113.

Ministers of Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan agreed. The Indonesian Prime Minister expressed gratification for that gesture and agreed with the idea, if only it would not embarrass the other participating countries.

The Indian Prime Minister then made his last suggestion that something be said about the dangers created by the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. Even the mere continuation of experiments in that field is a threat to the life of man, animal and plant....

## 5. Coordination in Economic Field<sup>1</sup>

The third session was opened by the Indonesian Prime Minister at 16.50, whereupon the Indian Prime Minister made some remarks on the economic question. Emphasis was laid upon the necessity of making a survey of the resources, especially a subsoil survey. He pointed out the need for geologists and pictured the way in which China has solved this problem.

Due emphasis was also laid upon the necessity for a coordinated effort in the economic field, since economically the Colombo Countries are in the same boat. Specially in their dealing with the industrialized countries, the Colombo Countries—as raw material producing countries—should take a common stand. In this respect the Prime Minister of India also remarked that the underdeveloped countries need an economy different from that of industrialized countries. The European and American approach does not fit the economy of the underdeveloped countries.

Concluding his observations, the Indian Prime Minister warned his colleagues against the danger of overpopulation. He said that there has always been a conflict between population and food production. Though science has helped to ease this discrepancy, still the moment may come that food production can not keep pace with the population. It is, therefore, imperative that one has to limit the increase of the population. India has included this matter in her Five Year Plan...<sup>2</sup>

On the suggestion of the Indian Prime Minister, it was agreed that from then on the term Afro-Asian Conference should be altered into Asian-African Conference. The word “Asian” should come first, because the Colombo

1. Interventions at the third session of the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo Countries, Bogor, 29 December 1954. From the *Short Report on the Third Session of the Conference*. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The Conference then proceeded to discuss the draft of a joint communique.

Countries which have initiated and sponsored the Afro-Asian Conference are Asian countries. The word "African" should be used instead of "Afro", since the latter might cause some resentment among the Africans themselves, just as the word "Asiatic" used to do in bygone days....

The Prime Minister of India, in his closing address, recalled the statement he made on his arrival that, even if the Conference cannot come to any conclusion, it will still be of great importance, because the participants will have come together and have exchanged views. He was glad to note that the Conference has been concluded in the appropriate time and has come to good conclusion due to the excellent approach of the participants.

He thanked the Government of Indonesia for the facilities and he also paid tribute to the genius of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, who initiated the idea of holding the Colombo Conference with all its subsequent consequences. He concluded by expressing the hope for the good results of the Asian-African Conference.

## 6. The Bogor Talks<sup>1</sup>

Question: Are you satisfied with the results of the Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Completely. We came for a purpose. We have fulfilled it absolutely, satisfactorily and fully.

Q: Are you satisfied that the invitees you wanted have been invited?

JN: Every invitee that could be invited in this area, barring one or two, has been invited.

Q: Do you expect every one of the invitees to come?

JN: I certainly hope that if not all, nearly all will come.

Q: Why was Israel left out?

1. Press conference, Bogor, Djakarta, 30 December 1954. From *Jawaharlal Nehru: Press Conferences 1954*, Information Service of India. Government of India, New Delhi.

JN: Israel fulfilled the qualifications we had laid down, that is to say, every country to be invited is recognized to be independent. But there was a controversy over Israel being invited, and we wanted to proceed by unanimity. Therefore, Israel was not included. You know very well the Arab nations are very hostile to Israel.

Q: What about Formosa?

JN: I did not know there was such a State as Formosa.

Q: There is an island.

JN: I know. There are many islands. But Formosa is not a State.

Q: Did anybody suggest the inclusion of Formosa among the invitees?

JN: Not at all. You seem to forget that every member of the Colombo Conference has recognized the People's Republic of China.

Q: Ceylon has not recognized China.

JN: Sir John said: "We have dealings with China and we recognize China." It is not a question of his liking China. He has stated a fact.

Q: What were the reasons for rejecting South Africa?

JN: It was not discussed, but the fact was mentioned that the Union of South Africa, although obviously it is an independent country, could not possibly be invited because of its very aggressive racial policies. There the matter ended. There was no discussion in the sense of two views on it.

Q: Why was Korea left out?

JN: There was hardly any discussion about Korea being taken in. Indo-China is in a fluid state and decisions have yet to be taken about Vietnam. Korea is also in a fluid state, but the Colombo Countries had a kind of special responsibility towards Indo-China, because at the last Conference we specially made some proposals about Indo-China which, to our gratification, were largely accepted by the Geneva Conference. So we felt a certain responsibility, apart from the fact that one of the members of the Colombo Conference, that is India, is Chairman of the International Commissions. If we were to apply strictly the rule we had laid down, Indo-China or some other States might not have

come in; but we felt that having regard to the problems at issue, it was our responsibility to take them in. That responsibility did not arise about Korea.

Q: Are you going to persuade Holland to reopen negotiations on West Irian?<sup>2</sup>

JN: We suggested it. We hope they will.

Q: Have you been able to discuss a fair outline of the agenda of the Bandung Conference?<sup>3</sup>

JN: We have not discussed any agenda. In fact, we have declared that there should be no rigid agenda. Such an agenda is likely to be drawn up by the Conference itself. Of course, a good deal of secretarial work will have to be done, so that the Conference will have papers to consider. That the Secretariat will do. We did not discuss it at all. A Conference of this type, it is obvious, has to deal with general matters only.

With twenty five countries—or whatever the number may be—meeting together, if each country starts discussing its own problems, there will be no end to these discussions, and you cannot decide questions, normally speaking, in such a Conference by a majority of votes. You cannot outvote anybody. You may put down some general conclusions. If I may give an example—it is not wholly applicable, but still, by and large, it might be—it is the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, where the six or seven countries that you have there, are certainly not all of one opinion. In fact, there is the greatest divergence of opinion, say, between South Africa and India. We are both present there. We do not argue such problems there, but each party gives its opinion about the general situation—in Europe, Asia, or anywhere else—and then we record some minutes about it. We do not pass formal resolutions.

Possibly—I cannot say—that will be the general approach to the Bandung Conference. Normally such a Conference does not pass resolutions, except on something on which obviously there is agreement. You do not pass resolutions by a majority overriding the minority. All that I can say must necessarily be tentative. It is a new thing. There is no convention behind it. I do not know how the countries which will attend might feel about it, but it seems to me that a Conference like this cannot pass resolutions on controversial topics by mere votes. It is mainly a Conference where we get to know each other's viewpoints,

2. See *post*, pp. 195 and 201.

3. On 28 December the Colombo Powers decided to hold the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, during last week of April 1955.

and express our general opinion, where there is broad agreement, about particular subjects, not a specific subject.

Q: Twenty five countries have been invited. Were there any negotiations or talks with those countries before they were invited?

JN: You will remember that at the Colombo Conference, this proposal was first made by the Prime Minister of Indonesia,<sup>4</sup> and our decision then was to accept it in principle, and ask the Prime Minister of Indonesia to process it. We did not exactly ask him to approach anybody, but to prepare papers, so that at the next meeting we could consider them. Informally, I understand, he had consulted some with whom he happened to be in contact.

Q: What was the reaction?

JN: He informed us that the reaction was unanimously favourable.

Q: You had said in the communique that you did not want to create a separate bloc. Would you say that without the creation of such a bloc, the Bandung nations would still influence events to a great extent?

JN: We wished deliberately to rule out the idea of a bloc. Quite apart from the obvious impracticability of it—this odd assortment of nations cannot create a bloc—even if there were nations of one set of opinion, we were opposed to the bloc idea. Obviously, any such meeting lets loose currents of ideas which affect peoples' minds. Since it is an official Conference at ministerial level, it may influence governmental policies, not because something has been decided here, but because of the discussions and the way of thinking.

Q: The Asian Relations Conference was on a non-official level. Making allowance for this factor, how would you compare the coming Conference to the Asian Relations Conference?

JN: The Asian Relations Conference<sup>5</sup> was non-official in character, although some officials of certain governments attended it. The Conference was convened in India by us—I was one of the conveners—before we were in the Government. The response far exceeded our expectations, and some countries actually sent, more or less, official representatives. You know the whole procedure was informal, and more or less on a discussion basis.

4. See *ante*, p. 5.

5. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 2, pp. 501-523.

Q: Do you see any resemblance with the Conference on Indonesia?

JN: The Conference on Indonesia<sup>6</sup> was on a strictly official basis. Governments were represented, and we dealt with only one question, that was Indonesia, and we passed certain resolutions which could only relate to Indonesia.

Q: Have you had any private talks with Mr Mohammad Ali on any subject at all?

JN: No. I have had many odd talks at the dinner table and elsewhere, but we have had no specific private talks. We had no time at all to do any such thing.

Q: Not even on Kashmir?

JN: Not even on Kashmir. It was not even mentioned. Unfortunately, not that it would have affected matters much, the High Commissioner of Pakistan<sup>7</sup> in India who came here fell ill—in fact, he arrived ill. Of course, if there had been talks, they would have been very preliminary and general, in regard to the next meeting or something like that.

Q: Did you have any discussion in the Conference on the Five Principles contained in your joint statement with Mr Chou En-lai?

JN: The contents of them have been included in the joint statement of President Tito of Yugoslavia with me. At the end of the Conference yesterday, there was some mention of them, but it was said then that we have had no time to discuss them fully and, therefore, it was said: "Do not include them now." I agreed, but I cannot conceive how anybody can disagree with any of the Five Principles. What are they? Recognition of independence and territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference with each other, mutual respect, equality and benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

Can you put faith in such a declaration? That was the question raised not yesterday, but in the past. It is a matter of experience or judgement. But I go further and say that the mere fact of two or more countries accepting the Five Principles creates an atmosphere in their favour and against anyone breaking them. It is to the disadvantage of the person who wants to break them. It is a bind-up in the moral sense. These ideas may come up before the bigger

6. See *ante*, p. 23.

7. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

conference. The idea of peaceful coexistence has been broadly accepted by all kinds of leading personalities. President Eisenhower has spoken repeatedly about it, because there is no alternative except war.

Q: You have referred to the possibility of economic cooperation. What exactly have you in mind in setting up a committee of experts?

JN: When we set up this committee of experts, they will really consider the answer to this question as to what they can do. There are many things that they can do. The field is limited in the sense of our capacity to do things, because most of the countries in South East Asia or Africa are relatively under-developed; we do not complement each other. Nevertheless, there is no doubt there are fields where we can help. It might interest you to know that today, in spite of our tremendous need for technical personnel, we have lent the services of at least 125 qualified technicians, engineers and others, to other countries of Asia and Africa. When the demand comes, even at our own cost we send some people.

The problems of these countries are basically those of economic development. Politics comes in chiefly as a nuisance, if I may use the word. It stands in the way of economic development. We have to deal with political questions; otherwise, if you ask me in India what my main concern is, it is not politics but the development of India. I do not wish to make comparisons with other countries, but I would say that the amount of time and energy we spend on thinking and acting on development programmes is tremendous. We have the First Five Year Plan. Now we are thinking of the Second Five Year Plan. All our basic policies of industrialization, balances and investment, balancing of heavy industry with light industry and cottage industry, investing without inflation—these are the live problems which are to be faced. These are not political problems, but politics does come in; we cannot escape it.

Q: What kind of economic cooperation do you envisage between the five countries?

JN: We may have ad hoc committees, we may have bilateral arrangements. I do not know. The capacity of any one country to help another is not very great. Nevertheless, the capacity of all of them helping each other slightly in one matter or the other, is there and, taken as a whole, it might make a difference. Apart from Japan, we are all raw material producing countries, wanting to industrialize ourselves. The same problem is before each one of us. I suppose in this area, apart from Japan, relatively speaking, India is a little more advanced, and has a few more technical personnel compared to the other Asian countries.

Q: Did you examine the question of securing aid from America or Europe in this connection?

JN: It was not mentioned.

Q: Do you feel that the meetings of the Colombo Powers should be periodic?

JN: It was the idea even at the beginning that we should meet from time to time.

Q: Do you feel that the Asian-African meeting will also be periodic?

JN: It is too early to say how that will develop.

Q: Do you intend coming to the Bandung Conference? The communique says the representation may be at Prime Ministers' level or ministerial level.

JN: I certainly intend to attend.

Q: Was the Manila Pact mentioned?

JN: It was mentioned in the context of the events that had happened. It was not discussed. But, to some extent, the Manila Treaty was referred to, at any rate, certain implications of the Pact.

Q: What are the implications?

JN: One of the implications is that it deals not only with the signatory countries, as treaties normally do, but it goes beyond that in scope, and proposes to deal with the territories signified by the signatory countries. This is a rather odd thing. Some countries may sign a treaty for defence, or whatever it is, binding themselves. But to say that they will do something in a country that has not signed, is going beyond the normal scope of a treaty between two countries. It was said that they would not act within the territory of another country without the permission of that country. But something that happens in another country, not in their scope, will enable them to act, first of all outside, without anybody's permission, and secondly, inside with permission, so that it is a rather peculiar idea. It is very near reviving the old conception of spheres of influence.

Q: Do you feel that the holding of the Asian-African Conference will discourage such spheres of influence?

JN: I hope so. It is obvious.

Q: In case of aggression against any one of these countries, what steps might the other countries take?

JN: We have not considered it at all. It had no particular meaning in this context, in the nature of hypothetical questions. Obviously, if we believe there is aggression, we react strongly against any such aggression. What we will do after reacting, I cannot say. I cannot say whether I will go to war for it. It all depends on circumstances. Because war has become such a dangerous thing, it may not happen; and because aggression may lead to war, we do not expect aggression to happen either.

Just as war is too dangerous, aggression has also become very dangerous. A Nobel Laureate in Physics had declared that after half a dozen or so experiments with the hydrogen bomb, each time with a bigger bomb, it may well be that the whole atmosphere becomes vitiated and all human life, animal life and plant life begin gradually to deteriorate and wither away, and there is no escape. It is the story of a process which takes effect not suddenly, but in six months or a year or two years. Your heart, your lungs or skin might be affected by radioactive substances. If there is a war, all these things burst out in greater proportions and in full force, and it is obvious the effects will be far greater. How then can any sensible person imagine that by war a certain objective can be attained? What will happen will be something entirely different—the extermination of civilisation and human beings.

Q: What do you think of communism in Indonesia?

JN: Communism may be of two varieties, the internal variety and the external variety, the external variety meaning interference from outside. Obviously, the Five Principles deal with the external variety, interference not only by communists or non-communists but any kind of interference. The internal variety is an entirely separate matter, which has to be dealt with by the government concerned.

Q: Did any one of your colleagues make any effort to raise the question of communism, as happened in Colombo?

JN: It was not raised.

8. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 431-433.

Q: Why was the name 'Afro-Asian' changed to 'Asian-African'.

JN: It is a finer way of describing it. We put Asia first, not because Asia is more important, but just because it reads better. Even at the UN, the name 'Arab-Asian' has been changed.

Q: Would you regard the Arab-Asian group as a bloc?

JN: It is not a rigid organization. It has a loose form. It is not as if the people have signed up to join an organization or group. They just meet and discuss matters.

Q: How have you included Turkey among the invitees, when Turkey regards itself as a Western power?

JN: There is a bit of Turkey in Europe and a very large part of it in Asia. It is perfectly true that about thirty years ago, when Kemal Pasha Ataturk became the ruler of Turkey, he initiated a definite trend towards Europe in every way, politically and socially, and under his successors that influence continued. But the fact remains that Turkey is in Asia and cannot easily get away from it.

Q: Soviet Asia was invited to the Asian Relations Conference. Why has it been left out now?

JN: That was a non-official Conference. Politically speaking, Russia is part of a Europe unit.

Again I will continue with economic matters. I said that the main concern of these countries is economic development. It may be, of course, that they may talk a great deal about political aspects, because circumstances compel them to deal with political questions. But in a particular sense, it is, for all those countries a question of survival, and they will survive, in the real sense of the word, only if they develop economically. It is a vital question for them and, therefore, the whole outlook should be, and is, governed by this question of economic development in these countries.

Naturally, they can be helped; that will slightly facilitate their development. But inevitably, the burden of the job falls on them. If they cannot shoulder the burden effectively, then even help from outside cannot do much. You cannot stand on other people's legs and feet. Help is useful at times; but this feeling of self-help and self-reliance has a great psychological effect and people must inevitably face austerity, in spite of their low standards. You cannot build for tomorrow without privation today. There is, no doubt, not much room for privation in a country where the masses already suffer privations. That is true.

But, inevitably, there is always a kind of choice between living for today and preparing for tomorrow. It is a difficult choice, but it has to be made. There are limits on how far you can go today. You cannot go very far, but you have to go some distance. To put it in another way, it is the investment of surplus produce for future progress. We work more, we produce more, but we do not immediately profit by it.

In India, for the last several years, we have been engaged in building up about half a dozen very big river valley projects. We have spent large sums of money. These colossal projects had so far given no return during this period, or practically none. But they are beginning to give return now, and the return they will give a year or two later will be considerable; it will be a continual return, not for a few years but for generations. It is worthwhile investing. But it meant spending all that money without return year after year. We will have to face that problem.

One problem in India—I will not say we have solved it, but we have got it firmly by the neck—is the food problem. Two or three years ago that was our principal headache. We had to import as much as 4.5 million tons of foodgrains from abroad. It was a terrific drain on our resources. We still are importing some wheat, this year too, but by and large we are no longer worried by this problem. We are getting enough. We have had tremendous floods this summer, oddly enough, floods in one area and droughts in certain other areas; but we have had good harvests in the third area.

Normally speaking, all this would have hit us very hard; but it has not much affected our food situation. In spite of the droughts and the floods, we have got ample stocks. Our production has gone up. So far as rice is concerned, we can export some, if anybody wants it. Psychologically, this has given us a sense of self-fulfilment.

## 7. Analysis of Bogor Conference<sup>1</sup>

Following analysis of Bogor Conference for your information. Conference was very successful and all decisions taken were practically unanimous. Principle laid down for invitation to Asian-African Conference was that all independent countries in Asia and Africa should be invited. Border line cases to be considered separately. The only independent country that we did not invite was Union of

1. Note for the Indian Missions abroad, 3 January 1955. JN Collection.

South Africa for obvious reasons, because of their intense racialism and hostility to Asian and African peoples.

2. China had to be invited as one of the most important countries of this region. There could be no question of inviting Formosa as this is not a separate State. It claims to be China. All Colombo Powers recognise People's Government of China and not Formosa.

3. All four Indo-China States were included in invitation as their present problems are important affecting peace and Colombo Powers had special responsibility in regard to Indo-China Agreements at Geneva. There was no basic objection to two Koreas being invited also, although situation there is fluid. In balance, however, it was decided that it was not necessary to invite them.

4. Three countries in Africa, namely Gold Coast, Sudan and Central African Federation were borderline cases, not wholly independent but approaching it. We felt that we should invite them to show that we were not proceeding on the basis of racial discrimination.

5. Question of Israel offered difficulty. It was clear that Israel came within our definition of independent countries and should, therefore, be invited. We were not considering likes and dislikes or political or economic structure of a country. But it was also clear that Arab States would take strong objection to invitation to Israel and might even keep away because of it. We were not prepared to face this contingency. If Arab States were willing, we would have invited Israel. In these circumstances, however, we decided not to invite Israel although this decision was against the logic of our position.

6. Countries under colonial domination could not be invited, as they were not independent even though we fully sympathised with aspirations of national movements there.

7. All this was the general approach of all the five countries represented at Bogor, though there were differing degrees of emphasis. In the result our decisions were unanimous.

8. Some objections have been raised in regard to Australia and New Zealand not being invited. This question did not come up before us as scope of Conference was limited to Asia and Africa. We have no objection to Australia and New Zealand being included if it is decided to enlarge scope of Conference.

9. From all this it is clear that our approach was not an exclusive one but one including every type of country, whether we like its policies or not. Such a Conference can only deal with general issues without entering into controversies between two countries. Its objective has been defined in the purposes laid down for it at Bogor.







## I. SRI LANKA

### 1. Nationality Question<sup>1</sup>

I might see Mr Aziz<sup>2</sup> tonight for a few minutes.<sup>3</sup>

2. It is quite clear to me that if any people of Indian descent, who fulfill the qualifications for our nationality, express a clear wish to be registered as Indian nationals, we should register them. We should be clear about their wishes in the matter and see if there is no other objection.<sup>4</sup> Normally, if these conditions are fulfilled they will have to be registered, quite apart from the Agreement with the Ceylon Government.<sup>5</sup>

3. We cannot give assurance to the Ceylon Government on this subject but merely point out our procedure. We should not encourage or discourage any such persons from coming to us. If the Ceylon Democratic Congress wishes to discourage them from doing so it is quite at liberty to do so. That is for them to decide.<sup>6</sup>

4. There is no question, so far as I am concerned, of making concessions in regard to the stateless persons.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Commonwealth Secretary, 1 October 1954. File No. C/54/1923/5, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A. Aziz, leader of Ceylon Democratic Congress, which represented the migrant population's interest in Sri Lanka, was in India to give Nehru a picture of the situation before the commencement of official level talks between India and Sri Lanka on 8 October 1954.
3. Nehru told Aziz on 1 October that if Ceylon Democratic Congress was keen on sending their delegation to Delhi at the same time as the official delegation, he would not object but would not like it.
4. In a note dated 1 October 1954, S. Dutt had written that the Ceylon Democratic Congress was firm in its resolve that the estate population of Indian origin should remain 'stateless' rather than be forced to accept Indian citizenship. They requested the Government of India not to facilitate registration of persons of Indian origin by the Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka.
5. Of 18 January 1954. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 24, p. 615.
6. The Ceylon Democratic Congress feared that India might make concessions in regard to registration under pressure from the Sri Lanka Government. Aziz had emphasised that given the past record of the Sri Lanka Government on assurances regarding registration, they would not observe these promises once they attained the objective of getting India to accept all these persons as Indian citizens.

5. The question of inducement<sup>7</sup> by the Ceylon Government does not really arise so far as our Government is concerned, that is to say, if a man coming to us fulfils all the qualifications and wants to be registered we really have no choice. For us to go out of our way either to encourage or discourage would not be proper.

7. C.C. Desai, the Indian High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, had observed that India should register applicants as Indian citizens only if inducements, such as right to employment in Sri Lanka upto the age of fifty five, facilities for bringing back savings and assets to India etc., were given by the Sri Lanka Government. S. Dutt felt that Sri Lanka could not expect India to register applicants as Indian citizens "as a matter of course."

## 2. Necessity for Direct Negotiations<sup>1</sup>

3. ... Thinking aloud the Prime Minister wondered whether it would at all be worthwhile to try and improve the old Agreement<sup>2</sup> or whether it would be better to throw it away and get something else in its stead. In any case he felt that without bringing the Indians concerned into the picture there could be no agreement whatsoever. He expressed his feeling that it was a good thing that at this juncture the representatives of the Ceylon Democratic Congress were present in Delhi. It would be far better, he said, to let these people speak directly with the Ceylon Government than through our intermediary. There was no question of our not being interested in their welfare, but for a better and more permanent solution of the problem, we should always encourage Indians to tackle the whole problem through their own organisations and with their own strength.

4. Even in the case of the TRPs, (Temporary Residence Permit) the Prime Minister felt that it would be better for the business organisations and other representative bodies to get the difficulties solved by dealing with the

1. Minutes of the meeting with Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs; N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA; S. Dutt, C.C. Desai, and Apa Pant, Officer on Special Duty, MEA, New Delhi, 8 October 1954. File No C/54/1923/5. MEA. Extracts.
2. India-Sri Lanka Agreement of 18 January 1954.

Government of Ceylon directly. The High Commissioner's Office, however, could help them in all respects as the TRP holders were Indian nationals...<sup>3</sup>.

5. At this stage the Prime Minister expressed his great distress at this wholesale eviction<sup>4</sup> of persons of Indian origin. Accepting the fact that the Ceylon Government were free and within their rights to deal with aliens residing in their country as they chose, he expressed that from the point of view of decency and international morality, such wholesale eviction would have unhealthy repercussions. The Prime Minister also indicated that there should be some organisation that would look after the property of those persons whose TRPs have expired. If these people, even though they may not have much property, were made to leave the country in a hurry, whatever they had may not be sold at an adequate price and from this point of view there should be some custodian of such properties to look after them....

3. On 22 September, John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka had alleged that the agreement of January 1954 had not worked because of lack of cooperation from the Indian side in registering persons of Indian origin as Indian nationals. Till that date the Indian High Commission had registered twenty-three thousand persons, who were already Indian passport holders.
4. The reference here was to the large-scale rejection of applications for citizenship by the Sri Lanka Government and their policy of not renewing the Temporary Residence Permits of those whose permits had expired and branding them as 'stateless'. Till the date of negotiation, there had been no physical eviction of such persons.

### 3. Negotiations with the Sri Lankan Delegates—I'

... The Prime Minister refuted the contention that persons of Indian origin in Ceylon are Indian citizens under Article 5.<sup>2</sup> He explained the genesis of Article 5 and said that persons living abroad at the time the Constitution came into force, even though they were of Indian origin, could be accepted as Indian

1. Record of discussions between an eight-man Indian delegation led by Nehru and a twelve-man Sri Lankan delegation led by John Kotelawala, Premier of Sri Lanka. The delegation was in India from 7 to 11 October 1954, following a Sri Lankan Cabinet decision of 17 September 1954, to conduct direct negotiations with the Government of India regarding the smooth working of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of 18 January 1954. New Delhi, 8 October 1954. File No. C/54/1923/5, MEA. Extracts.
2. Opening the discussion, the Sri Lankan delegation pointed out that Indian residents in Sri Lanka would continue to remain Indian citizens unless admitted to Sri Lankan citizenship. Such persons had domicile of origin under Article 5 and need not be registered as Indian citizen under Article 8 of the Indian Constitution.

citizens only if they were registered under Article 8. A procedure had to be laid down for determining who among those living abroad were Indian citizens. It was a question of fact in each individual case. There is no question of admitting or not admitting a whole group of persons as Indian citizens.

Prime Minister could not accept the contention of the Ceylon Delegation. He had to bear in mind the millions of persons of Indian origin living in other parts of the world and consider the likely effect on their status if he were to agree to the position urged by the Ceylon Delegation. The discussions in 1947-48 were on a different basis and in a different context.<sup>3</sup> Neither of the two countries, India and Ceylon, had their own citizenship law. Persons resident in the two countries under British rule were British nationals and the question then discussed was how these persons could be fitted into the changed status after independence.

It is possible that there was a misunderstanding on both sides, but at that time it was hoped that all those persons of Indian origin living in Ceylon would either be accepted as Indian nationals or as Ceylon nationals and there would be very few people left out of either category. The position has since become clearer. Each Government had to follow the law in its own country and it is India's contention that because of Ceylon's refusal to admit to their citizenship a large number of persons who were keen on being Ceylon citizens that the present position has arisen. There is no question of the Government of India accepting anybody living abroad as an Indian citizen automatically. The Prime Minister disagreed entirely with the view that people who were citizens under Article 5 but living abroad on the date of the coming into force of the Indian Constitution need not be registered under Article 8. It is quite essential, he said, for a person to want to be a national. If a person has obvious qualifications and is willing to be an Indian national, the Government of India would certainly accept him as such.<sup>4</sup>

... The Prime Minister reiterated the view that the question of inducements is somewhat irrelevant. The question really is one of whether a person voluntarily wants to be an Indian national.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the question really concerns the persons of Indian origin living in Ceylon and if the Ceylon Government comes to an understanding with them there is no question of the Government of India

3. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 4, pp. 622-627; Vol. 6, pp. 479, 483; Vol. 7, pp. 634-647; and Vol. 8, pp. 389-390.

4. A reference was made by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, leader of Opposition and a member of the Sri Lankan delegation, to a scheme of inducements to persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka to register themselves as Indian nationals. He enquired that if these inducements were enhanced by a promise of gratuities and a right to serve in Sri Lanka for a certain period, whether the Indian Government would accept them as Indian nationals.

standing in the way of any agreed arrangement. He suggested, therefore, that the Ceylon delegates should have discussions direct with the representatives of the Ceylon Democratic Congress, who happen to be in Delhi at the moment.

The Prime Minister read over the record of discussions on the 16 and 27 April 1953 between the Indian High Commissioner and Mr Dudley Senanayake. Reference was made in particular to paragraph 5 of the record which envisaged the holders of TRPs remaining as a stateless community pending the settlement of their status after ten years....<sup>5</sup>

The Prime Minister then went through the Agreement of January 1954 clause by clause and pointed out how the rate of disposal was extremely slow.<sup>6</sup> According to some estimates it would take eleven to fifteen years to dispose of all the applications.<sup>7</sup>

The Prime Minister also referred to the very large ratio of rejections to acceptances of citizenship applications in recent months.<sup>8</sup>

...The Prime Minister also pointed out that an island-wise constituency for the four Indian seats is not in accordance with the provisions of the January Agreement.

Clause 7 of the Agreement<sup>9</sup> was referred to by the Prime Minister and it was pointed out how this clause ruled out the admission of any body of persons automatically as Indian citizens.

In concluding the discussion the Prime Minister stated that the object of both the Governments should be to eliminate the so-called stateless category and discussions should be directed to that end. There is, however, no question

5. The talks between C.C. Desai and the then Premier, Dudley Senanayake, were further continued during Nehru-Senanayake meeting in London in June 1953. Senanayake had proposed that the residue Indian residents in Sri Lanka, after registration of 400,000 as Sri Lankan citizens and 250,000 as Permanent Residence Permit holders, were to be accepted by the Government of India as Indian citizens and were to be "compulsorily repatriated" over a period of ten years.
6. Out of a total population of Indian origin of eight lakhs, almost two lakhs applied for Sri Lankan citizenship, of which only 4000 were accepted. The Indian High Commission for the same period had registered 5606 persons.
7. The Sri Lankan delegation contended that four years would be sufficient for disposal of all the applications.
8. The Sri Lankan delegation replied that, of all the applications received, only the first 25,000 were genuine. The rest were made during the last three months of the final date fixed by the Sri Lanka Government for submission of applications. Allegedly they were inspired by a campaign for registration by the Ceylon Indian Congress.
9. Clause 7 of the Agreement of January 1954 laid down that Indian persons registered as Sri Lankan citizens were to be placed on a separate electoral register for a period of ten years. Residents not registered as Indian citizens were to be allowed, if they wished, to register as Indian citizens under Article 8 of the Indian Constitution, Sri Lanka agreeing to offer special inducements and India agreeing to offer administrative facilities for this purpose.

of India accepting any person as an Indian citizen automatically. He added that except under the Hitler regime, he is not aware of any occasion in the past where thousands of persons have been pushed out of a country. He repeated the suggestion for direct discussions between the Ceylon Delegates and the representatives of the Ceylon Democratic Congress. It would be easier, he said, to dispose of the problem if the Ceylon Delegates would deal with these persons directly.

#### 4. Negotiations with the Sri Lankan Delegates—II<sup>1</sup>

In the opening address the Indian Prime Minister mentioned that the problem which has arisen at present is a legacy of the past. Neither the Government of India nor the Government of Ceylon are responsible for the present situation. Similarly, the people concerned are also not in any way responsible. The Indian Prime Minister repudiated any suggestion of pressure on Ceylon. The whole situation, he said, is such that there is no question of India being able to exert pressure on Ceylon nor in such a case would the matter remain as one between India and Ceylon alone. The Government of India have neither the wish nor the time to interfere in countries abroad; internal developments will tie the Indian Government down for more than one generation....<sup>2</sup>

The Indian Prime Minister stated that Indian citizenship could not be automatic. People had to fulfil certain qualifications and had to exercise an act of choice for Indian citizenship before they could be registered as Indian citizens. The country whose citizenship such people seek, must finally accept these people. We must, he said, distinguish between nationality and citizenship. One can enjoy full rights of a citizen without being a national.

1. Record of discussions with the Sri Lankan delegation, 9 October 1954, New Delhi. File No. C/54/1923/5, MEA. Extracts.
2. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, a staunch critic of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of 1954, pointed out that the main question was of the status of those who had failed to secure Sri Lankan citizenship or had not applied for it. He asserted that persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were presumed to be Indian nationals until they were admitted to Sri Lankan citizenship.

In 1947-48 the broad fact was that it was assumed that these people would be either Indian nationals or Ceylon nationals.<sup>3</sup> It was true that at that time there was not in anybody's mind a question of statelessness. India thought that these people would be Ceylon citizens and Ceylon thought that they would be Indian nationals. It was a genuine misunderstanding. The phrase "stateless persons" arose a year and a half ago because as a result of certain measures a large number of people remained without becoming either Indian citizens or Ceylon citizens.<sup>4</sup> The legal advisers of India support this view. Normally, the Indian Prime Minister said, when transfer of sovereignty takes place, people succeed to the citizenship of the country where they are. In this respect the Indian attitude was entirely opposed to that hitherto held by the Chinese Government. The concept of the domicile of origin is vague. Usually the domicile of a person is of the country where he lives and works.

The Indian Prime Minister referred to the immigration figures and pointed out that between 1924 and 1937 the balance of immigration was in favour of Ceylon, being 2, 76, 437; between 1940 and 1954 the balance was against Ceylon, being 44,000. The increase in the Indian population was in smaller proportion than the increase in the total population of Ceylon....<sup>5</sup>

The Indian Prime Minister stated that out of an average of forty million rupees remitted from Ceylon to India only five million are remitted by estate labourers.

Referring to the Citizenship Law he said that each country had to interpret its own law. Any interpretation other than that urged by the Government of India would have very serious consequences. In this connection the Indian Prime Minister referred to the population of Indian origin in South Africa. The South African Government were trying every possible means to drive them out of the country. If the position was that all persons of Indian origin were Indian nationals they could legally be driven out. Hence, India could not accept the contention put forward on behalf of Ceylon; it would put India in all sorts of difficulties about Indian residents abroad. While India could not force Ceylon to accept

3. Bandaranaike had referred to the correspondence between D.S. Senanayake and Nehru in 1947-48, in which Nehru had categorically admitted that "those who fail to secure Ceylon citizenship would remain Indian nationals." Sri Lanka, he emphasised, did not accept the position that there could be a category of stateless persons.
4. The Government of Sri Lanka had laid down that only those Indians who applied for citizenship before 6 August 1951 would be eligible to vote in the general elections scheduled for May 1952. Although about 237,000 applications, covering nearly 659,000 persons of Indian origin, were handed in, only about 9000 of these were dealt with before the elections. The electoral registers for 1949, however, showed the names of only 165,000 persons as of Indian origin.
5. Dudley Senanayake, former Premier and a member of the Sri Lankan delegation, intervened to say that between 1921 and 1928 the Indian population in Sri Lanka had almost doubled.

any body of persons as Ceylon nationals, similarly Ceylon could not also force India to accept any person as an Indian citizen.

The Indian Prime Minister referred to the record of discussions that took place between Mr Dudley Senanayake and the Indian High Commissioner, Shri Desai, in April 1953 and stated that stateless persons were specifically referred to during this discussion. In the January 1954 discussions also the question of stateless category was repeatedly mentioned and in fact the original draft referred to a category who are neither Indian nor Ceylon citizens. This draft was modified later but the Agreement refers to the same subject in a different way.

The processes which function on both sides, the Prime Minister of India said, should be expedited and carried on in the hope that these processes would reduce the residue. Representatives of the two Governments would meet from time to time to discuss how to deal with the residue and to consider complaints from both sides. If the problem is dealt with in cooperation with the people primarily concerned, the work of the two Governments would be easier....<sup>6</sup>

This suggestion could work on both sides. If the initial presumption was that they were Ceylon nationals, the question was one of opting for Indian citizenship. If, on the other hand, the presumption is that they are Indian nationals, the question is one of registration by Ceylon. The procedure of registration is merely an administrative problem....<sup>7</sup>

6. The Sri Lankan delegation pointed out that application for pension under the Sri Lanka Government Scheme and a desire to register as an Indian Citizen should be sufficient grounds for registration of the applicants by the Indian High Commission.
7. Dudley Senanayake observed that to lump all cases under Article 8 of the Constitution of India was not tenable. And reiterating Sri Lanka's difficulties he stated: "If India were faced with a problem of fifty million Chinese population, India could appreciate what problem faces Ceylon." The two delegations agreed to meet the next day.

## 5. Negotiations with the Sri Lankan Delegates—III<sup>1</sup>

John Kotelawala: The officials have met and our delegation has formulated a draft for discussion here....

1. Record of discussions with Sri Lankan delegation, 10 October 1954, New Delhi, File No. C/54/1923/5/MEA. Extracts.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The first half page of your draft is supposed to deal with the two viewpoints. Is this meant to be subject to such changes as we may make?

Kotelawala: Yes. It is open for discussion.

JN: Is the draft as such meant to be issued or what?

Kotelawala: We will have to issue something. We thought that we could start on this basis.

JN: Naturally, of course. I think it is only desirable to state that this is the Ceylon Government's viewpoint and this is the Government of India's viewpoint. But I would personally have worded this somewhat differently.

Kotelawala: You can suggest it.

JN: ... Well, I think the Conference has been held for a variety of reasons, among them being the complaints on both sides about the working of the last Agreement; also among them of course is the question of the category which may be called stateless persons....

Dudley Senanayake: The point is that there is some difference of opinion about it.

JN: The continued existence of such a class is undesirable. People should normally have a State and if unfortunately owing to abnormal happenings, some people do not have any State, then an attempt should be made for them to be fitted in.

S.W.R.D Bandaranaike: We do not admit that they are stateless. But from your side you say that they are stateless. So, this difficulty has got to be met.

JN: I do not think there is any difficulty about this preamble. So far as the Ceylon Government's position is concerned, naturally you are the right persons to state their view, and so far as the Government of India is concerned, we are the persons to state our point of view. There is this lack of agreement about this 'stateless persons' question. If you agree that it is not desirable for any individual or group of persons to be named 'stateless', then efforts should be made to eliminate the possibility of this kind of thing. Then we proceed to the steps that we propose.

Kotelawala: We can say 'persons of Indian origin in Ceylon'.

JN: 'Those who have not been accepted as nationals'. I do not like the word 'citizen'. The correct word is 'national'. Nationals of India and nationals of Ceylon.

Kotelawala: Yes, we can say 'nationality' instead of 'citizenship'.

JN: Citizenship rights can be given to non-nationals.

Bandaranaike: The two terms are not exactly coextensive with each other.

JN: Then we proceed. (Reads on) "The Indian Government will grant... such citizenship...or any ground other than the non-possession of the qualifications prescribed by the law." 'Any ground'—I do not know what it means, because the presumption is that the application is made voluntarily. If that presumption goes, it is not a proper application. I give a crude illustration—a man filing an application with a man with a pistol behind him. Obviously, the man concerned has submitted an application, but from the picture I see that it is not a voluntary act at all.

Bandaranaike: The word 'voluntary' itself is so vague that it may be interpreted in a wide way. Actually people who apply may be turned down on the ground that there has been some kind of involuntariness. The fact that a man has applied shows that he has applied. If you go into the question of 'voluntarily' or otherwise, then a number of applications may be turned down on that basis alone.

JN: That is true, but the reply can be made in an equal measure that when a man applies for registration under your Act, you go into the background of the whole thing, you examine all kinds of things. The examination may be very strict or very lenient or it may be objective and dispassionate.

Bandaranaike: We do not go into the voluntary aspect of an application. We merely go on the actual qualifications under the law.

JN: Yesterday I was not here in the afternoon, but it seems that the officials sat for three or four hours, and I think that in the course of that sitting, both these points of view were discussed and the difficulties explained in the way of applying for Indian nationality and the difficulties in the way of applying for Ceylon nationality, and it was pointed out that in the kind of enquiry that is made, sometimes it seems that there was a lot of difficulty in the way of an average man's bona fide application—not because they did not possess the qualifications, but because of some technical error. They did not accept the State register. Often check lists are not kept. The State register is normally the only document but that is not accepted. Obviously, if there is any compulsion, I am quite sure that if you found it out, the application will be rejected.

Kotelawala: He can also withdraw of his own.

JN: In either case it can be withdrawn. The whole question of choosing a nationality is a choice of the individual. I agree with you that the application to become an Indian national should be dealt with fairly and all kinds of petty objections should not be raised. But as I said, there must be the element of voluntariness.

Kotelawala: Now you speak of a chap having the bayonet at his back. But there is another category. Suppose, a law is passed, then there are two categories and should not it be that judgement in the one category not be left purely to an administrative officer, but be dealt with at a much higher level?

JN: There are two approaches. One is the broad approach to this question as indicated by a legal or administrative definition. Then there is another thing that although administratively it is good enough, but the application maybe a little perverted. I agree that so far as the administrative part is concerned, it should be unobjectionable. No individual administrative direction should be issued which comes in the way of this, and this procedure should be adopted to give every facility to the man who wants citizenship. That I can understand.

Kotelawala: The word 'voluntary' should have some connotation. Voluntary can be interpreted in a wider sense. What are the circumstances that may have influenced this man to bring this application forward? May be that his conditions of service may have worsened. If those factors are taken to impinge upon what is considered to be voluntary, then you have to realize the wide scope that you open out. In an arbitrary way the applications may be refused. He may have been influenced by certain circumstances, whatever they may be.

JN: The question of voluntariness does not arise by our putting it down in a document of this kind. It is inherent. If you put 'on the ground', it widens the scope. There may be a number of considerations.

Kotelawala: On the other hand, if you use the word 'voluntary', it creates a difficulty.

JN: The previous draft says this: (Reads out the previous draft)

Kotelawala: If you omit the reference to the voluntariness, there is no difference. In view of the actual way it has worked, we do wish to know to what limits can it be interpreted. You can say 'if they so choose'.

Bandaranaike: The only point about that is, I do not know whether it is possible for Ceylon to undertake that this will be done within that time frame. There are about 30,000 applications.

JN: Leave out the period then. The whole point is about the procedure for registration.... The point here is this: There are two issues. One is to simplify and the other is to expedite the process. You said that it may not be possible to complete it.

Bandaranaike: We cannot give an absolute undertaking about the time frame.

JN: Then you merely say that steps will be taken to complete it in the specified period. The second point is about executive instructions of a restrictive nature which might result in the rejection of applications on technical grounds. You examine them with a view to their withdrawal. In the case of technical objections, there again are two points: One, they have got to be 'non-essential' and secondly they should not cause undue hardship. The third is, 'if any'. On technical grounds if you want to proceed on merits, that is all right. That matter is mentioned. The other point is the fact that certain instructions of a restrictive nature should be examined, naturally with a view to their withdrawal....

It is stated here as follows:

"The application will not be refused on the ground that the applicant had earlier applied to the Ceylon authorities for Ceylon citizenship".

We shall keep that.

Kotelawala: You can say, "who choose to apply for Indian citizenship".

JN: We can say, "if they fulfil the conditions required".

Kotelawala: How will it read now?

JN: It will now read like this:

"In regard to those persons who are not registered as nationals of Ceylon, it would be open to them to register themselves as Indian nationals if they so choose at the office of the Indian High Commissioner in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution of India. The Indian Government will grant every facility to them to obtain such citizenship if they possess the necessary qualifications prescribed by the Indian law. The application will not be refused on the ground that the applicant had earlier applied to the Ceylon authorities for Ceylon citizenship.

In turn the Ceylon Government will be prepared to remove any non-essential technicalities that cause undue hardship....”

Bandaranaike: There is no objection to the second part that you just read out. The difference between the official draft and the Delegation’s draft is this: The technicalities may be of two different nature. There may be a thing that is technical and yet essential and required by the law.

JN: Nobody can say that what is required by the law is to be bypassed. There is no question of that.... Rejection of an application on technical grounds does not mean that it refers to the legal grounds. One can, if one does not like the law, change the law, but you cannot object to the application of the law when it is clear.

Bandaranaike: We may put it in this way: “The procedure regarding registration will be simplified so as to dispose of applications within the shortest time.” If you say that we must change the law, then we cannot do it....

JN: These things are governed partly by law and very largely by executive instructions. There is no question of your changing the law. That is a separate thing but we are talking of the application of the law by executive instructions.

Bandaranaike: That is good. We may accept it but we cannot accept any question of changing the law.... ‘In the administration of the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, the Ceylon Government is prepared to remove any restrictive administrative requirements brought to its notice which result in the rejection of applications on purely technical grounds’. That embodies the sense.

JN: It becomes a question of wording only and not a question of difference in principle.

E.B. Wickramanayake:<sup>2</sup> How do you suggest it should be changed?

JN: I would proceed on the basis of this official draft and then try to amend it.... We might say this. In the administration of the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, the Ceylon Government will examine with a view to their removal executive instructions of a restrictive nature issued by the authorities in Ceylon, which result in rejection of applications on purely technical grounds.

2. Minister of Justice in Sri Lanka Government at this time and a member of Sri Lanka delegation.

Wickramanayake: It will, I suppose, mean purely a matter of form, not of substance.

JN: Technical means obviously something which is not on merits.

Bandaranaike: I would like to have it this way: 'Executive instructions of a restrictive nature, if any, issued by the Ceylon authorities.' Because we have not yet examined what they are....

JN: One point which Mr Senanayake mentioned yesterday was about the rush of a large number of applications in the last three months. The dates I got are these. The Act came into operation in August 1949. There was this boycott by these people. The boycott was withdrawn in March 1950 and the final date was August 1951,<sup>3</sup> so that from March 1950 to August 1951, that is, for a year and a half it was there and....

Senanayake: The figures were for the period of boycott—26,000. But then suddenly it shot up to 237,000.

JN: In all such matters applications may not come on the first day. They have to come at a later stage. It was not three or four months but a year and a half....

Senanayake: We received 160,000 applications within ten weeks of the closing date.

JN: That is but natural, is it not? Because it takes time to prepare them and get them made. But the point is that the process started after boycott was withdrawn and that was withdrawn before a year and a half. Suppose there was no boycott at all; inevitably the bulk of the applications would have come in the latter half of the period because it takes time. Another thing that was suggested was that the first applications were likely to exhibit more desire to go than others. May be so. But I understood that all these applications were not dealt with chronologically as received....

3. The Act in reference was the Indian and Pakistani Resident's (Citizenship) Act, 1949. The opposition to this Act was led in the Parliament by the left-wing parties, the Ceylon Indian Congress and the Tamil Congress. They took exception to the fact that the Act was "discriminatory, restrictive and made invidious distinction between citizenship by descent and citizenship by registration". The boycott of registration was led by the Ceylon Democratic Congress. The boycott was withdrawn at the behest of the Government of India.

Senanayake: They collect the straightforward cases.

JN: That is when you get a couple of thousand—you go through the whole lot and take out the straightforward cases. And the rest of the first lot gets mixed up with the remaining 200,000, except those that were in the process of being considered and dealt with. And you cannot then distinguish from them as to which were the first, which the second and which the third.... It was clear that when the boycott was withdrawn, an effort was going to be made by the parties concerned to get in as many applications as possible. Probably even during the boycott period, no doubt, they were preparing the grounds for it. I imagine so, but I do not know.... Also a political machine takes time to gather momentum; for opening offices and the rest, preparation and examination etc., they take time.

Bandaranaike: However, that is not the point.

JN: Page 2. "In pursuance... on their leaving Ceylon." Now, this obviously means...

Senanayake: A sentence will have to be inserted here that this does not apply to present holders of foreign passports.

JN: Those recognised by any other country as their citizens. Leaving that point aside, the purpose of this appears to be—in fact it is stated here—that those referred to here as stateless and who have not acquired the citizenship of either country, would be subjected to certain restrictions in regard to employment.

Kotelawala: May be subjected.

JN: Does it not go rather against the whole approach to this question?

Senanayake: Under the older Agreement we thought of inducements.

JN: You don't call a blow on their head an inducement.

Senanayake: I would not call that a blow on their head. The inducement is security of employment till the age of 55.<sup>4</sup>

JN: There are roughly speaking four categories. There are, of course, the Ceylon nationals. Then there are the foreign nationals or Indian nationals. You divide them into two categories, the people who hold TRPs and others.

4. See *ante*, p.136.

Kotelawala: Not only TRPs. There are passport holders.

JN: You divide them into two. Is that not so?

Senanayake: There are 150,000 passport holders.

JN: You divide these 150,000 people into two categories, TRPs and those who do not have TRPs.

Senanayake: Those having Indian passports.

JN: I gather that the figure 150,000 is not quite correct in the sense that many of them may have come away, but it is immaterial. But this guarantee that you give up to the age of 55, is confined to Indian nationals who do not come under the TRP.

Senanayake: That is so....

JN: Anyhow, it means that those persons who do not normally fall into any category of nationality will have restrictions in regard to employment placed upon them.

Senanayake: May be.

Kotelawala: We have not thought of it. They may be imposed.

JN: This is a class which is being gradually eliminated by two processes that are going on. Now, if you start putting all manner of difficulties on them, quite apart from the fact that whatever nationality they belong to or not, I do submit that it is against the normal procedure of any country. It is a very abnormal thing.

Senanayake: To protect our own nationals.

JN: In certain cases you may give priority to certain types of nationals, but to restrict employment deliberately against a large class is a matter on which, I think, you will find that much will be said.

Ceylonese delegate: The class will not be a large class.

JN: If it is not a large class, there is all the more reason why you should not leave that particular class in a way which not only creates natural disabilities

and hardships on that class but also creates a background of illwill all round, and the working of the other processes is thereby affected.

Bandaranaike: We have got to examine that....

JN: Apart from the right of the Ceylon Government to pass any legislation, we fear that the solution to this problem is the elimination of the hard core of disagreement. Now, in order to do that, we want certain processes which will eliminate this, and we want to create an atmosphere to help these processes, and if this atmosphere is not there, the hard core will remain hard core and then the other processes do not function.... Shall I put it in a different way? Previously in our talks we thought only in terms of this hard core being allowed to retain the status quo, and if this status quo is interfered with, then it upsets the whole conception. Surely from the point of view of solving the problem, we should see that those who feel frustrated and excited do not, instead of working harmoniously, work for disharmony and conflict. When I say status quo I am not referring to statelessness—that is a separate matter which gradually we will solve, but I refer to opportunity of finding employment etc. The question of statelessness is not a desirable matter and we hope gradually to end it. Now you propose to send back considerable numbers of acknowledged Indian nationals. I believe you intend sending at first 25,000....

Kotelawala: 5,000 in the first three months time. 25,000 have asked for renewal of their TRPs. We cannot send all the 25,000 in one batch as it is not fair. So we have thought of a scheme by which those whose term has expired, they will be given three months' period as notice and 5000 at a time will go. If they want any extension of time, it will be considered on merits. That will go on for a couple of years.

JN: How far do you think that process will take you in two years?

Kotelawala: We cannot deal with more than 10,000 a year.

JN: I want to know definitely the number.

Kotelawala: They will not be more than 10,000. Maximum will be 25,000 but it is difficult to say.

JN: I want some rough idea to calculate. If it is 20,000 in two years, then the position is this. We are trying to expedite the various processes of registration both as Ceylon and Indian nationals and we hope to finish it by 1955 or by the middle of 1956. But by then you would have sent away 20,000—not more

than that. So the question does not arise from any point of view of your dealing with the others in that period—just from the practical point of view—because if you can deal with more, you will deal with more TRP people.

Kotelawala: There are two different categories. One is the urban population, who have come in for jobs under Indian passports. At one time the whole lot went out during the War. The exodus was large scale. Then they came back gradually under TRP—not the estate workers. The estate workers are those who are indented and who came and went out. 40,000 usually go up to India and come back normally—not the TRPs.

JN: If you are thinking in terms of sending people away from Ceylon, all your capacity for sending them away is absorbed in the next two or three years in dealing with TRP people.

Bandaranaike: In other words you say that the need for introducing any legislation on the lines contemplated is not likely to arise for some years?

JN: I put it this way. The need for sending them away does not arise. Then they remain there for that period and so it does not seem to be a very wise approach to deal with them in a way that will create labour trouble etc. They have to be treated fairly, if they are there. If they are not there, then the matter ends.

Senanayake: You are speaking in terms of employment opportunities. These TRP people are under a separate category. The others are the estate labour and we have to create employment for them as well. It may be that we will reduce the number of the TRP category if their number is large. The real employment problem arises in the estate areas.<sup>5</sup>

JN: The employment problem presumably arises in those cases in different forms. With regard to one lot, it is easier for you to deal with them—the TRP people. In regard to others, various difficulties arise. I am just presuming—although it goes against my own argument—that you are sending people away who belong to the so-called 'stateless' category.

Senanayake: No. Not a single of the stateless. The people who go at the age of 55 are people who are now Indian nationals.

5. The approximate population of estate labourers of Indian origin in Sri Lanka was about seven lakhs.

JN: Whatever law you might pass or treatment you may give, even without the law to a large category, will apply to the whole lot whether it is in terms of employment or unemployment. You may say that you don't recognize any responsibility for the future of these people who are stateless. Let us presume that for the moment. You create a certain position for them which bears down upon them, which causes hardship etc. Obviously they cannot disappear even though you might send away 10 or 15,000 people. Suppose you send away 10,000, what about the remaining 490,000? They will become frustrated and hostile and it is not a problem which I would like to face.

Senanayake: We would also not like to face it. So we look at the circumstances of the situation before taking such action.

JN: So in order to get that atmosphere, you should get their support—that is very important. There are limitations in which our agreements can work. As it deals with very large masses of people, you should get their support and cooperation and for that, you should not create even an impression that in future you are going to penalise them. It is important. In effect, you should assure them that the status quo—not about the statelessness—but about the general living conditions—will not be affected. I can not say on a particular contingency arising what your Government will do, but do not deal with a large mass of population in this way.

Senanayake: We will have to be cautious.

JN: Once you put that down, don't you see that you don't gain anything by that? You are not going to have such a law, but you get all the disadvantages of that statement, without the advantage.

Senanayake: It is advantageous from our point of view because it might ease the process.

JN: What is advantageous? The law—not the statement. The first effect of this is entirely disadvantageous because the law is not there. You will only create turmoil in the minds of large numbers of people and you will have to face the trouble. Suppose you bring in the law, let us say, it is advantageous to you to the extent of 10,000 persons. But 490,000 are still affected by it.

Senanayake: This has received a good deal of publicity as the intention of the Government to have this law. For instance, there may be ninety five percent non-nationals in the first year and in the second, it may be ninety five percent etc. Actually, it will not cause very great hardship to the large numbers who will continue in employment.

Kotelawala: You mean, that we may pass a law without putting it down on paper?

JN: Your law actually will never be applied. You cannot apply it to five lakhs as it will upset your economy. You don't get the advantage, but only the disadvantage and you create turmoil and other undesirable reactions in the minds of people and it will prevent the other normal procedures in regard to other matters. I have no doubt that if we really work this honestly—and I can assure you—I cannot guarantee—some mistakes may be committed—but honestly I don't mind accepting any person—whatever number it might be, and if they come, they are welcome. It is our duty, whether it is difficult or not, we will have to face the situation. I have no doubt that people will come. I will tell you why they will come. India is going ahead at a pretty fast pace with her industrialization and other schemes. The whole background of India will be changing gradually. Quite apart from that, if people want to come, it is our duty and responsibility to take them. We will take them, and it does not matter what the difficulties are. If we could function in a proper spirit, I have no doubt that we will solve the problem sooner than most people expect or realize at present. But if a conflict comes in, not from the Government of India, but the conflict that you have to face there—the element of conflict that you have with the bunch of people there—it is unfortunate and it is too big a bunch for practical purposes. I would suggest—I suggested yesterday and I would suggest again today—that you deal with these people directly, win them over. Many of them will come back to India—let them—but deal with them so that they will help you. They will be assured of their future if you make them feel that they have less opportunities there. By keeping the sword of Damocles hanging over them, we do not win them over; we make them disgruntled and labour is a big problem today. It is not such an easy matter to deal with under modern conditions. You cannot think of old times.

Senanayake: Shall we generally run through the draft now? We may consider these things later on.

JN: The next paragraph says:

“The Indian Government agrees that all persons registered as Indian citizens will be given travel facilities as before and without restriction and on its side the Ceylon Government will give such persons remittance facilities as before”. You will see in the official draft, clause (iii) on the first page: “The Ceylon Government will resume the practice of issuing identification certificates to persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon whose applications for Ceylonese citizenship are pending and similarly the Indian High Commissioner will issue

identity certificates to persons of Indian origin whose application for Indian citizenship are pending with him."

Bandaranaike: That restricts the facilities to those whose applications are pending one way or the other.

JN: As a matter of fact, the whole thing hangs together and if equal facilities are given, I think we should extend the facilities to all those.

Kotelawala: Excepting this, that I myself felt this way. Those who have said that they will become Ceylon citizens should enjoy the advantages and disadvantages of a Ceylon national.... One man cannot have it both ways; if he wants to be a Ceylon national, he should be governed by the same rules and regulations as govern us and if he wants to be an Indian citizen, he should be governed by the rules applying to Indians.

JN: We are considering the period intervening between the presentation of an application and the final decision thereon. In the case of those who have not got Ceylonese nationality—and they have not got the various privileges which go to a Ceylonese national—you are not treating them alike, but in regard to this matter which is a normal human consideration shown to them, the old practice might be resumed.

Kotelawala: The only point is that if a man who says that he wants to become a Ceylon national is shown the same privileges as are shown to an Indian citizen, then he will not show his hand till the last, till a decision is reached.

JN: But Sir John, why connect the two? Why not treat these people more or less on the same basis as involved in normal movement, normal intercourse, whether they have become Ceylonese citizens, or Indian citizens or whether they belong to the so-called stateless class.

Kotelawala: If he is given the privileges of an Indian, then he can send money and he can come and go as he likes. If he becomes a Ceylonese national, he loses all those rights....

JN: It is not a question of remaining an Indian. I do not suppose they go visiting people frequently; they may occasionally visit some distant relative.

Kotelawala: They can send money. I cannot send any money.

JN: How much can they send?

Kotelawala: One-third of their month's earnings. If I am in that position, I could go on sending money but as a Ceylonese citizen, I cannot send money. If, I, for instance, want to buy a book here, I will have to get permission.

JN: These are exchange regulations?

Kotelawala: Yes.

Senanayake: The Indian nationals are at a great advantage than a Ceylonese national. That is why a large number of people have taken passports. You yourself admitted, Mr Desai.

JN: That is rather difficult. There are cases that have come before us where many wanted to pursue their studies somewhere in India.

Kotelawala: Ceylonese citizens?

JN: No, people of Indian origin. They applied but found it difficult even to come here.

Kotelawala: The difficulty of coming here is not due to us. It is due to your High Commissioner's Office.<sup>6</sup> If a man says that he wants to go to India under article 5 or 8 of the Constitution....

JN: That is true but if someone who has applied for Ceylonese citizenship wants to go somewhere, to India or to some other place, it does not mean in any way affecting their desire to become Ceylonese nationals.

Kotelawala: Our point is that if one has applied to become a Ceylonese national, he should undergo the restrictions of a Ceylonese national. A Ceylonese national is not allowed to come to a university in India.

JN: Are they not allowed?

6. The allegations against Desai, the Indian High Commissioner, included his uncooperative attitude towards registering people other than Indian passport holders; his placing stricter tests for acceptance of applications for registration; and his reported assurance to the planters lobby in Sri Lanka that the High Commission would not register or provide travel documents to a single plantation labourer of Indian origin. This had prompted Kotelawala to threaten on 22 September 1954 that the matter might be raised in the UN, if cooperation was not forthcoming from India.

Kotelawala: Unless they get permission from the Education Department....

JN: I think, Sir John, you are quite right in saying that a potential citizen has no right to demand higher privileges than a citizen. You are right there. Now the question arises—let us admit that they will have the same privileges—that he is in an indeterminate state. His application may be pending and you cannot issue him your passport till his application is decided upon. What is he to do? It is not a question of money. In regard to money matters the same rules should govern as are applicable to others. In such cases the normal international practice, I am told, is where such applications are pending, that without any commitment, travel documents are given with which he can travel and come back and then abide by the result of his application. Otherwise in regard to money matters etc. the same rules should apply to him as for Ceylon nationals.

Kotelawala: If he becomes a Ceylon national, then he automatically gets all of them.

JN: Pending that, if you cannot give him a passport, you can give him travel documents.

Kotelawala: Then he gets an advantage. I have not given passports to our Ceylonese citizens to go anywhere.

JN: Of course, in individual cases if the person is a subversive individual, you can deal with him on an individual level.

Kotelawala: If he is so keen, he can always become an Indian national.

JN: If you take the case of a student, as I said, there is no question of wanting to be an Indian national. He wants to come and study. A Ceylonese national might want to come and study. If from a political point of view you do not want to issue the documents to a Ceylonese national that is a different matter. Individual cases you may consider on particular grounds, but why should not you as a normal practice give these people the same facilities as you would give for Ceylonese nationals with only this difference that the Ceylonese national comes with the normal passport..

Kotelawala: If it is a question of education or something like that, one can consider those cases, but generally it cannot be a document entitling him to go up and down.

JN: So far as money is concerned, the same rules should govern as govern Ceylonese nationals—whatever they may be. So far as travel document is concerned, some document must take the place of passport, because his application is pending and so some temporary document must take the place of the passport.

Kotelawala: We cannot give him a general document which will enable him to go up and down, unless it is for an ad hoc purpose, i.e., if he says that he is going for this or for that purpose.

JN: These are details whether the document is for multi-journeys or for single journeys. It is for the Government to decide in individual cases. If a man, let us say, says that he is going to Madras or Bombay, give him a travel document for that purpose. That applies both ways. That is why I said that both sides of this matter should be considered. There are two kinds of restrictions and I suggest that both should be removed to balance each other.

Kotelawala: In other words you do not want any Indian to go to Ceylon in future for labour purposes. You said that, on no ground would you be allowing any more people to go to any country or to Ceylon for finding work because it creates a nuisance and it is not good enough for your prestige and so on. Now, we have got in Ceylon Indians who are in employment and who are asking for Ceylonese citizenship. According to the present law if anybody comes here legally, or illegally, he cannot get back.

JN: Are you talking of the recent ban? What is it?

C.C. Desai: If an Indian unskilled worker comes to India then he cannot go back. That is the ban. Because there is the danger of exploitation and cheap labour—that is the basis of that ban.

Kotelawala: I will explain in detail. In the olden days, in 1939, it was said that no Indian could come into Ceylon.

JN: That perhaps is the general rule and applies also to outsiders?

Kotelawala: Yes. Then the unskilled labour who went to India will not be able to come back. Then arrangements were made that those who were in employment were to be given what was called the travel document. The estates looked after their going and coming back. If A goes, A must come back, not B. If A cannot come back, he stays behind. This went on till our

Agreement in January, where we said that if you go to India you must have either of two things—either an Indian passport or a Ceylonese passport.

JN: After January they could come and go?

Kotelawala: Till January they could come and go. The Ceylon Government and the Indian Government made an arrangement that the estates could give a travel document to an Indian employee irrespective of whether he was an Indian citizen or a Ceylonese citizen. This was prior to January and it continued till June. On the first of June, a ban was put that he could not go to India unless he had two documents—either a Ceylonese passport or an Indian passport. If you take an Indian passport, if you are an unskilled labourer, you cannot come back in any case, whether you have got employment or not. Therefore, no Indian went to India because he could not come back. We could not give them Ceylonese passports because some of them were rejected as they did not entitle him to come to India.

Desai: The position is like this. After the Agreement the Government of Ceylon discontinued the practice of identity certificates which were being issued. They were given identification certificates by the estates. As the identification certificates do not fall in either of the categories of documents, they could not travel.

JN: So after the January Agreement, in March the Ceylon Government put an end to a certain practice that had been going on till then and in June the Government of India put an end to the Indian nationals and the like being given....

Desai: They were not Indian nationals; they were estate workers who had applied for Indian nationality.

JN: But they were admittedly Indian nationals.

Kotelawala: If those who had asked for Ceylonese nationality renounced their claim and said, 'I want to be an Indian and take up an Indian passport', then he is told that he can go, but he cannot come back.

JN: It seems to me that both the Ceylon Government's action in March and our Government's action in June were not wholly in keeping with this Agreement.

Kotelawala: We say that if you are going to have Ceylonese nationality, you must not have better conditions than the Ceylonese themselves.

JN: I am not asking for better conditions. I do not know the conditions except for the obvious fact that a man does not get his passport or travel papers. To reject a case on individual grounds is one thing, but to reject a whole class is another thing, as the general order did so that no identity certificate should be given.

Kotelawala: If an identity certificate is given, he goes up and down as he normally does. That is why he is prevented.

JN: I am not talking about Ceylon only, but I actually would like an agreement with various countries over no-visas, at least for visitors coming for two or three months. It is a nuisance. I am not talking about people who come to settle down, but about tourists and others who come for a short while. But obviously I admit that a person who has applied for Ceylonese nationality cannot expect any higher privileges than a Ceylonese national. That I admit. I know this puts a tremendous burden on the Government, but to have a general rule that they should not be issued travel documents seems to be not quite proper....

A person who comes on your travel paper to India cannot go to Russia by some other place.

Kotelawala: He comes to India and then he goes to the Chinese Embassy and gets his visa.

JN: That is breaking your laws. What do you do when he comes back?

Kotelawala: We cancel his passport.... What we are saying is this: When an Indian citizen gets an Indian passport and wants to go back, you must not prevent him from going back.

JN: I accept that. Why do people come here? To visit some relative or have some pilgrimage, etc. These are the main reasons. Or for education.

Kotelawala: Some people come here for their marriage.

JN: Do they?

Kotelawala: So long as we were British subjects, these problems did not arise. Only after we got our independence have these problems arisen.

JN: Now, how do we proceed further?

Kotelawala: That paragraph is considered essential by us.

Ceylonese delegate: We are agreed on that.

JN: Which paragraph?

Senanayake: Page 2 first paragraph.

JN: I am really sorry that I could not make myself clear. What I said was anything but agreement with it.

Kotelawala: Let us leave the wording of the paragraph to the officials or, we can do it now.

JN: That is to say, a fresh draft should be prepared....

Kotelawala: There is the last point that the two governments will exchange information etc. Suppose one applies for gratuity prior to its being obtained in India, then the fact of that application which will be passed on by our authorities to the Indian High Commissioner, will be considered as prima facie evidence for eligibility for registration which is necessary for his obtaining that guarantee. We will recognize that.

S. Dutt:<sup>7</sup> The scheme is intended for Indian nationals. Merely because somebody applies for it, we cannot agree.

Kotelawala: I think this gratuity scheme was conceived of to induce people to opt for Indian nationality—the stateless people.

JN: It may produce a desirable state of mind, but the proper course is to become Indian national and then take advantage of it.

Kotelawala: What you mentioned the other day was that there must be some act by which they opt. First they apply to the Indian Commissioner but they can also opt by applying for pension.

JN: It is quite easy for them to apply for gratuity if they are registered as Indian nationals. Then there are some matters in the draft that are left vague. I

7. S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary and a member of the Indian delegation.

would like to know what happens to persons who have not applied to anybody, either because they considered themselves as Ceylonese or otherwise. They are left in the air. We have dealt with those who want to become Ceylon or Indian nationals but what about those who don't judge either because of ignorance or for any other reason.

Kotelawala: That category is likely to be extremely small and after a certain time, we will see what residue comes into that category and consider at that stage the next step.

JN: Take another category of those who applied for Ceylon nationality and whose applications have been rejected. Now, they belong presumably to that stateless residue.

Kotelawala: We now contemplate a provision that such a ground of their application for Ceylon nationality should not be a bar. It will induce them. That category also will be very small. Then there are people who are not interested and are indifferent and they may not register because they don't care whether they are registered or not. That is why one would desire that a person who applies for a pension, on the basis that he is an Indian, should be considered.

JN: I had an idea that since we met in January you had somewhat varied the definition of the term 'Ceylonese'. Is it not?

Kotelawala: We have not varied it.

Desai: The definition of Ceylonese meant originally as people who were Ceylon citizens and those whose applications were pending. Since then, it has been varied by dropping the latter category.

Kotelawala: I presume for this reason that there are Government appointments. If a man's application is pending, you cannot give him Government employment and then throw him out later. So this category has been omitted. There was one case where we had some trouble.

JN: In some countries—rather in every country, the mere fact of joining the army automatically entitles a man to citizenship. In America any person who joins the American Forces automatically becomes an American national.

There is another matter that is vague in this draft viz., when people attain the age of fifty-five, they may be required to leave the country with their families. Family is a very comprehensive term. It may consist of majors and

minors. What happens if a person who is entitled to gratuity dies before getting it? What happens to his family?

Kotelawala: Family is intended to connote dependents or members of his family. Supposing I go to some other country and die, my family will be sent back to Ceylon.

JN: What about the grown-ups, who themselves in their own rights are entitled to be citizens of that country?

Kotelawala: If I am of Ceylonese nationality, my son also is a Ceylonese and he comes back.

JN: But his time cannot be terminated suddenly by the other fellow dying.

Kotelawala: Then he must register himself and say that he is there for a particular period. Anyhow when the scheme comes to be worked out in detail, no doubt, it has to be examined and discussed with the parties interested. Here we have to only concern ourselves with the general principles....

JN: It has been stated on behalf of the Ceylon Government that they had under consideration a scheme of gratuities for persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon, who are registered as Indian citizens. If you want to say fifty-five, etc. you can say so.

Bandaranaike: It was stated on behalf of the Ceylon Government that it had under consideration a scheme which will provide persons of Indian origin employed at present in Ceylon, who may hereafter be registered as Indian citizens, with gratuities on their leaving Ceylon with their families.

JN: The question of age etc., does not come in?

Kotelawala: That is a matter of detail.

JN: What about dependents?

Kotelawala: It will lead to all sorts of difficulties.

JN: Family may include grown-ups who may be leading their own lives. Otherwise you compel others who are leading their own lives. It can only apply to minor children or dependents. Either he is a minor child or he is dependent. If he is neither, he is independent....

Kotelawala: When you register you have also to indicate who are dependents on you, otherwise the children will not become eligible under our scheme.

JN: Here is a person who enters into a contract with Ceylon. He can't tie other independent people though they may be his sons.

Kotelawala: That is the position even now. When this scheme is accepted, it is only those who get registered will be eligible for employment.

JN: Nothing has been said about that here.

Kotelawala: The question is at what point of time?

JN: It does not matter.

Kotelawala: Does he change his domicile on the action of his father?

JN: He can refuse to accept his father's domicile.

Kotelawala: When that man goes under this inducement and gets the citizenship of India, he acquires the citizenship himself because of his father's action.

JN: There are thousands of people in India under the category I described. You are referring here to an agreement by the head of a family. That can only bind down the minor children and dependents and not people functioning independently.

Kotelawala: If at the time of agreement, he is a minor he is bound by that. Suppose we have a family from Japan on a ten year contract and at the end of the contract surely the son, even though he may be of twenty-five years, will have to go back as he is a foreigner.

JN: How can you bind an independent man even though he may have been minor at the time of contract?

Kotelawala: Otherwise the cycle will go on. What is the solution for it?

JN: Why not make it as brief as possible? You are stating the steps that you propose to take to induce people to come away.

Kotelawala: Yes...

JN: As you pointed out, the purpose of this is to put various kinds of pressure on those people so that they may act in a particular way, that is, you may make it difficult for them to get employment. I dealt with this matter at some length this morning. I am rather doubtful—not that I am raising that point—whether it is correct legally—in international law—because these matters have been repeated in France and Germany and it has been held that it is not right to do that. International law is a great thing but I put to you this other point. This whole approach, instead of bringing results that you desire, may increase the difficulty. It shows not a kind of sympathetic approach but some kind of victimization and victimization creates illwill and bad feeling. In fact, Mr Senanayake said that there is no likelihood of this being done for years. This problem arose from time to time and we somehow or other solved it. Now, if you come in the way of its solution, although your purpose may be to expedite, that may, instead of expediting, retard the progress.

Bandaranaike: It is really intended to eliminate the so-called stateless.

JN: How do you do that?

Bandaranaike: By making people register at one place or the other.

JN: We are dealing with people who have either become citizens of Ceylon or either have not thus far been accepted as citizens or who may be hoping to be rejected. What is to be done with these two classes? How do you, by bringing pressure upon them which is tantamount to active discrimination, hope to solve that problem? I can understand certain preferences in employment to certain groups. We give certain preferences, let us say, to people who are French. That is a different matter, but then you differentiate against a whole class. I know very well that if I did anything like that, my work will be worth nothing at all because the Supreme Court is here and they have said so many times. This comes within the mischief and I cannot do this kind of thing.

Senanayake: That is, differentiation against a section of your own nationals.

JN: Obviously, differentiation in regard to a foreigner is on a separate footing, may be, but even in regard to these, as I said, European law is against it, as interpreted, but my point is that you are trying to attain a certain objective and I say that you do not attain that objective. In fact, you create conditions not of cooperative effort to attain that objective, but conflict comes in. This is like any other matter that is happening every day. Nothing irritates so much as what is considered to be victimization in a labour dispute. It happens every day.

Senanayake: But the man can easily remove it. If there is any victimization, it is open to him to have it remedied. It is not as if the door is not open to him to remedy that state of affair....

Kotelawala: We have made a statement in the Parliament saying that that is what we propose to do.<sup>8</sup> Those who register themselves as our citizens will be given the guarantee.

Bandaranaike: If they so choose to remain stateless, it is their own outlook.

JN: Apart from that, there are quite a large number of them who have been there for a generation or two. Apart from the technicality of their being nationals or not, for all practical purposes, they are residents, permanent residents who have been born there, grown up there, large numbers of them and it does seem...

Kotelawala: They have got the option of either electing to become Ceylon nationals or getting Indian citizenship.

JN: He has not got that option because the circumstances are not accepted.

Kotelawala: We are not forcing him. If he does, he may get his job; if he says 'no', or you say 'no', then does it mean that we cannot take action so that we can ask him to do something in a manner as the Government of the country likes?

JN: You are perfectly right, but we are drawing up something which is supposed to be an agreement statement.

Kotelawala: But you have agreed in the proposals.

JN: No.

Bandaranaike: In the statement, the vital point, you have stated that you do not consider those people as stateless and this is another point on which we may say this.

JN: We stated disagreement on a basic point and then went on to say that this basic disagreement will be dealt with later when the problem will become simpler by various approaches. We are now considering the approach itself. It is the approach that you suggest that upsets the whole scheme. If there is a basic difference and a difference in approach, then there is nothing left.

8. On 22 September 1954.

Bandaranaike: But this flows from that basic difference that we do not recognize these persons as stateless.

JN: It is one thing recognizing as basic difference—I am not saying this argumentatively—and another thing dealing with it in a practical human way, where large number of people are involved and thereby moving towards a solution. This is not a cooperative way; this is a way which encourages conflict—not between us—and we ourselves cannot function with that ease with which we would want to function.

Bandaranaike: On the other hand, the actual circumstances of the case must also be considered. This position has been fully made clear by the Prime Minister himself and the whole country has now taken this for granted.

JN: But is it not basically a question between those people and your Government? Where do we come into the picture? We may have some opinion this way or that way, but how do we come into the picture. If you had a labour conflict, we do not come into the picture.

Bandaranaike: That is true, but there are certain points here that we have stated where you do come in. For instance, registration of people and affording them facilities for exchange and so on.

JN: Facilities are different; what facilities you give, it is for you to decide and what facilities we give, it is for us to decide. But jointly we decided that you and we should give certain facilities. Giving of facilities is one thing; denying facilities is another thing. You were perfectly right in pointing out this morning the denial of certain facilities on your part for Indian nationals, who want to come here and therefore it struck me that it was not the right thing to do, if one denial happens to follow another. It is not desirable to have a competition in denials. It is not a competition in doing something but preventing something being done.

...Kotelawala: We have got to deal with two kinds of people: Indians who are registered and for whom we have to guarantee employment and also our population in our villages.... We have to give employment to those Indians who have registered in the sense that we will not take them out of their employment.

JN: The right of independent Governments to function as they choose is no doubt there. If you consider the question that way, then the question of co-operative endeavour fades out. Naturally, we cannot challenge your right; you cannot challenge our right. But where there is a cooperative effort to deal

Senanayake: But the man can easily remove it. If there is any victimization, it is open to him to have it remedied. It is not as if the door is not open to him to remedy that state of affair....

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JN: We stated disagreement on a basic point and then went on to say that this basic disagreement will be dealt with later when the problem will become simpler by various approaches. We are now considering the approach itself. It is the approach that you suggest that upsets the whole scheme. If there is a basic difference and a difference in approach, then there is nothing left.

8. On 22 September 1954.

Bandaranaike: But this flows from that basic difference that we do not recognize these persons as stateless.

JN: It is one thing recognizing as basic difference—I am not saying this argumentatively—and another thing dealing with it in a practical human way, where large number of people are involved and thereby moving towards a solution. This is not a cooperative way; this is a way which encourages conflict—not between us—and we ourselves cannot function with that ease with which we would want to function.

Bandaranaike: On the other hand, the actual circumstances of the case must also be considered. This position has been fully made clear by the Prime Minister himself and the whole country has now taken this for granted.

JN: But is it not basically a question between those people and your Government? Where do we come into the picture? We may have some opinion this way or that way, but how do we come into the picture. If you had a labour conflict, we do not come into the picture.

Bandaranaike: That is true, but there are certain points here that we have stated where you do come in. For instance, registration of people and affording them facilities for exchange and so on.

JN: Facilities are different; what facilities you give, it is for you to decide and what facilities we give, it is for us to decide. But jointly we decided that you and we should give certain facilities. Giving of facilities is one thing; denying facilities is another thing. You were perfectly right in pointing out this morning the denial of certain facilities on your part for Indian nationals, who want to come here and therefore it struck me that it was not the right thing to do, if one denial happens to follow another. It is not desirable to have a competition in denials. It is not a competition in doing something but preventing something being done.

...Kotelawala: We have got to deal with two kinds of people: Indians who are registered and for whom we have to guarantee employment and also our population in our villages.... We have to give employment to those Indians who have registered in the sense that we will not take them out of their employment.

JN: The right of independent Governments to function as they choose is no doubt there. If you consider the question that way, then the question of co-operative endeavour fades out. Naturally, we cannot challenge your right; you cannot challenge our right. But where there is a cooperative effort to deal

with a situation, then one Government does not do a thing which comes in the way of the other Government.

Kotelawala: Our cooperative effort is to reduce the stateless.

JN: Our cooperative effort first of all is to see that the people do not suffer. Everything else is secondary. Any step which does not take that fundamental thing into consideration is fundamentally wrong. Of course, one cannot remove all the suffering from the world; that is beyond our power.

Wickramanayake: If we do not have preferential treatment, then our people will suffer.

JN: I consider these people very much your people too. If there are people here who have lived for some years, I cannot just push them out. I cannot discriminate against them. This is in continuation of the meeting we had in January and the Agreement we arrived at on that date. Now, are we not going beyond the terms of that Agreement? If I may say so, with all respect, this is something hostile to the spirit of that Agreement, hostile to that approach. It is not a question of your organizing your social and economic life in a particular way but, victimizing, perhaps by law, a large number of people.... This morning we were calculating the fastest rate at which you could dispose of them, that is, you could send away Indian nationals and we came to the conclusion that in the course of three years it may be solved. In any event for three or four years this large number remains. It does not matter with what legal status they remain. Do you want that large number to be, apart from the human aspect, more or less satisfied with life or it should become more and more dissatisfied, rebellious and troublesome with all those consequences? The only way to get rid of them is really to dump them into the sea or some other country. There is no other way.

Kotelawala: Look at it from our point of view. There are our own nationals for whom something will have to be done. And it will be more difficult for us to tackle them....

JN: We are considering people about whom we hold different opinions. That is the basic difference. Remember too, that we are not at the moment having anything to do with Indian nationals but we are considering those who have lived there for generations, worked there, laboured there, helped in the economy of the place and all that. Even if there were a large number of foreign residents, you could not deal with them that way. Whatever may be their status, you cannot deal with them that way and treat them as foreigners, who have just come there in the last year or two. There is a difference between foreigners and well-established people who almost automatically get all those privileges.

V. Nalliah:<sup>9</sup> From our point of view the question is asked as to what justification is there for the Government of Ceylon to spend a large sum of money on maintaining one Commissioner and thirty Deputy Commissioners and a large staff for registering these people as citizens, if the others who fail to register also remain there. We have to answer that question.

JN: I put it to you, what answer will you give them?

Nalliah: We cannot find an answer and that is why we came here.

JN: There is no answer to that question except dumping them elsewhere....

Bandaranaike: I quite understand what the Prime Minister of India says, but I have to assure him that the unrest on the part of the Ceylonese will be hundred times greater.... Any step that we propose to take will no doubt, be after full consideration of all the circumstances, so that the least degree of difficulty or trouble will be caused. In some form or other we have to provide some safeguards to our own nationals which they, in the present circumstances, are fully entitled to expect from us....

JN: In other words, there is a future possibility of contingency. We are doing something to provide for some future contingency which might or might not arise before which the immediate present comes in the way.

Bandaranaike: As a matter of fact, that contingency exists even at present. There is a strong public opinion against it. That is the issue and we want to put it as mildly as possible....

JN: Tell me what happens. Supposing you pass your legislation in regard to this—I am not at all clear in my mind what the correct position will be—but then it may well be said that that is coercive legislation in order to compel a large group to act in a particular way.

Bandaranaike: When the actual proposals are formulated, we can see what the reactions will be to the actual concrete proposals that may be put forward. That is why we are so vague....

JN: Now take another practical consequence. You pass your legislation, and you treat them as aliens. A number of them will want to register themselves as Indian nationals. We will accept them or we will not accept them. In either

9. V. Nalliah, a member of the Sri Lankan delegation, was Acting Minister for Commerce in Sri Lanka Government at this time.

event, what happens to them is that they do not disappear from Ceylon. Even if they are to be removed, the process of removal, as discussed this morning, takes time. Meanwhile, you will have to hold them. You have to deal with them. You have to provide for them materially and to see to it that they do not become a menace either by starvation or by whatever reason. The responsibility will remain with the State completely.

Bandaranaike: All these factors will be duly weighed by any Government before they take steps, the precise steps which they propose to take....

JN: It is not a parallel, but consider what is happening in South Africa. They want these people of Indian, Pakistani or Ceylonese origin to go away. They offer gratuities and the like and they have brought in legislation which bears on them heavily, but nevertheless, they stick on. They do not go away in spite of the gratuities and other things offered to them. People criticise the South African attitude because it savours of discrimination.

Bandaranaike: We cannot be compared to Dr Malan's Government.

JN: There is no parallel. What I was saying was that when there is discriminatory legislation, people feel hurt. The whole idea now is that we allow certain processes to work out. I am quite convinced in my mind that by allowing these processes to be followed, this problem will fairly rapidly fade away. If you follow these processes for a year and a half or two years, you can see the problem in a new shape, in a manageable shape and deal with it. But now you are raising the initial difference of opinion.

Bandaranaike: At present no steps are necessary, but they may be necessary in the future. But if you leave this out altogether, it would create a feeling in the future in the minds of our people that our Government has not taken any steps to safeguard the rights of their own people.... If it can be stated that this is the Government of India's view, it may help our Government in framing their policy in regard to this matter.

JN: But no step should be taken in the nature of victimization. From any point of view, discrimination is undesirable. No doubt, every country should try to avoid unemployment among its nationals, but if you try to help one hundred people at the cost of ten people, that act of discrimination will upset the hundred and ten. That is the history of the labour movement in the last twenty years, because they know that, if they do not hold together, they suffer. Probably, you have no intention of victimization, nevertheless, you give an indication and create all the disadvantage and fear. You don't profit by it.

Kotelawala: This is only a statement of the position. It is not something new that is being discussed. It has been enunciated by the Prime Minister himself.

JN: In our draft we would say that these people who are not made citizens of Ceylon and whose case has been pending, that their present status would be preserved. Negatively, it means that there should be no victimization. Positively, they should be given the normal facilities which they have had thus far. If you admit that, then admitting it you can do everything you like, to encourage employment for your nationals. It is a positive way of approach but this is a negative one and you will not profit by it.

Kotelawala: What you say is not excluded by our wording.

JN: You say the position of these persons will not be affected but, at the same time Ceylon will do anything as it thinks proper to safeguard the interests of its nationals. You balance the two.

Kotelawala: ...One is merely saying that steps may be taken to safeguard the interests of our own nationals in employment which may not require any interference and the other is a positive statement that they will not be interfered with.

JN: There is no solution of these problems in a static approach to a static economy. There has to be a dynamic approach to a dynamic economy which grows and which absorbs.

Kotelawala: Plantation economy is rather static.

JN: Plantation economy is not a static economy. You can adjust it.

Kotelawala: I am afraid we have agreed to disagree on this point. We can't go further on this....

JN: You are really asking us to accept, or indirectly, or passively, commit ourselves to something on behalf of somebody else.

Kotelawala: We are not asking you even to agree to it.

JN: It is indirectly asking on behalf of half a million or so that you take some steps which may be embarrassing to them. That is a terrible responsibility.

Kotelawala: We can say that without mentioning the steps.

JN: That is your Government's principal function to take those steps. It only has some meaning when it is put in juxtaposition of saying that it will be at the expense of somebody.

Kotelawala: We don't ask you to agree or approve the steps, but flowing from that attitude towards the status of these people, we indicate in a general way as to what steps may be taken to safeguard the interests and that this gratuity will be given....

JN: The difference of opinion may be stated. Once you state the action then the action becomes opposed to each other.

Kotelawala: The difference finds its manifestation in action in difference of views regarding the action.

JN: Don't you agree that the whole approach of this has been because of difference of opinion. We hold on to our respective opinions. How are we to get over it? Either we leave it at that and have a deadlock, or putting it aside, we proceed in a cooperative manner. If the difference of opinion conveys the action itself, then it is very difficult to cooperate.

Kotelawala: If and when the action is taken and if you find you cannot cooperate with us, naturally those consequences will flow from your side.... We can say if the two processes agreed upon do not yield satisfactory results, then our Government reserves to itself the right to make legislation.

JN: You have to wait to see what those two processes will be. If you initiate the processes with something which would come at the end, it prevents us from functioning. I don't see what connection has the gratuity schemes with this. Here it is a statement as to how you are going to deal with a certain category of persons. Are they going to be left more or less as they are—because naturally we can expect you to take special steps to better their lot. There are three aspects—leave them as they are, better them or worsen them. We don't ask you to better their lot. We suggest that they should be left where they are till this matter is settled in three years. I do not want you to commit yourself to what you will do later. There is no restriction on your freedom of action. But anything that immediately worsens the situation should not be done. The positive thing is that they should continue till the matter is dealt with in various ways. Of course, it is open to you to do anything you like.

Kotelawala: We will say, "The Ceylon Government while giving a reasonable opportunity for the solution of this problem by steps mentioned above, may take such steps as may become necessary from time to time to

safeguard the interests etc.” That is for the intervening period—may be two or three years before they finally opt for India or Ceylon. “The Ceylon Government while giving a space for a period of time in which to judge the success of the steps mentioned above to secure the object contemplated, may take such steps etc.” That means there will be an intervening period when they can make up their minds as to the citizenship.

JN: You are taking some steps which we enter at a certain stage let us say, if we function rapidly, in two and a half years’ time. It is obvious that at that time we have to review the situation and see what else can be done. Nobody can challenge your right or discretion in the matter.

Kotelawala: What further steps we find necessary from our side to safeguard the interests of ours—the two problems are involved—one in the other.

JN: The problem of settlement arises because of the second problem. It is intimately connected. Obviously, you have no animus against anybody but because you have to face the situation—whether it is employment or other political situation, that this problem arises. At the end of this period you will have to consider—you will have to consider all the time—what further steps you can take in regard to the whole situation.

Bandaranaike: I think a clause could be worked out, embodying what you have in mind and also what we have in mind, for instance, something like this: “To see how the steps proposed above help in the solution of this problem and the Ceylon Government will then have to take action and this would be reconsidered particularly from the point of view of the Ceylon nationals.”

JN: We hope that the steps that have been suggested will go a long way towards the solution of this problem. The Ceylon Government will have to consider how the problem, in the circumstances, could be solved, whether it could be solved or partially solved and solved to what extent and whether this process will be completed within the two years and that, they reserve the right to act in any manner they like.

Bandaranaike: Particularly from the point of view of safeguarding our nationals. That is the only condition....

JN: I hope that you have that always in mind. That is your principal function, is it not?

Bandaranaike: It is true but it requires to be stated.

JN: But stating it in a way which is injurious to the other party.

Bandaranaike: We have put down a rough draft for consideration. It is as follows:

The Governments of the two countries earnestly hope that the steps mentioned above will in the time contemplated, that is, two years, resolve to a substantial degree the problem of persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon by their registration either as Ceylon citizens or as Indian citizens. At the end of this period the position will be reviewed with a view to deciding what further steps may be needed to deal with the balance that may be left. The Ceylon Government for its part states that it will in addition have to consider what steps may be necessary at that stage to safeguard the interests of its own citizens in regard to such matters as employment. It was stated on behalf of the Ceylon Government that it intends in the meanwhile to permit persons of Indian origin now in employment in Ceylon, who may hereafter acquire Indian citizenship, to continue in such employment till the age of fifty-five years, when they may be required to leave the country and that it has under consideration a scheme for the payment under such conditions as may be prescribed of gratuities to such persons when they leave the country.

JN: You say here that the Ceylon Government states it will 'in addition'. I do not know in addition to what.

Bandaranaike: In addition to considering the problem of persons who are left.

JN: I suppose that is part of the problem. If you are dealing with it separately then it is not a part.

Bandaranaike: 'In addition' here means in addition to consideration by the two Governments.

JN: When you say the Ceylon Government's approach to this question, then we may have to add India Government's approach to it.

Bandaranaike: Yes.

JN: What your draft means is that during the period of this registration, that is to say, till this registration period is over in effect the status of these persons would not be affected. The status quo will prevail. At the end of the period it will be reviewed. The review will no doubt deal with the picture as a whole as it appears, then and at that time in case it is necessary—I am putting forward your point of view—the Ceylon Government will in addition to whatever steps

they may take reserve to themselves the right to take some steps to ensure and safeguard the employment of their own citizens. The point is, in the safeguarding of their interests, the interests of others may be affected. What I should like to state is this. Of course, I am not against your safeguarding the interests of your citizens. It is your duty to do it. But what I am concerned with is that this should not lead to any form of victimization or any form of coercion exercised on these people through the steps which you might take.

Bandaranaike: Yes, we can state that.

JN: In other words the Government of India is of the opinion that in any steps that may be taken in order to promote or safeguard the interests of Ceylonese, there will be no victimization in the respect of those persons who come in this category. "The Governments of the two countries earnestly hope that the steps mentioned above will in the time contemplated, i.e., two years, resolve to a substantial degree the problem of persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon by their registration either as Ceylon citizens or as Indian citizens. At the end of this period...."

and I have added here—

"....and when the process of registration is completed, the position will be reviewed with a view to deciding what further steps may be needed to deal with the residue that may be left."

If we put this down, there is a likelihood of the whole thing being completed soon.

"The Ceylon Government for its part states that it may then have to consider...."

Bandaranaike: The two Governments may jointly decide upon dealing with the residue.

JN: "It was stated on behalf of the Government of India that while every effort should be made to promote employment as stated by the Ceylon Government, this should not involve any coercion or victimization of those persons of Indian origin who may still remain unregistered either as Ceylon citizens or as Indian citizens."

Then the last part comes in. Instead of saying 'deal with the residue', you may say 'deal with the problem of the residue'....

Bandaranaike: You agree that it is necessary for us to promote our nationals' interest?

JN: Of course. There is no question over which we have given more thought and time than this question of production and employment. Progress in India can be measured by two standards—production plus employment—and both have to be joined together. We are not content with mere production; it must be employment plus production. It is a measure of concern and the concentration of mental effort to that end.

We have sat for days and days and hours and hours in the Planning Commission and gradually we have come to this conclusion. Of course, we have got a chapter on employment but in spite of that chapter, the fact remains that we had to think of other means. We now a days think in these terms; precisely what employment will there be and judge every measure by that level. We have got the handloom industry and if it is a question of starting another textile mill to replace it, we say, "No, because it promotes unemployment". We do not want the latest techniques if they are going to involve in unemployment. It is a terrific problem.

Bandaranaike: That is certainly a much better approach than blindly following the Western methods of industrialization irrespective of the conditions of employment in our countries.

JN: It is not so much a question of West and East, but it is rather the nineteenth century outlook. We had the Ford Foundation which considered this problem of our cottage industry and they advised us not to have anything which displaces people, thus creating social and other problems. Not that we are averse to taking latest techniques to the cottage industries; we took electricity to the cottage industries like the Japanese did in a broad way. We do all that provided, always it gave employment.... I think we will release it to the press tomorrow forenoon. What sort of title shall we give this?

Bandaranaike: Agreement.

JN: Agreement is a pompous word. We will call it a statement.

Kotelawala: We have got a Ceylonisation scheme for all purposes. I hope this will not interfere with it. This is only for a particular purpose.

JN: The persons whose TRP expire, the selection of those people should be done by cooperative effort so that the least harassment is caused.... There are Indian nationals and there are these people who will be called stateless persons at present. So far as Indian nationals are concerned, it is a question of taking steps with as little upset as possible. If it is done cooperatively, we may lessen these upsets and inconveniences. Take the considerable number of Indian

nationals who own properties. If they have to go, it is not particularly easy for them to dispose of their properties.

Kotelawala: A sells it to B and takes double the value of it and goes.

JN: How does it happen?

Kotelawala: Both connive at it. He sells his property and goes to India.

JN: How does it benefit the man who buys it?

Kotelawala: They are relations, cousins or something like that. It is happening nowadays.

JN: It may happen in the case of some big people. But normally you do not expect this kind of thing to happen. If you put one property on the market, it may fetch a normal price. But if you put hundred properties on the market, then it will become a buyers' market and they won't fetch the normal price. I suggest for your consideration the establishment of some trust or some other temporary arrangement.

Desai: So far as the people who were served with notices are concerned, they are people with low means. In other cases you have to extend the TRP and give them facilities to liquidate their property in a proper market before they go. This problem will be more in the future.

JN: I am not particularly interested in a few rich persons who will normally look after their interests, but the middling persons and the poor persons may suffer....

Kotelawala: I thank you most sincerely for the hospitality that you have extended to us from the day we landed on your soil....

JN: Mr Prime Minister, you have forestalled me. I was myself expressing Delegation's and my Government's gratitude to you and to your colleagues for all the trouble you have taken and the extreme courtesy and spirit of accommodation that has been shown.... Thank you very much.<sup>10</sup>

10. In a joint comunique issued on 11 October, both sides recognized the basic difference of approach of each side and decided to proceed as rapidly as possible in the processes of registration on both sides.

## II. PAKISTAN

### 1. Cable to Winston Churchill<sup>1</sup>

As I was leaving Delhi, I received your message about Pakistan desiring to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth even as a sovereign independent republic.<sup>2</sup> I agree to the general procedure you have suggested.<sup>3</sup> My Government is prepared to recognize Pakistan continuing to remain within the Commonwealth even after it becomes a republic. We also agree that a declaration in the terms proposed by you would be a suitable manner of placing this on record.<sup>4</sup>

As suggested by you, I am communicating with the other Commonwealth Governments also on these lines.

I would suggest that no formal statement or declaration might be issued till the new Pakistan Constitution has been finally passed. It is desirable, however, that, prior to that, we should agree about this declaration. I suggest this as it might be rather awkward for us to issue the declaration and then for some delay to take place in the adoption of the new Pakistan Constitution. There appears to be some controversy in Pakistan about this new Constitution.<sup>5</sup> This relates to other matters, but it may well delay the passage of the Constitution.

As I have said above, I am communicating with the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon. We have at present no diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of South Africa and hence I am unable to send them a message.

1. Calcutta, 15 October 1954. JN Papers, NMML.
2. In a personal message to Nehru on 14 October 1954, Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of UK, communicated Pakistan's desire to remain within the Commonwealth of Nations, despite the proposed change in its constitutional status into a republic. He stated that the United Kingdom Government for their part considered this change in constitutional status of Pakistan acceptable for remaining a full member of the Commonwealth.
3. Churchill had suggested that the terms of declaration of acceptance by the other Commonwealth countries should follow the precedent set by India in 1949.
4. Churchill had enclosed a draft declaration in this regard for Nehru's perusal and had sought Nehru's views in the matter.
5. The controversy regarding the new Constitution was at two levels. First, the Constituent Assembly itself was thought to be 'unrepresentative' in character, as it did not represent proportionately the population of the country, provincewise. Second, the move for an 'Islamic Republic' was felt to be a retrogressive step, meant to hamper the existing powers of the provincial governments. Earlier on 21 September 1954, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had "hastily" adopted two recommendations of its Basic Principles Committee, viz., that Pakistan would be an 'Islamic Republic' and that the Governor General's powers would be substantially reduced.

## 2. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9 November 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

I received your letter of the 22nd September on Evacuee Properties<sup>2</sup> shortly before my departure for China. I regret, therefore, that I could not send an earlier reply.

This matter has been the subject of prolonged correspondence between our two Governments during the last six years. In your present letter you have repeated the statements and arguments which I have dealt with in our previous correspondence. I explained in my last letter the reasons which led us to the decision to acquire the rights and titles on properties of evacuee owners in India. There would be no point in my repeating the same arguments over again. I have, however, had a note prepared by our Ministry of Rehabilitation on the various points mentioned by you in your latest letter. A copy of this note is attached.<sup>3</sup> You will see from this note where the responsibility lies for the failure to arrive at a satisfactory solution of a problem which involves the fortunes and well-being of millions of unfortunate human beings in our two countries. I can only express the hope once again that the Government of Pakistan will agree to meet the representatives of the Government of India to settle the principles according to which compensation should be paid to those who have lost their properties as a result of forced migration from one country to another. I have no doubt that with goodwill on both sides a solution will be found.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mohammad Ali had written this letter in reply to Nehru's letters of 6 March and 7 May 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 346-355. Ali alleged that India's objections to the private sales of urban evacuee property was untenable since by ruling out such sales Pakistan had the only option of Government to Government settlement. Further, India's decision to acquire and dispose of old and dilapidated evacuee property constituted a clear violation of the Agreement of January 1949, which had laid such rights with the evacuees only. He contended that such unilateral decision by India had put unnecessary financial burden on Pakistan and that India's evaluation of the worth of evacuee properties in both the countries was based on 'unreliable data' and hence, was grossly in favour of India.

3. The note explained the Indian position on the evacuee property issue and point by point countered the Pakistani allegations. Finally, it laid the onus of undermining the Agreement of 1949 at Pakistan's door and stated that despite repeated attempts by the Government of India to reach an amicable solution to the problem, the Pakistan Government had not been responsive.

### 3. To J.K. Bhonsle<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22 December 1954

My dear Bhonsle,<sup>2</sup>

...As it was, the evacuee property laws etc., were very unusual and odd.<sup>3</sup> They could hardly be justified except on the ground of grave emergency. We cannot say that this emergency goes on and on.

Also, it is to me a patent wrong for us to treat our Muslim nationals directly or indirectly, much worse than we treat any foreigner. The evacuee property laws have undoubtedly injured vast numbers of Muslims here because of threat and fear that accompanies them for all Muslims who might have some property or business.

However, I do not wish to go into the past. The point is that we have changed our policy now completely. The law has been amended this year,<sup>4</sup> but it seems that our Custodian Departments have not quite caught up with this. We must pull them up and put an end to this continuous harassment. It does seem to me absurd that the burden of proof should be cast on Indian Muslims and that they should be required to prove their presence in India continuously for a number of years and through documentary evidence. Very few persons, whoever they might be, can give such proof. I hope you will go into this matter fairly carefully, and keep me informed....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation.
3. The Evacuee Property Laws put severe restrictions on the sale and purchase of properties owned by Muslims in India. On 20 December 1953 the Government of India had decided to restrict the application of the law so that the existing evacuee property pool could be available for compensating displaced persons in India. See *Selected Works*, (second series). Vol. 24, pp. 463-465 and Vol. 25, p. 98.
4. The Administration of Evacuee Property (Amendment) Act 1954, passed on 8 October 1954, stated that the Government of India could acquire the right, titles, and interest of evacuee property in India and utilise such property for payment of part compensation to displaced persons. And, from then on, any person could dispose of or purchase any property freely, without going through the Custodian of Evacuee Properties.

#### 4. To M.S. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Santiniketan  
24 December 1954

My dear Mohan Sinhaji,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 10th December came sometime ago. In this you mention your talk with Dr Khan Sahib<sup>3</sup> and Iskander Mirza.<sup>4</sup>

Both these persons are frank. I have no doubt that Dr Khan Sahib means well. He is a very old friend of mine. But I fear that he is likely to be influenced by the people around him.

I have little doubt also that Iskander Mirza as well as others in Pakistan want to have some kind of an agreement with India.<sup>5</sup> There is no particular difficulty about this, except in the case of Kashmir. Such an agreement would strengthen their Government greatly. They have realised that they cannot get anything out of India by pressure tactics and by using foreign powers for this purpose.

The question now arises as to what we should do about it. If a proposal is made for a No War Declaration, I shall certainly agree.<sup>6</sup> The canal waters issue is already being dealt with.<sup>7</sup> Rehabilitation matters can easily be taken up and I have asked Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>8</sup> to visit Karachi for the purpose, if necessary.

Kashmir is a tough question and I do not see any progress visible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.
2. Indian Ambassador to Pakistan.
3. Minister of Communications, Government of Pakistan.
4. Minister of Interiors, Government of Pakistan.
5. Iskander Mirza was reported to have said on 14 November 1954 at Lucknow that the more the two Prime Ministers met the better it would be for Indo-Pak relations.
6. But in a letter to Nehru on 21 September Mohammad Ali had stated that a "mere No War Declaration" would not serve the purpose as long as the disputes between the two countries continued to poison their relations. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, p. 323; and Vol. 26, p. 471.
7. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 462-464, 466-469, 472-474.
8. Union Minister for Rehabilitation.

## 5. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

10 January 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you about C.C. Desai whom we had selected to be our High Commissioner in Karachi. I need not refer to our previous correspondence on this subject. We discussed this matter on the last occasion at Djakarta.

Among our Missions abroad, there are naturally a few which are considered by us to be most important. Among these few, Karachi holds the first place. This has been so right from the beginning when we sent one of our senior most colleagues, Shri Sri Prakasa, as our High Commissioner.<sup>2</sup> At that time there was no foretaste of the problems and controversies that were unhappily to engage our attention later. The mere fact of Pakistan coming into existence was of high importance to us because of our own past relations and the necessity of good relations in the future. When problems arose, this need became all the greater.

We have, therefore, always given the greatest thought to the choice of our High Commissioner in Pakistan. Our present High Commissioner, Shri Mohan Sinha Mehta, was sent there because he is among our most experienced and most trusted men in the Foreign Service. He has worked, I believe, throughout his stay in Pakistan for good relations between the two countries. He has been there now for his full term. I would not have minded his staying on longer but his own health and domestic reasons make him wish for a change and I cannot say 'no' to him since he has served his full term already.

When it became clear to us that Mohan Sinha Mehta would be leaving Karachi, we set about thinking of his successor. We wanted to make quite sure that the person who was sent there would not only be senior and experienced but one who would specially suit Karachi and who would try his best to promote good relations between India and Pakistan. Having considered various possibilities, we came to the name of Shri C.C. Desai who seemed to us to fulfil all the qualifications rather well. He is one of our seniormost men and has held various high posts. He is also a person who is the reverse of passive. He wants to get things done. His record in Ceylon, where he had to face rather a difficult situation, has been undoubtedly good. He was criticised during one phase because of some internal party controversies and because he was wrongly reported to have said something. But I doubt if there has been any foreign

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.  
2. From 1947-49.

envoy in Colombo who has won so much goodwill from all sections and parties as C.C. Desai did. This was obvious enough when it was decided that he should come here. As for the Prime Minister of Ceylon, he spoke in the highest terms of C.C. Desai.

Thus, we chose C.C. Desai because we were definitely of opinion that he would be particularly suitable for the post of our High Commissioner in Karachi and would be able to do good work there. I had no doubt in my mind that he would be welcome in Karachi. When your first informal reaction reached me, I was surprised and could only think that you had been misinformed about him.<sup>3</sup> I told you then, and repeated this later, that I had no desire to send anyone to Karachi who was not welcome to you but I did feel that C.C. Desai would be welcome to you if you knew all the facts.

We gave further thought to this matter and came to the conclusion that we would naturally abide by your wishes even though they were informally conveyed to us. At the same time, we felt that C.C. Desai was a very suitable person for Karachi and that you would approve of him if you knew him. At Djakarta you had, I believe, a talk with Sir John Kotelawala about C.C. Desai. We had also a brief talk. You told me then that you had no objection to C.C. Desai going to Karachi. All that you were thinking of was that possibly there might be some adverse criticism in the press who might think that he had not succeeded in Colombo and now he is being sent to Karachi. I pointed out that if there was any such criticism, it would be entirely misconceived and without any basis because C.C. Desai had done rather well at Colombo. You told me then that you would trust my judgment in this matter and leave the decision to me. I have considered this fully again and I feel that it would be good both for India and Pakistan if C.C. Desai went there as our High Commissioner. I am sure that, when you see him and get to know him a little, you will appreciate him.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 7 December 1954, Mohammad Ali called Mehta and asked him to convey his "most earnest" request to Nehru to reconsider Desai's appointment, since he had heard extremely adverse reports about him. Nehru reiterated his decision in a telegram of 8 December, which was conveyed to Ali on 10 December. Still Ali hoped that Nehru would reconsider his "most respectful" request.

## 6. Cable to M.S. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

...3. Raja Gazanfar Ali<sup>2</sup> suggested our inviting Ghulam Mohammad<sup>3</sup> for Republic Day. At first I did not approve of the idea as we were much too busy then with our own functions and we did not invite outsiders then. Also I shall be going away soon after to London. On giving the matter further thought, however, I felt that it might be desirable to invite the Governor General and I advised the President accordingly.<sup>4</sup>

4. You will please convey this invitation personally and state that I would be happy also if the Governor General could come here then. It will not be possible to have any long talks then because we shall all be terribly busy, but I feel the mere fact of our invitation and his coming here then will have very good results, both in India and Pakistan.<sup>5</sup>

5. As these days are full of Republic Day functions, it will hardly be possible to have special functions for the Governor General. But we may have a banquet by the President on the 25th night.

6. I am leaving Delhi on 14th morning. Please send reply soon.

1. New Delhi, 12 January 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Pakistan's High Commissioner at New Delhi.

3. Governor General of Pakistan.

4. Rajendra Prasad sent a message to Ghulam Mohammad saying: "It is not usual for us to invite guests from abroad on Republic Day but, nevertheless, as the head of a friendly neighbour country and as a person closely associated with India in the past, your coming here on this occasion would be very welcome."

5. Ghulam Mohammad accepted the invitation and reached India on 25 January 1955, along with three Cabinet Ministers, Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali, Iskander Mirza and Dr Khan Sahib. On 25 January Ghulam Mohammad said at the airport: "I have more faith in Nehru than you have." Speaking to the students of Jamia Millia, Delhi, the same day he said: "The time has now arrived when we should learn to forget the bitterness of the past.... I am convinced Jawaharlal desires happy relations between the two countries."

## 7. Raids on Indian Territory<sup>1</sup>

Please send the note to the President for his information.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that a protest has been made by our High Commissioner at Karachi. I think this matter should be taken up in Delhi with the Pakistan High Commission also. Not only this, but the various raids that have occurred in recent times should be mentioned and it should be pointed out that this kind of thing is not creditable to any Government and creates tension and ill will. The case of the five Santhal women should be mentioned also. This has been before us for a long time and we have had to face many difficulties even to get a proper enquiry. It now appears that the Pakistan representative has agreed with the Indian version of this incident. No doubt, further action should be taken. But it is never easy to take action a year or more after the incident.

I should like to mention these matters to the Governor General of Pakistan when he comes. I can give him a copy of the note you give to the High Commissioner.<sup>3</sup> Please, therefore, have a brief note prepared from this point of view.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, Satyamurthinagar, Avadi, 20 January 1955, JN Collection.
2. In a letter to Nehru on 6 January, Rajendra Prasad had drawn his attention to the killing of three policemen by Pakistani raiders at Baggu, in Pugal sector of Bikaner district. He also referred to the killing of six Santhal women in Purnea district two years ago by the Pakistani policemen. He felt that this was being repeated as if to remind us of our "helplessness" and observed that "submission to this kind of treatment to our nationals and our policemen is nothing short of supine cowardice."
3. The note was in the form of a report giving details of the incident which took place at Baggu on 3 and 4 January. It contended that though there was a machinery for exchange of information between the police of two countries, it was difficult to take up all the cases of miscreants, who were tacitly supported by Pakistan Border Police.

### III. USA

#### 1. US Oil Companies in India<sup>1</sup>

I have rapidly read these papers.<sup>2</sup> Arthur Lall was undoubtedly rather emotional and took a somewhat exaggerated view.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, I am inclined to think that this note errs on the other side.<sup>4</sup>

2. So far as our arrangements with American companies for the setting up of refineries are concerned<sup>5</sup>, we entered them after full consideration and with our eyes wide open. There is no question of our going back on them. They will continue. The only question that arises is about giving further opportunities to American companies for gaining some measure of control over our oil resources. I would not like them to have any kind of a monopoly control in India or even a very dominant one. But, in the circumstances, we may give them some opportunities if, in the balance, we consider it advantageous to us.

3. Many years ago, I was interested in the development of the great oil combines. I read a number of books on the subject. They related to the oil interests in Western Asia, in Mexico and South America. I also made some kind of a special study of American business interests in some of the South American republics. I do not pretend to be an expert about these matters, but I came to the conclusion that oil was a dangerous proposition if it was largely

1. Note to the Secretary General, New Delhi, 11 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. The papers comprised of a note by B.K. Nehru, Minister, Embassy of India, Washington, commenting on observations of Arthur Lall, Indian Consul General in New York, on US business interests in Indian oil sector.
3. Lall had suggested that oil should be prospected and exploited by the Government of India with its own technicians and capital, since the big American oil combines were known for usurping political control in order to entrench their vested interests. He felt that Indian industry should operate on a small capital base for cost effective production, unlike the capital intensive and expensive American method, in order to gain self-sufficiency and keep the vested interests at bay.
4. B.K. Nehru, on the other hand, had written that "the statement that American capital seeks to gain political control" could not be accepted. He also rejected Lall's criticism of American methods of production and felt that Government of India's existing policy of permitting American capital to operate in India required no modifications.
5. The Government of India entered into contracts with three foreign oil companies, (Burmah-Shell, Caltex and Standard-Vacuum) in November-December 1951, to set up refineries in India. The total investment of these companies were to be to the tune of Rupees sixty crores, with the total production capacity of 85,000 barrels a day, as against the required need of 105, 000 barrels a day. See also *post*, pp. 199-200, 341.

controlled by outside interests. The great oil combines are anyhow so vast and so powerful that they can and do influence the action of governments. The influence is sometimes open, more often it is indirect or insidious. This, of course, would apply to any powerful vested interest.

4. I was also then convinced of the strangled hold of American finance on some of the South American republics. The argument of this note, therefore, to the effect that American finance does not exercise political influence much, appears to me far from the truth. Of course, it is difficult to distinguish in the United States of America between direct pressure tactics of great financial interests and the Government's policies and activities. The two overlap very much, although sometimes there might even be some little friction between them.

5. To say that American capital does not seek to gain political control is a very partial truth. Capital as such does not directly seek it, but there are certain consequences that flow from it which lead American capital functioning through the US Government to interfere and to try to dominate. In any event, whatever the past may have been, we are now in an age of direct attempts by the two great powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, to control or at least to direct and influence the policies of other countries. The motives are not financial. But money plays a very big part in this business. Money has indeed influenced the policies of most countries in Europe and Asia. Even a great power like the UK privately confesses that it cannot always adopt a policy of its choice because of financial reasons or dependence on US help.<sup>6</sup>

6. It is at the same time true that probably American big financial interests today are relatively more reasonable and moderate in their outlook than the US Government.

7. It is stated in this note that "a country's independence cannot be subverted if it is socially, economically and militarily strong; foreign capital is not needed to subvert it if it is weak." This is a kind of statement which on the face of it is true. And yet, it has not much wisdom behind it. One might also say that a country's independence cannot be subverted if the people of that country are prepared to die in defence of it. The point is that one does not consider extreme cases of strength or weakness. Most cases are usually in the middle where external factors can and do make a difference. Where this is so, every such factor has to be examined carefully lest it makes a difference for the worse.

8. Quite apart from the pressures exercised by another country, the fact of some measure of dependence upon it, financial or other, itself has an effect on that country's policy. If we are asked to sell a particular type of goods to China

6. Since the inception of the Marshall Plan in 1948, till 30 June 1954 the UK had received US aid worth \$3,597,500,000.

prohibited by the US, we think many times before we decide on selling it, lest thereby, we might irritate the US. To that extent, our freedom of action becomes limited.

9. Therefore, so far as this oil business is concerned, we have partly already come to decisions which will be proceeded with. For the rest we ought to proceed warily, not ruling it out but not being too eager either, and examining each case carefully. So far as other firms of American capital are concerned, I would not rule them out, but I would examine each case with care. I would indeed prefer private capital to come in rather than Governmental financial help.

10. I hardly think it is necessary for you to send these notes to Arthur Lall. You may write a brief letter to him.

## 2. Training for Personnel<sup>1</sup>

Reference has been made in these notes to what I wrote some time ago about sending persons to America for training.<sup>2</sup> I felt then that, while we should certainly send people for special technical training there which may not be available in India, I was doubtful of the benefit derived in normal cases from training in the United States, because conditions were wholly different there. I have often come across persons trained in America who feel frustrated in India because they cannot get the same facilities or equipment or environment as they have got accustomed to in the United States.

2. In the objects noted in the summary (b) is "to provide general orientation on farm and family life and institutions in the USA", in other words, to orientate the students to conditions in America. Will that orientation help when he comes back to India and finds that the environment is completely different?

3. However, I have no objection to sending twenty young farmers to the USA as suggested. I would not commit myself to any continuing scheme like this for the future, till we have some experience of this.

1. Note to P.S. Deshmukh, Union Minister of State for Agriculture, 8 December 1954. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 492-493.

### 3. To Dwight D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
13 December 1954

My dear President,

I am grateful to you for your letter of November 30, which was given to me by your Ambassador here.<sup>2</sup>

I am happy that our Vice President, Dr Radhakrishnan, could meet and have a talk with you during his recent visit to the United States.<sup>3</sup> He is not only our Vice President but, if I may say so, one of our wise men who is greatly respected by all sections of the people here.

I entirely agree with you that what really counts in the relations of States is the common ground on which they can work out mutual problems. I am quite sure that there is much common ground between the United States and India. It is natural that there should be some difference in outlook or approach to some problems because each country has been conditioned differently by its history and experience. But this difference in approach should not be allowed to come in the way of friendship and cooperation. Indeed, it should be an inducement to them to understand each other more.

I have followed closely the important announcements you have made on many occasions recently and the stress you have laid on peace. As you have been good enough to say, there is no alternative to peace if we aim at a happy and fruitful world. For our part, we shall endeavour to our utmost capacity to work for this cause.

With all good wishes to you, Mr President, for Christmas and the coming year, and with my regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Appreciating India's efforts for peace Eisenhower said that, the policies of States varied according to their security requirements and peculiar circumstances but what really counted was the "common ground on which we can work out mutual problems and minimize differences. ... I do not consider that our differences in approach constitute any bar to growing friendship and cooperation between our two nations."

3. Radhakrishnan met Eisenhower on 18 November and presented on behalf of the Indian Council of States an ivory gavel for the United States Senate.

## IV. OTHER COUNTRIES

### 1. India and Neighbouring Countries<sup>1</sup>

Madam President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When I first heard of the formation of this Indo-Arab Society,<sup>2</sup> the thought struck me as to why we have waited so long to start such a Society. I welcome the idea, of course, and even though we are rather late in having some such formal approach to this question of developing Indo-Arab relations, or strengthening them, nevertheless, it was a good thing to begin; and so I gladly consented to be present here on this occasion and I congratulate the sponsors and the founders of the Society, and others associated with it.

The thought of promoting and strengthening this association of the Arab world with India may be a new thought to some, but, as His Excellency the Ambassador for Egypt<sup>3</sup> said, one must remember that this is something which goes far back into the dawn of history. Something happened to us and to the Arab world and to the other parts of Asia two or three hundred years ago which rather snapped the bonds which tied us. Something happened to the whole of Asia. Later it happened to Africa. It is very odd that these countries which were neighbours, and which had neighbourly contacts in ages past, suddenly got some kind of barriers—barriers erected between them—and then they dealt with the new contacts, developed them, and somehow overstepped their neighbours. Take the last four hundred years or more. All the trading routes, and caravan routes which traversed from India towards Iran and the Arab world, gradually fell into disuse. Of course, there were historical causes to it, apart from political. Then you see the other routes developed, and the political causes also came in the way and it became easier for us in India to go to Europe, and to some countries in Europe, rather than go to some of our neighbouring countries. I remember—this must have been about twenty six or twenty seven years ago when I attended

1. Speech while inaugurating Indo-Arab Society, Bombay 7 October 1954. Transcription of the tape recorded speech. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The Indo-Arab Society aimed at bringing India and the Arab countries together by emphasizing the common ideals, promotion and exchange of cultural, educational, social and economic relations, and by fostering trade and commerce. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was the President of the Society.
3. Ismail Kamel Bey.

a conference in Europe<sup>4</sup> where representatives of many Asian countries and also many representatives of the Arab world also gathered—that it was a great pleasure to me to meet those representatives then and all of us from all these countries were, in one way or the other engaged in our respective struggles for freedom. Well, we exchanged notes, discussed matters and we said how good it would be if we met frequently, at least sometimes. But the question was where we could meet. We discovered that there was no place in Asia where we could meet, because there were barriers to our meeting in every place in Asia. There were political barriers and governmental difficulties. It was easier for us to meet in Berlin or Paris or in London, than to meet in Asia. That, of course, indicated, quite clearly, the state of affairs between our countries and the countries of the West. That meant that we could not even go straight to each other. We had to find some country or some territory of Europe even to meet. But the development of this period of history has now ended, and its relics which may have partly remained, will, no doubt, end soon. So the spread of the European domination over Asian countries—behind which lay many changes in Europe—made, if I may say so, no change in Asia. That is to say, we became politically speaking, just passive, quiescent, if you like, stagnant. We were not moving, while Europe was moving scientifically, industrially, technologically, and in many ways. These Europeans came across the seas thousands of miles with the spirit of adventure, established themselves, and even misbehaved a great deal. And thus the sea ways developed, and the land ways, which connected us with our neighbouring countries, ceased to function.

Oddly enough, another development took place in more or less recent times. That was the development of the air ways which inevitably had to go over, more or less, through the land routes and the caravan routes. So, in that way began a new type of contact—not a very deep contact, rather a superficial contact to begin with. But anyhow, we did pass through those countries, going to and fro.

Then, of course, other things happened in the political sphere, and our respective countries gained independence. One of the first results of that was that inevitably, we began to look towards each other, and to pick up old threads which had been broken long years ago, and we began to think of those old times. Suddenly, we heard afresh some old melodies which had been somehow lying quiescent in our mind. They came back again—the old memories, traditions, melodies—and revived that period of close intercourse, close culture in a hundred ways. In between this period there were certain matters which may be for some

4. International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism in Brussels, held in February 1927. See *Selected Works*, (first series), Vol. 2, pp. 270-276.

historians, may be for some individuals, to think about; but what I am talking about is not for the historian, the expert, the geographer, or a few businessmen, who might have dealt with one country or the other, but I am talking about basic racial memories. All our countries have a long tradition and a long past, have plenty of these ancient racial memories connecting us with our neighbours, near and farther away, and connecting us with all kinds of past development and thought and religion, culture, trade and commerce, and the adventure of ideas. So, these old memories came back to us and it almost seemed that this interim period of two or three hundred years—or whatever it was, it varied, of course, it was not a fixed period—was something which superimposed itself and which had come for a moment in the way; and with its going away, we resumed the story afresh. His Excellency, the Ambassador for Egypt, referred, a little while ago, to Indonesia and the struggle of the Indonesian people for freedom and to the Conference we held some six or six-and-a-half years ago in Delhi.<sup>5</sup> Only a few days ago we had the Prime Minister of Indonesia as a very distinguished guest of ours in Delhi<sup>6</sup> and again I thought of how we were completely and absolutely cut off from Indonesia and the countries round about for some hundreds of years, although being so near, and how close our contacts with Indonesia were during the previous period. Indeed we can see signs of that contact all over the place—in language, in architecture, and in so many other ways. So, we have a right to claim—in so far as our contacts with countries of South East Asia are concerned—that they are pretty ancient. Certainly, historically speaking, they are nearly two thousand years old, or perhaps, may be a little less or a little more. Our contacts with another part of Asia, by land as well as by sea—our contacts with China, and beyond that, Japan—are also pretty old; and they run back at least 2,000 years, if not more. But probably—why probably, but certainly—our contacts with the countries of the Western Asia—Iran and the Arab world—are older still, and they in fact go back right to the dawn of history. We had no proper records of them in the historical sense, but we have plenty of records to show how close those contacts were. So, India is used to having close contacts with its neighbour countries—to the west, to the east, to the north east and to the north—and has developed them on the whole, through the long period of history peacefully. Some conflicts, no doubt there were from time to time during these thousands of years, but by and large our contacts were peaceful contacts, contacts of ideas, cultural contacts and the like. It is true that all our countries gradually succumbed to a disease, that is passivity, losing our dynamic character. Now, compare that with great

5. Asian Conference of Nineteen Nations on Indonesia, held in January 1949. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 9, pp. 159-182.

6. Ali Sastroamidjojo was in India from 21 to 26 September 1954.

dynamic periods of history of our own in this continent of Asia. We meet to form this Indo-Arab Society. There are very few things in history which show greater dynamism than the dynamism of several hundreds of years of the Arab world. It is something amazing how such a quality comes to a certain race or a people. Well, I do not know. But it has come with certain vitality, certain dynamism, and it is just amazing how this dynamism affected our history for several hundreds of years, and even later, of course, when that extreme dynamism was somewhat less, it carried on, in a very full-blooded way, with its culture and civilization, and carries on still. My mind wandered through all these periods of history in the past when I heard of this Society, and I felt that the past came to the present and that how important it was for us in India—and I am sure, if I may say so, with all respect for the other countries of Asia, and outside Asia—to have these close contacts developed with them, by trying to understand each other, to cooperate with each other for our mutual good. As His Excellency the Ambassador for Egypt, said, it was not as if we are making or developing something new. We have strong foundations for these, and all that we have to do is to refresh our memory and dip into this past which has been so rich in our associations. However, the present—quite apart from the cultural and the like consideration—demands from us this type of association. Now, we talk about the countries of Asia. Broadly speaking, it does not mean just the Asian countries. It means the other countries round about. When we talk about the Arab world, we do not talk merely about the countries of Asia. The Arab world is to be found in the continent of Africa also. His Excellency himself does not come from Asia, but comes from Egypt....<sup>7</sup>

Then his Excellency referred to that part of the Arab world which is to the west of North Africa which is not independent or free today, but which, no doubt, will be free because, if I may say so, though history has not taken the effect, it has written the decree and it is bound to take the effect because of the forces which are at work today.

Now, all these countries in Asia or Africa have many things in common. I have referred to some things, cultural and others. Another thing which is common between us was in being dominated over by Western countries during the period of the development of industrial civilization. Therefore, most of the countries and the people who live in them, passed through certain common experiences even during this period, apart from the past common experiences; therefore, those common experiences, even though they may have been unpleasant to each of us, also made us understand each other a little more and drew us together in a sense, although we could not actually in those days deal with each other directly. Nevertheless, in our minds the fact remained that we were

7. Bey corrected Nehru by saying that he came from Circasia.

drawn towards each other because of this commonness of experiences. Now, all this holds good. But even more so it holds good now because we too have another common experience—or common problem, if you like. We have to catch up, if I may say so, in many ways certain other countries which, in those ways—and not in all ways—have gone ahead of us and which are more prosperous because they have taken the advantage of modern benefits of science and technology. Now, we have to do that at the same time preserving our individuality, our cultural inheritance and soul, if I may use that word in the broad sense of the word, because no country, big or small, can do very much if it loses the roots of its nature and of its cultural inheritance. At the same time, if I may say so, no country can live only in the roots. It has to grow up and flower. So, we have to make up for the lost time, and make up as rapidly as possible because problems confront us—human problems, problems of great population—which demand answers to the questions they put to us. And unless we can find satisfying answers, well, we shall get into greater difficulties. Now, these problems vary from country to country no doubt. Nevertheless, there is commonness about them. Here again we come nearer to each other because of the commonness of these problems that face us. So, from every point of view—whether of old traditions, old associations, old culture and commonness of ideas—our modern demands and everything else points to our closer association, closer understanding and cooperation.

Of course, in the modern world we are thrown together, whether we like it or not. All the countries of the world are thrown together. Now, I talked about Asia or, if you like, about Africa. And as you perhaps know there has been a proposal recently made—or made during the past few months originally by the Prime Minister of Indonesia—for a Conference, an Asian-African Conference—which may take shape sometime or the other. Now, what does that mean? Are we in Asia or in Africa, who are close together, banding ourselves together against anybody? Certainly not. If we hold the Conference—or whether we hold it or not—we do not think of banding ourselves together against any continent or any country. The thing which sometimes we object to is that we should be pushed and harried about and made to participate in other people's conflicts and troubles. We have enough of troubles of our own. Why should we carry the burden of others' conflicts? I do not understand. So, when we talk of Asia or Africa and our cooperation with these countries, it does not mean—and it should not mean to anybody—that this is opposed in the slightest sense to any other continent or country. Take Europe. I had talked about the domination of European countries in Asia. It is a historical fact, and a fact to our personal knowledge. But on my part I bear no ill will to any country in Europe. That episode is passed and it is not a good thing to live in traditions of ill will. I admire the countries of Europe. I do not like everything that they have done or they might do. But I do admire much they have done in the way

of human progress. They have advanced. I should like to learn much from them, whether it is the countries of Europe or America or any part of the world, but only provided I keep my feet firmly planted where they are. I will not sway this way or that way, nor be pushed or harried about by others. That I object to, both as an individual and as a nation, and I think when I say that, I can say with confidence that other countries in Asia have similar feelings. They do not want to be pushed and harried about. They are prepared to cooperate—whether they are countries of Asia, Europe or America or any other continent—provided they can do so on a basis of equality and friendship and full consideration for each other. Somehow, most of us have grown up in this era of conflicts—bitter conflicts—great wars, and the like with their trail of hatred, bitterness and fear. Each war comes and there is talk of some kind of a millennium after the war is over, of freedom and all that, and yet it leads to more difficult problems afterwards. And now we talk of further wars coming, forgetful of the past, forgetful of the obvious consequences of any further wars, and an attempt is made by great and powerful countries to become stronger, lest others become more powerful. And in this race, nobody can win except, if disaster comes, disaster wins.

Now, where do we come into this picture, we the countries of Asia? We do not wish to, I hope, enter the contest of power; and, indeed, we cannot. We have not got that capacity, not for a generation or two, in any way. I cannot speak of what would happen many, many years later. But apart from our capacity to do it or not to do it, I do hope that we have no desire to do it, no wish to do it. I do not speak this with any sense of complex of superiority, because I know well enough our own weaknesses and our own failings. But I do express—and our people have a faith in this—that in this generation we must all—whether in Europe or Asia or in any other continent—definitely and deliberately try to avoid war and put an end to it, because apart from any idealism, the practical consequences are apt to be not the achievement of any objective of any country, but the destruction of such culture and civilization as we know it. For the countries of Asia, I said that we want to learn much from Europe. But I hope you will not learn from Europe or from other countries of Asia or America this business of piling up armaments to fight each other and of continuing this tradition of fighting and conflicts; always of course, using the highest phrases and highest appeals for idealism for that fight and for that war. Again, I should like to say that India, from the point of view of its extent, is a big country, nearly two thousand miles long and nearly two thousand miles broad, with an enormous population. But greatness does not go by length or breadth or numbers. We know from history that greatness comes to small countries and to small communities by the quality of their people and not by numbers; and so to imagine that because a country is long and broad it is great, is queer. It is absurd. Therefore, we must not think in terms of one country

being better because it is bigger than another, but rather think in terms of the fellowship of countries and not of one country trying to boss over others. And I hope that in Asia the comradeship between our various countries that we will develop will be of that type of fellowship of equals, without any country trying to assume superior airs over others or presuming to interfere with others, but taking counsel together and trying to cooperate with each other. That is the type of fellowship, I hope, we shall aim at. And when I say that I do not exclude, of course, cooperation with countries outside Asia or Africa or countries of Europe which have greatly advanced the cause of civilization to their credit; that is to say, the countries of Asia, while passionately preserving or wishing to preserve their independence—or to acquire it where they have not got it yet—do not wish to live in an isolated way or in a hostile way to any part of the world or to band themselves together or to associate themselves with other groups or bands—hostile groups—but desire to live in friendship with all countries, provided only that their independence, their freedom of action and development is not interfered with.

Perhaps, I have gone a little further than I might have done on this occasion. That is a failing I suffer from because my mind runs on. It is often occupied with thoughts and ideas and seeing so many of you, eminent citizens of Bombay and others present here, I allowed the mind to run on. And may I—talking about the eminent citizens and talking about the not so eminent citizens of Bombay—mention more especially the distinguished guest we have here, the Minister of the newly-freed country of Sudan?<sup>8</sup> Here he is representing not only his great country in this broad area of Asia and Africa, but a country which, I am glad to say, has peacefully and cooperatively achieved its freedom. He is here to meet us, and we are happy to welcome him, because we are of the same fraternity and same brotherhood. We have also here representative—distinguished representatives—of Ceylon, whom we welcome also. So, the course of history runs on, and we have entered a new chapter which calls upon us to be wide awake, to stand on our own feet, to work hard, not to lose ourselves or our souls or our cultural inheritance, but to participate fully in that great inheritance of the world. In this, it is evident that we should cooperate as closely as possible with our old friends like those of the Arab world; and so I again welcome the formation of this Society.

8. Sayed Ibrahim El Mufti, Minister for Commerce & Industry of Sudan.

## 2. Cable to Ali Sastroamidjojo<sup>1</sup>

...2. I have seen Indonesian resolution on West Irian for General Assembly.<sup>2</sup> We shall, of course, support Indonesian position<sup>3</sup> and this resolution fully. The question for you to consider is whether it would be tactically advantageous for India also to cosponsor it or to support it fully without cosponsoring. There appears to be some advantages in latter course, as it might give Indian Delegation opportunity to influence some wavering members of General Assembly. Present chances of Indonesian resolution passing in General Assembly are, I am told, not good unless Latin American States support, which is doubtful.

3. In this matter you are the best judge and we shall follow your advice. In view of shortness of time, I suggest that you might communicate with your delegation in New York and tell them what advice you give for Indian Delegation there.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The Indonesian resolution on West Irian was put up in the agenda for the 9th session of the UN General Assembly on 21 September 1954. The resolution sought immediate resumption of negotiations between the Dutch Government and Indonesia and the Secretary General's assistance in appointing a person to render his good offices in the negotiations. On 24 September the UN General Assembly included the resolution in its agenda.
3. Indonesia contended that the Government of the Netherlands had unconditionally transferred complete sovereignty over the former Dutch East Indies to the new Indonesian Republic and the status of West Irian had been left unsettled only as a temporary measure pending decision within one year. The Dutch Government, on the other hand contended that the transfer of sovereignty was on the condition that West Irian was excluded from the Republic and remained under Dutch administration because West Irian had a racially distinct population from the rest of Indonesia. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, p. 418 and see *post*, p. 201.

## 3. Negotiations with Nepal<sup>1</sup>

I do not approve of the suggestion made in Joint Secretary's note and I do not propose to agree to a variation in this rather casual manner of what was agreed

1. Note to R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary and T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary (Emigration) MEA, 17 November 1954. JN Collection.

to between Ministers of the two Governments.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it is factually wrong to give the preamble stating that Ministers had met in May 1954 and then give something entirely different. Of course, it is open to the Nepal Government to go back on what their Ministers said though it would not be considered very proper to do so. But then that would be something new and not the record of what happened in May 1954.

2. There was no talk on this matter either with the King in Calcutta or the Prime Minister of Nepal in Darjeeling.<sup>3</sup>

3. In fact, what that *aide memoire*<sup>4</sup> contained had been discussed and agreed to on previous occasions between Ministers of the two Governments and the King of Nepal.

4. If we are to consider this matter anew, representatives of the two Governments will have to meet and preferably the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister of Nepal might meet us in Delhi. The *aide memoire* of the 8 May 1954 was drafted by me in the presence of the Ministers of the Nepal Government and agreed to by them, though it is true that it was taken away by them and they promised to communicate formally with us later. My draft was by no means a perfect draft. It was done on the spur of the moment. The Nepal Government's present draft<sup>5</sup> is certainly not an improvement on my draft. If, therefore, this matter has to be considered more carefully, then there has to be fresh consultation.

2. To coordinate foreign policies of India and Nepal, D.R. Regmi, the Foreign Minister of Nepal, and some other ministers met Nehru in Delhi in May 1954 and an *aide memoire*, drafted by Nehru on 8 May 1954, was agreed upon. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 460-463. On 15 October 1954, Regmi sent a revised *aide memoire* for Nehru's approval. T.N. Kaul, had suggested that the main change in the revised version was omission of the word "coordination" in the preamble and pointed out, "we need not quibble too much about the phraseology of the Nepalese draft and may accept it," subject to modifications in paragraph relating to Tibet and China.
3. Kaul had written that if nothing further had transpired on this subject during talks between Nehru and the King and the Prime Minister of Nepal in Calcutta on 15 October or at Darjeeling on 2 November, Nehru might approve the Nepalese draft.
4. The *aide memoire* of 8 May stated that in matters of foreign policies and relations, there should be close and continuous contact between the two Governments. The Government of India would consult the Government of Nepal in all matters relating to Nepal, and Nepal Government would consult the Government of India in matters relating to Tibet and China. The two Governments would periodically exchange information relating to foreign affairs. The Indian Missions abroad, wherever required, would represent Nepal government, look after Nepalese interests and help Nepalese nationals.
5. The *aide memoire* revised by the Nepal Government stated: (1) there should be close and constant contact between the two Governments regarding their foreign policies and relations; (2) the two Governments would periodically exchange information in this regard; (3) in particular, in matters regarding relations of Nepal and India with countries on the border common to both, consultations would take place between the two Governments; (4) the Government of India would arrange that Indian missions abroad would undertake to represent the Government of Nepal and look after Nepalese interests if the latter so desired.

5. I do not mind reciprocity in regard to paragraphs (2) and (3) of my draft, that is to say the manner of expression should bring that out. But it is obvious that the Government of Nepal are not concerned with all the innumerable contacts that we have with other countries while whatever contact they may have with a foreign country is a matter of concern to us.

6. I suggest, therefore, that you might inform our Ambassador in Kathmandu<sup>6</sup> that, in view of the numerous changes suggested in the *aide memoire* as jointly drafted and agreed to on the 8 May 1954, it will be necessary for further consultations to take place. It might be pointed out further that the *aide memoire* of the 8 May 1954 was a joint product. Further that any change in it would vitiate the preamble which refers to what was done on that day.

7. Reference might be made by the Ambassador to what had been written to us previously by the King and stated to us on more than one occasion by the Prime Minister and other Ministers of Nepal.<sup>7</sup>

6. B.K. Gokhale.

7. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, p. 458.

#### 4. Yugoslavia and India<sup>1</sup>

Question: Yugoslavia and India are geographically distant countries with little traditions of political or economic cooperation in the past. What is the present basis of the approach between the two countries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to give a short answer to this question. Apart from the general desire to develop friendly relations and close cooperation with all countries, the special reason for our interest in Yugoslavia is the development of that country since the War, the building up of a socialist economy and its approach to international problems in a spirit of peaceful cooperation. So we are cooperating for peace. And we feel that in dealing with our problems of land and industry, we could learn much from the experiences of Yugoslavia.

Q: What would strengthen these relations in your opinion and what action would you propose?

1. Interview with Tanjug, Yugoslav news agency. New Delhi, 29 November 1954. From the *National Herald*, 30 November, 1954. Extracts.

JN: I think that an understanding of the various problems there, and the way of solving them will bring a better understanding and closer cooperation.

I should like our people—not only tourists—but also students to go there and I would certainly like Yugoslavs to come here.

Q: Once closer cooperation is established, would it mean something more than good relations between India and Yugoslavia?

JN: As you know we are trying to develop friendly relations with all countries, avoiding action which might mean ganging up against other countries. In developing those relations, each country has some special features. Thus, we have good relations with Burma, Indonesia and others. We are close to them. Whether I go to China or America we want to be friendly.

If you apply that to Yugoslavia that is a type of relationship, of course, friendly but different from others. The relations between countries are not developed on rigid lines but they flow in different directions. We have good relations with our close neighbours like Burma. That is quite natural. But good relations between Yugoslavia and India will prove not only that countries of different setups can coexist, but more, that they can learn from each other, and cooperate and help each other in different ways.

I entirely agree with President Tito that coexistence is not a static conception but a positive attempt at closer and better understanding, friendship and co-operation between all the nations.<sup>2</sup>

2. See *post*, p. 204.

## 5. To Mohamed A. Alireza<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

2 December 1954

Dear Mr Alireza,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of November 15, 1954,<sup>3</sup> which I was happy to receive. Any closer contact between the Government and people of Saudi Arabia

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of Saudi Arabia.

3. Keeping in view the objectives of the recently formed Indo-Arab Society, Alireza had proposed setting up of joint ventures to invest the Saudi Arabian capital in India. These proposals related to starting a television network in Mumbai and a company to own and operate a fleet of oil tankers.

and the Government and people of India would be welcomed by us. I am glad to learn that there is a possibility of your coming to our country. You will be welcome here as an honoured guest.

You have referred in your letter to the recent inauguration of the Indo-Arab Association.<sup>4</sup> I was very happy to be associated with this as I attached value to the development of friendly association between India and the Arab countries.

You have made two proposals in your letter, one relating to the setting up of a television system in Bombay and the other to the promotion of a mixed company to own and operate an oil tanker sea fleet.

I have given thought to these two matters and have consulted my colleagues who are specially concerned with these subjects here.<sup>5</sup>

So far as a television system is concerned, it is our intention to make a beginning in this respect. But our Government's policy in regard to radio broadcasting and television is that this should be the exclusive concern of the State. Thus we have not allowed any private companies or advertisements in our broadcasting system. That would apply to television also. It may be, of course, possible for capital from abroad to be associated with the development of television here. But, in accordance with our declared policy, our Government would have to control it and have at least the major share in it.

Television would naturally require expert knowledge and know-how. To some extent we can supply it and we hope to increase our technical knowledge of this subject rapidly. It may be necessary, however, to have some experts to advise us for some time.

So far as the starting of a company to own and operate a fleet of oil tankers is concerned, the question of a monopoly would raise difficulties as we do not normally function on this basis. As a matter of fact, we have ourselves been thinking of acquiring two tankers for our own purposes. It is quite possible that, with the development of oil resources in India, the need for us to import crude oil will become very much restricted.<sup>6</sup> Possibly there might be no need for it later on. As you perhaps know, we are setting up three major refineries in India with the help of foreign oil companies. One of these refineries has already started functioning.<sup>7</sup> For these refineries we require crude oil at present

4. See *ante*, pp. 188-194.

5. Nehru consulted B.V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting and C.D. Deshmukh, Union Minister for Finance, on 23 November 1957.

6. The Government of India spent about Rupees sixty five crores a year on import of crude oil.

7. A refinery built by the Standard-Vacuum Company at Trombay started production in July 1954. The refinery was expected to produce 300 million gallons of oil and meet about thirty per cent of the country's need.

and it is for this reason that we are thinking of acquiring some tankers. But, as I have said above, the need for importing crude oil is likely to grow less and less.

You mention your group which will start these proposed companies. It is not quite clear to me whether this is connected with your Government or with some foreign firms.

I have explained the position in regard to these two matters to you as it exists now. Broadly speaking, we welcome foreign capital and foreign participation in any major venture in India. But in regard to certain basic industries, it is our general policy for the State to control them even though there might be association with others. There have been some exceptions to this rule, such as in the case of the oil refineries that we are putting up. Even those will revert to the State after a period of years.<sup>8</sup>

As I have said above, we would welcome the association of your Government in our major enterprises in India. We are in the process of industrializing our country in a big way and we have many schemes for that. We started a Five Year Plan three years ago and this has made much progress and has laid the foundations for future development. We are now thinking in terms of drawing up a second Five Year Plan which will be largely devoted to the development of big industry in India. Thus, there is much scope in India for profitable investment which may take the shape of private investment in some industries or in association with government in others. In regard to the latter, there would be the credit and the guarantee of government.

If you are interested in these matters, we shall be happy to discuss them with you. Perhaps when you come here, that would offer us a suitable opportunity for such discussions. It is also possible to correspond about these matters, should you so wish.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. See *ante*, p. 184. The privileges granted to these oil companies were: (1) exemption from nationalisation for a period of 25 years and exemption from certain clauses of the Industries Development and Registration Act; and (3) permission for duty free crude import.

## 6. Irian Question<sup>1</sup>

The Netherlands Ambassador<sup>2</sup> has just seen me and handed to me the attached *aide memoire*.<sup>3</sup> He said that his Government was much concerned at the situation in Indonesia. He referred to what the leader of the Indonesian Delegation has said at a press conference in New York to the effect that they will do everything short of war and including violence. On Sunday next, i.e. 5th December, there are going to be big demonstrations in Djakarta and, perhaps, elsewhere. The Dutch people in Indonesia, and there are still about thirty thousand of them, are getting rather nervous.

2. He said that the Dutch representative in the UN has spoken to Krishna Menon on this subject and to Palar<sup>4</sup> who have said that they will try to do their best to calm down these excited feelings.

3. He, however, said that all this was really due to a progressive disintegration in Indonesia itself. The Irian question by itself was not the cause of this strong language etc. It was rather used for the purpose of preserving the integrity of a disintegrating Government and country. Even the President's position was not very strong, and so he was going all out to divert public attention by attacking the Dutch.

4. So far as the Netherlands Government was concerned, they were always willing to have talks even about Irian. But they could not have talks on the basis of admitting in advance the sovereignty of Indonesia over Irian. He hinted that ultimately Irian might, no doubt, go to Indonesia, but that would be a long time from now. Anyhow, talk of violence did not help.

5. I told him that certainly violence would not help and I hoped that it would be avoided....<sup>5</sup>

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Commonwealth Secretary, 3 December 1954. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was forwarded to the Foreign Secretary. Extracts.
2. F.C.A. Val Pallandt.
3. The *aide memoire* expressed great concern at the situation in Indonesia and at the statement made by the Indonesian delegation in New York to the effect that even if actual war did not break out, there were "other violent means to achieve Indonesian aims." Referring to the proposed demonstrations in Djakarta on 5 December and the threats to boycott Dutch economic activities in Indonesia as form of "blackmail", the *aide memoire* pointed out that, though Netherlands were prepared to talk about Irian, sovereignty of Indonesia over West Irian could not be admitted in advance.
4. L.N. Palar, Indonesian Ambassador in India.
5. Nehru instructed S. Dutt to send a telegram to Ali Sastroamidjojo through the Indian Ambassador there, on these lines. He cautioned: "you might mention briefly and tactfully... and point out that we are with them completely over the issue of Irian. We hope that this question will be kept on peaceful level as any violence that might break out would give a handle to the Dutch and might also influence international opinion."

## 7. To Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

6 December 1954

My dear Crown Prince,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th November<sup>2</sup> which Major General Yadunath Singh<sup>3</sup> brought for me.

Major General Yadunath Singh also told me of the general situation in Nepal. As you know, I am deeply interested in the progress of Nepal and rather concerned that various factors come in the way of this progress. I feel sure that the great potentialities of Nepal can be developed if an earnest attempt is made to that end. We are, of course, always prepared to help to the best of our ability.<sup>4</sup>

I am glad the trouble in Western Nepal was adequately dealt with. It is most unfortunate that political groups and parties, instead of working for the good of Nepal, should not only waste their energies against each other, but do injury to the country they seek to serve.<sup>5</sup>

I am glad to learn from your letter that your father, the King, is making satisfactory progress.

I shall be going to Indonesia at the end of this month for a Conference there of the Prime Ministers of the Colombo Conference countries, that is, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and India. We shall be considering the question of holding an Afro-Asian Conference. The principle has been accepted, but many details have to be arranged. When this Conference is held, I hope that Nepal will be able to participate in it.

You know that our present Ambassador in Nepal<sup>6</sup> will be coming back soon as his term has expired. The new Ambassador we are sending, Shri Bhagwan Sahay, is a person of whom we have a high opinion. He has done very good work wherever he has been posted and his latest work as Chief Commissioner of Bhopal has been remarkably good. In fact, Bhopal has become one of our show places so far as developmental work is concerned. He is a man of considerable experience and has the special quality of getting on with

1. JN Collection.

2. The Crown Prince of Nepal had informed Nehru of the general conditions prevailing in Nepal and had thanked him for sending sweets to his children during his visit to Darjeeling.

3. Head of the Indian Military Mission in Nepal.

4. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah had informed that the floods in the monsoon and the recent drought conditions had created a great deal of difficulty in Nepal. He sought Nehru's assistance in tidying over the situation.

5. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah had reported about the disturbances in Danga district of western Nepal, which occurred due to the rivalry between Rashtriya Praja Party and Nepali Congress.

6. B.K. Gokhale.

people and making friends with them. We have chosen him after much thought and with great care because we wanted one of our best men to go to Nepal as our Ambassador. I am sure that he will be able to help you and your country and to represent us adequately.

I am sorry that Major General Yadunath Singh is coming away from Nepal. His term also was over. He would have normally retired from service but, because we value his services, we wish to take advantage of him still further here in Delhi. In his place also we hope to send you a good man.

I hope you are keeping well.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. Relations with Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

Shri A.K. Basu,<sup>2</sup> MP, saw me yesterday....

4. Mr Basu then spoke about Bhutan. He is a personal friend of Shri Jigme Dorji.<sup>3</sup> He said that Jigme Dorji had met him recently and expressed his concern that the Government of India were not favourably inclined to the Bhutan administration. He said that Bhutan wanted to have the goodwill of India and to cooperate with India and if there were any differences or any complaints, he would gladly help in removing them.

5. I told Mr Basu that there was no question of our displeasure against the Bhutan Government, but there certainly were a number of minor points which had long been pending. I referred to certain difficulties that arose in connection with the floods and the lack of information and the necessity of surveys in Bhutan.<sup>4</sup> Also, the necessity of better communications. We did not wish to interfere internally in Bhutan, but we were deeply interested in the security of

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary. 16 December 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Amiya Kanta Bose (b. 1893); Government Counsel, Calcutta High Court, 1926-47, Member, Lok Sabha, 1953-56.
3. Jigme Dorji, Prime Minister of Bhutan, 1952-64.
4. Earlier, Nehru had written to the Maharaja of Bhutan on 11 November 1954 (not printed) emphasizing the need to take urgent measures to control the sudden floods created by the Himalayan rivers coming through Bhutan. These floods had damaged life and property extensively in Assam, north Bengal and plains of Uttar Pradesh during the summer of 1954.

Bhutan because that involved our own security. We were also interested in the progress of Bhutan.

6. The main thing, however, was that we should have a representative in Bhutan. It seemed to me absurd for the Bhutan Government to refuse to allow such a representative. This was neither good for them nor for us. This matter had been pending for a long time and we had not received any favourable reply yet. There had been either refusals or evasive replies.

7. Mr Basu said that normally the Bhutan Government consulted Sardar D.K. Sen who was their adviser and D.K. Sen's advice was seldom good or right. I entirely agreed with him about Sardar D.K. Sen.

8. Mr Basu asked me if he could help in this matter because of his friendly relations with Jigme Dorji and others in Bhutan. I said that he could certainly do so and the chief thing to press was for a representative of ours to go to Bhutan. Other things could then be dealt with more easily.

9. Mr Basu suggested that he might be given some note about pending questions between us and Bhutan. I said that this might be done.

10. A brief note might be prepared about the important matters which are pending with Bhutan and this might be given to Mr A.K. Basu, preferably through Deputy Minister Anil K. Chanda.

## 9. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

I spoke to Tito today about China. He said that his Government was one of the first to recognise People's Republic of China in 1949 and they had communicated their decision in this matter to Chinese Government. But they did not even have a reply. They have been willing all along to recognize them, but obviously, in these circumstances, they cannot take initiative. I told him that when I was in Peking, Chou En-lai mentioned to me that they were prepared to exchange Missions with foreign countries among which was Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup> I added that I had been informed that Chinese Ambassador in Moscow would present note to Yugoslav Ambassador there within a day or two suggesting exchange of diplomatic missions. Tito said that, in this case, there would be no difficulty at all and they would naturally agree.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 18 December 1954. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 43.

3. In a personal letter to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit on 23 December 1954 (not printed), Nehru wrote that the US and UK would be shocked to know that Yugoslavia and China have agreed to exchange diplomatic missions.

## V. RELATIONS WITH WORLD COMMUNITY

### 1. Manila Treaty<sup>1</sup>

I do not think we should issue a pamphlet in criticism of the Manila Treaty<sup>2</sup>, as suggested by Shri Azim Husain.<sup>3</sup> I think, however, that it would be desirable for us to prepare a concise and objective memorandum on the Treaty, pointing out its various implications and possible consequences. Shri Dutt's note<sup>4</sup> is good but it would have to be varied somewhat and made impersonal so as to suit the purposes of a memorandum as suggested above. This memorandum should be treated as confidential and sent to all our Missions for their guidance. Further, some of the Missions (carefully selected for this purpose) should be asked to hand a copy of this memorandum to the government concerned as containing an examination of this Treaty and its possible consequence.

2. I see that the Treaty is being or has been printed. The memorandum might be attached to it or kept separate as a confidential paper....

4. Has our Historical Division considered this Manila Treaty and analysed it fully?

1. Note to the Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, New Delhi, 9 October 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, p. 3.

3. Mohammad Azim Husain, Joint Secretary, MEA, had suggested that India's opposition to the Manila Treaty should be brought out in a pamphlet, along with statements of statesmen from all over the world, especially South and South East Asia. Further, the pamphlet should be translated into Arabic for distribution amongst the Middle Eastern countries, keeping in view their participation in the Asian-African Conference.

4. S. Dutt had provided a clause by clause interpretation of the Manila Treaty, in a note dated 30 September 1954. He summed up that most of the crucial operative expressions in the Treaty document had been kept vague, so that the parties could take further steps "to give teeth" to the Treaty, if required. Regarding the proposed pamphlet, Dutt felt that, "a publicity offensive by India, entirely on its own responsibility" was not advisable.

## 2. Cable to R.K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Just received your telegram conveying V.K.K. Menon's message as we are leaving Hanoi. No time to read them carefully and consider them. May communicate later. Meanwhile first reaction is generally on lines suggested by Menon.<sup>2</sup> We cannot support resolution or oppose it. We may make statement, with or without amendment, saying that this conflict, like other, should be resolved peacefully by negotiations and for this purpose we suggest fighting should cease. Neither condemnation nor active or passive acceptance of fighting helpful if we desire peaceful consideration—also outside interference not desirable. At any rate pending further considerations of ways and means strongly recommend stoppage of attacks and counter-attacks.

Before leaving Delhi UK High Commissioner<sup>3</sup> informed me that Churchill much concerned at Quemoy position<sup>4</sup> and had some proposal under consideration which he wanted to communicate to me before I reached Peking, probably at Rangoon. But I have no message from him yet.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps you might find from British UN Representatives about UK attitude. Please convey above to V.K.K. Menon.

1. Hanoi, 18 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon had informed that on 14 October, the UN Secretary General had circulated a cable from Chou En-lai urging the Security Council to "stop aggressive action of the United States Government in interfering with Chinese People's liberation of Taiwan and to call upon United States Government to completely withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan." The USSR proposed to put up a resolution in the UN on the same lines. Menon felt that India could not take any initiative without incurring "great hostility". He suggested a wait and watch policy and wished to know "how far we should go if Russia should force the matter."
3. Alexander Clutterbuck.
4. Since 3 September 1954, artillery and air battle between People's Republic of China and Nationalist China over Quemoy and Amoy islands had been going on intermittently. The US Seventh Fleet had been alerted and its armed forces reinforced. The statements from both American and Chinese side had given the impression of an emerging "warlike" situation. Eisenhower had stated that any attack on Taiwan by the Communists had to "run over" the US Seventh Fleet and Chu Teh had called upon the Red Army to prepare for a "holy war" to liberate Taiwan.
5. On 19 October, Humphrey Traveled, the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking, informed Nehru on behalf of Churchill that the delay had been caused by certain new developments and hence Nehru should not mention anything to Chou for the time being.

### 3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Please refer to para 7 of your telegram No 424 dated 8.<sup>2</sup> We were not consulted at any stage in current negotiations between UK and US concerning setting up of International Atomic Agency.<sup>3</sup> We were not even officially informed of such negotiations. Bhabha considers, and we agree with him, that considering our resources and fact that we are only Asian country which has made substantial technical advance in this field we could legitimately expect to be consulted. Our relations with UK and US also in this field would have warranted consultation. To the US we have recently sold 230 tonnes of thorium nitrate. Some time ago, we also sold them beryl, the agreement concerning which provided for mutual cooperation provided for under US law.<sup>4</sup> Such law has recently been modified permitting greater cooperation. So far as UK is concerned, apart from our being the only Asian Commonwealth country with scientific knowledge and advance to our credit, there have been frequent consultations between our scientists who are already cooperating for setting up some special kinds of atomic reactors in this country. In view of this we can legitimately make a grievance of not having been consulted. We need not, however, do so openly. You may, if you think fit, bring this aspect informally to notice of US and UK Delegations.

1. New Delhi, 9 November 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers.
2. Menon had asked whether India was informed about the current negotiations on nuclear disarmament and setting up of IAEA between the US and UK. Further, he had sought views of Homi J. Bhabha, the Chairman, the Atomic Energy Commission of India, on whether India's resources and technical capabilities in nuclear research entitled her to such consultations by the US and UK. Menon had also suggested that India should propose convening a conference to discuss the setting up of IAEA under the UN.
3. In February 1954, the US had moved a resolution in the UN General Assembly for setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) by the countries possessing nuclear resources and technology. The resolution proposed: i) transfer of supplies of natural and enriched uranium, thorium, and plutonium to IAEA; ii) allocation of these material by IAEA to contributing countries for peaceful purposes, such as, medicine, agriculture and electricity generation; iii) Board of Governors of IAEA to be of limited membership representing contributing countries only, who would define its objectives and scope; iv) setting up a clearing house of information on peaceful development of atomic energy. The resolution came up for discussion on 5 October 1954.
4. India had supplied over one thousand tonnes of beryl to the United States during the last four years under the Agreement on Mutual Cooperation in the field of Atomic Energy of 1950.

2. Regarding propriety of including metropolitan countries like Portugal and Belgium it seems odd that colonial control should be considered a qualification in this respect.<sup>5</sup>

5. Menon had written that in the proposed IAEA the metropolitan countries like France, Portugal and Belgium having colonies rich in atomic material would enjoy undue advantageous positions. Since the IAEA Board of Governors was to be selected from the countries contributing fissile material to the Agency, it could become a monopoly of such metropolitan countries.

#### 4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Atomic Energy. Bhabha points out and I agree with him that inclusion of metropolitan countries with colonial territories producing raw material in proposed International Atomic Energy Agency appears very undesirable. Their inclusion will not be by virtue of scientific advance but merely as colonial powers. This means our tacit acquiescence in continued colonial status of raw material producing territories. Also that a number of reactionary countries would come in the Agency.

2. Bhabha thinks that US proposals are probably due to fact that their giant installations for processing atomic raw materials have not enough work to do having already reached limit in stockpiling.<sup>2</sup> Hence in order to continue utilizing their atomic energy installations they are prepared to give out some of these fissile material to underdeveloped countries while retaining bulk for production of atomic power.

3. Bhabha is also anxious that proposed Agency should be under auspices of United Nations. It should emerge from the International Conference which should formulate proposals for it and indicate its functions.

1. New Delhi, 12 November 1954, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers.

2. According to a US official release in February 1954, out of a target value of stockpile objective of \$7,200,000,000, about \$5,500,000,000 worth of material was to be on hand by June 1955. This was almost twice the possible capacity of the US atomic plants.

## 5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 436 November 18th.<sup>2</sup> I agree with the procedure you propose to follow as mentioned in para 4 including amendment of para 3 of Section B. While exposing the narrow basis of Resolution<sup>3</sup> inter alia you may point out that (a) it is inconsistent with Dulles's statement of September 23rd which said that an International Agency will be created whose initial membership will include nations from all regions of the world; (b) it is inconsistent with US Memorandum of 19th March to USSR which stated that the membership of the Board of Governors would take into account geographic distribution and membership by prospective beneficiaries.

2. It may also be tactfully pointed out that the reasons for exclusion from initial participation of Asia and Latin America are not clear, unless it is due to some arrangement already reached about distribution of fissionable materials, which would be objectionable from point of view of international cooperation and would also create difficulties in the negotiations with those countries which hope to negotiate agreements for membership of the Agency. It is important that the terms for joining should be such as to make participation possible and acceptable to other countries.

1. New Delhi, 21 November 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers.
2. Menon had informed that he had conveyed India's position regarding the proposed resolution in the UN on IAEA to the Soviet, US and UK representatives, who agreed broadly with his proposals, except for broadening the Constitution of the IAEA. Menon had proposed for a) clarification on the narrow basis of IAEA, and b) amendments aiming at setting up a Conference with all members of the UN, thus making IAEA less partisan.
3. The five countries which backed the IAEA resolution, namely, UK, US, France, Canada and Belgium, sought to limit the membership of the Agency to themselves, with some other countries being brought in through private informal negotiations. This proposal excluded Asian and Latin American countries from the membership of IAEA.

## 6. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

United States have asked UN Secretary General to circulate their protest transmitted to Chinese Government through United Kingdom in regard to detention of thirteen prisoners which, they say, is violation of Korean Armistice Agreement.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the US might make this a reason for preventing continuation of any negotiations for Korean settlement.<sup>3</sup> We have been anxious that Geneva Conference on Korea should be considered as continuing to enable further approaches in future and also to keep Armistice Commission in Korea functioning. We have instructed Krishna Menon therefore to endeavour to get this continuing position recognised by UN so that nexus with Geneva Conference is maintained.<sup>4</sup>

Consequently it is unfortunate that this new obstacle has arisen. We do not know where and in what circumstances these thirteen prisoners were captured. It is possible that Chinese case is that they were parachuted down in Chinese territory and hence there is no question of violation of Korean Armistice Agreement.<sup>5</sup> It is important therefore to know circumstances of their capture. Could you please find out facts about them and inform us soon?

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. On 23 November 1954, Peking Radio announced that a Chinese Military Tribunal had sentenced thirteen US spies, of whom eleven were airmen, to prison terms ranging from four years to life imprisonment on charges of espionage. Five Chinese had been sentenced to death and five others to life imprisonment on similar charges. The US Government protested against these sentences on 26 November through the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking, Humphrey Travelyan.
3. The US contended that the airmen were shot down over recognized combat zones of Korea and international waters and hence, such detention constituted a violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. On 28 November the Chinese returned the protest through Travelyan, stating that there was "concrete evidence of crimes" committed.
4. In a note to R.K. Nehru on 26 November 1954, Nehru reasoned that, "If there is a break, then Chinese and Russian proposals would come in to have a new conference. Also...the Supervisory Commission might end and this would create obvious difficulties and dangers. Therefore, some nexus has to be kept up, however tenuous it might be."
5. The Chinese claimed that these men, shot down over Manchuria in November 1952 and January 1953, were CIA special agents involved in recruiting, training and equipping counter revolutionaries and agent provocateurs.

## 7. Korea Resolution<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message<sup>2</sup> about Korea resolution in General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> I have given much thought to this matter and am anxious that resolution should be as uncontroversial as possible. But I feel that an indication giving a positive approach to the problem without any commitments is desirable. I realise that Geneva Conference on Korea was a failure and there need not be a going back to it. But some kind of a hint of continuation would probably be helpful. However, since you are unwilling to mention three Geneva Presidents, I would be agreeable to leaving out this part. I would suggest, however, that operative part (b) of your resolution might be omitted. It appears totally unnecessary and would raise needless controversial debate.<sup>4</sup> There are some other minor suggestions also which I have conveyed to Krishna Menon.

There need be no reference in resolution to the report of Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.<sup>5</sup> Some minor matters which are still pending with us might be mentioned in course of debate.<sup>6</sup> But I hope this subject will not be closed. Necessity might arise later for it to be referred to.

I would welcome some resolution on agreed basis, but if United States puts forward some other resolution with which we are unable to agree, then it might be desirable for us to express our viewpoint clearly about positive approach to Korean question.

1. Message to Anthony Eden, New Delhi, 1 December 1954. JN Collection.
2. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister of the UK, had cabled to Nehru on 28 November requesting him to reconsider India's position on the Korea resolution and requested Nehru to instruct Krishna Menon to back the British position, viz., of practically shelving the issue and total deletion of reference to Geneva Conference.
3. Following the failure at Geneva in July 1954, the Korean issue was taken up in the UN Political Committee on 24 November 1954. Three draft resolutions came up for discussions, from the UK, US and India. See the next item.
4. This part read: "The General Assembly decides that it would be inopportune to make recommendations regarding the Korean question at this stage."
5. The NNRC report, submitted in December 1953, explained the reasons for the failure of the explanation process to the POWs and stated that the prisoners handed over by the UN command were not completely free from the influence of the former detaining side. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 366-372.
6. These issues were, consideration of NNRC reports; fate of prisoners of war still in India's custody; and reimbursement of expenses in this regard to India.

## 8. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

Korean question coming up before UN Assembly this week.<sup>2</sup> Thus far informal talks going on. There are three draft resolutions being discussed. US draft is wholly unacceptable to us chiefly because of its preamble.<sup>3</sup> British draft has been changed somewhat because of our suggestions, but is still not what we would like.<sup>4</sup> Our draft thus far not acceptable to British.<sup>5</sup>

2. Our whole approach is to have some resolution which does not raise controversy but is positive approach to future negotiations and maintains continuity with Geneva-Korea Conference. We have therefore referred specially to three Presidents of Geneva Conference. British, however, dislike this reference and think that it will not help. Their own resolution expresses hope that progress will be made towards objective of negotiations, etc., before tenth session of Assembly.

3. Apart from some parts of British resolution which, we have pointed out, are not desirable,<sup>6</sup> we have no particular objection to British draft as revised except that it is not positive enough. On the whole, we feel that British draft, if further revised as suggested by us, might be supported. If not, risk of American draft gaining priority. But if American resolution put forward then it might be desirable for our resolution also to be moved at this stage so that our viewpoint about positive approach to Korean question is clearly expressed. Possibly at later stage some agreed draft might be accepted.

4. This is for your information. Present stage is one of negotiation only.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1954. JN Collection.
2. Following the rejection by China of the US protest on 28 November, the question of Korea was precipitated in the UN. Heated debate took place in the Political Committee and the issue of American prisoners in China, overshadowed the resolution on Korea.
3. The American draft blamed failure at Geneva regarding the Korean issue on the Chinese; accused the Chinese of violating the Korean Armistice Agreement; and called for a freshly constituted Conference to deal with the issue.
4. The British resolution sought the settlement of Korean issue before the 10th session of the Assembly; avoiding any reference to previous UN resolutions or Geneva Conference on peaceful settlement; and make a start afresh by constituting a Conference.
5. The Indian draft resolution sought that "endeavours and processes of negotiations and settlement initiated and pursued at Geneva" should be pursued and requested that the three Geneva Presidents should take note of the resolution and take such steps in pursuance of it. The British objected to the reference to the Geneva Presidents, who according to them had ceased to function.
6. See the preceding item.

## 9. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 461 December 6.<sup>2</sup>

2. Agree to the general line suggested by you that is abstaining and explaining our position.<sup>3</sup> Fixing deadline is obviously not helpful to any negotiation and is in nature of ultimatum. As regards American prisoners, attitude of United States and China differ both in law and facts.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to arrive at any clear decision without having fuller facts. Unwise for UN to express final opinion without being in full possession of these facts. Hence we are unable to express that opinion and some way out should be found to obtain further information. Our approach should be conciliatory to both sides.

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1954. JN Collection.
2. Menon had conveyed that a resolution sponsored jointly by the US and fifteen other nations, who contributed forces for the UN forces in Korea, had been taken up by the UN Political Committee on 6 December, by ten votes to two with two abstentions. The resolution stated that detention, trial and conviction of eleven US airmen by China was a violation of Korean Armistice Agreement and requested the UN Secretary General to (a) seek their release in accordance to Korean Agreement, and (b) to make unremitting and continuing efforts in this regard and report to the Security Council before 31 December 1954. This resolution was passed by the General Assembly on 10 December.
3. Menon had suggested that India's line of argument should be that she was unable to agree or disagree because of inability to ascertain whether the airmen were actually Korean War prisoners.
4. While Cabot Lodge, the American Permanent Representative at UN, had alleged that the US B-29, Super Fortress, flying on a UN mission had been shot down over North Korean town of Sunchon on 12 January 1953, the Chinese maintained that it was shot down over Manchuria, during a reconnaissance sortie.

## 10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Raghavan spoke to Chou En-lai about strong American reactions to

1. New Delhi, 9 December 1954. File No. UN II/54/2082/1600/C, MEA. Extracts.

imprisonment of American airmen.<sup>2</sup> While appreciating my conveying this information<sup>3</sup> to him, Chou En-lai spoke at length and with some indignation at the unfairness of these charges. He referred to the ten thousand Chinese volunteers who have been shipped by Americans to Taiwan.<sup>4</sup> Also to recent defence pacts with Formosa.<sup>5</sup> He expressed great dissatisfaction at recent British attitude.<sup>6</sup> At Geneva question of return of American nationals in China and Chinese nationals in America discussed and left to Chinese and American Consuls General in Geneva to discuss and negotiate.<sup>7</sup> United States handed list of American nationals in China which China promised to investigate. This list contained names of Arnold,<sup>8</sup> Baumer<sup>9</sup> and other nine persons involved in Arnold-Baumer case.<sup>10</sup> These were not referred to as prisoners of war but as American nationals in China. Names of spies Downey<sup>11</sup> and Fecteau<sup>12</sup> not

2. On 28 November, Senator William Knowland urged the US Government to instruct the US Navy to impose a tight blockade of Chinese mainland to secure the release of US airmen. On 29 November, Eisenhower accused China of deliberately undermining the peace initiatives in South East Asia and said that the timing of revelation of imprisonment of US airmen by Chinese was "quite deliberate."
3. On 6 December Nehru had received a message from Lester Pearson, Foreign Minister of Canada, to request China not to precipitate the matter, given the hostile reactions in the US.
4. Grossly violating the Korean Armistice Agreement and the recommendations of the NNRC, the US had handed over 10,000 Chinese POWs to Taiwan who had refused to be repatriated.
5. The United States of America signed a Mutual Defence Treaty with Taiwan on 1 December 1954. Dulles explained the implication of the Treaty as that "any attack on Taiwan by communists would result in a declaration of state of war by the US."
6. On 6 December, Anthony Eden speaking on the US airmen issue in the House of Commons, said: "It is not allowable for any nation which wishes to act by civilized standards to treat men in uniform in the sort of way these men have been treated by the Chinese Government. On behalf of the British Government and all civilized Governments I deeply deplore this conduct."
7. Negotiations between the US Consul General in Geneva, Franklin C. McGowan and the Chinese Consul General, Chen Ping, had been continuing since October 1954. The negotiations broke down on 30 November following the Chinese rejection of US protest regarding eleven airmen.
8. John A. Arnold, Commanding Officer of 581 Wing of US Far East Air Force. His plane was shot down on 12 January 1953, and he was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment.
9. William H. Baumer, Operations Officer, 91 Strategic Reconnaissance Squadron, was brought down along with Arnold and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment.
10. Of the eleven US men accused in this case, the leader of the group, Arnold, admitted in Chinese court that his operation was not committed to Korean action but included "evacuation and recovery of underground personnel."
11. John T. Downey, Special Agent, CIA, whose plane was shot down on 29 November 1952 over Manchuria, and he was sentenced to life imprisonment.
12. Richard G. Fecteau, Special Agent, CIA, shot down along with Downey, and was sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment.

mentioned. Chinese investigated all names and as a result let off three journalists and others for which no credit yet given to Chinese. In regard to others there was strong case against spies who have now been convicted. Even at Geneva Americans had been informed that some American nationals held were accused of crimes and would be tried and punished. Americans, therefore, knew well that persons involved in imprisonment case would be investigated and punished. Also conviction apart from facts otherwise ascertained was based on confessions. Chinese have followed lenient policy throughout and have even said that even after conviction they would consider cases. In regard to Arnold and other ten persons punishment was lenient and if their behaviour remained good Chinese would review their cases. But China would not be intimidated. If better relations prevailed between two countries, Chou En-lai admitted that method deciding such cases would have been different.

2. Raghavan got impression that if not much fuss made and negotiation took place in friendlier atmosphere sentences might be reduced later and repatriation arranged. Agitation however will make Chinese more obstinate.

3. Chou En-lai referred to twenty-six Chinese in United States who had applied to return and four had been given permission but none so far has been allowed. Chou En-lai suggested that if debate on Korea took place question of 10,000 Chinese prisoners of war illegally held in Taiwan should be raised.

4. Throughout Chou En-lai emphasised great indignation prevailing in China over question of prisoners of war as well as Taiwan....

## 11. Cable to Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

...As desired by UN Secretary General Hammaraskjoeld, I am conveying following message to you on his behalf.<sup>2</sup> I would like to make it clear that we do not associate India with UN Resolution<sup>3</sup> or with any action taken in pursuance of it or in any negotiations in regard to it. We are forwarding

1. New Delhi, 12 December 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Hammaraskjoeld in a confidential message to Nehru on 12 December requested him to pass on a message to Chou En-lai, regarding his proposed visit to Peking to negotiate the release of US airmen. Hammaraskjoeld wrote: "I am convinced that you fully appreciate the extraordinary nature of the initiative, this being the first time that the Secretary General of the UN personally visits a capital for negotiations." See also *ante*, p. 116.

3. The resolution was passed by the General Assembly on 10 December. See *ante*, p. 213.

Hammaraskjoeld's message merely as an act of courtesy to him. That is a matter entirely for you to decide.

I would suggest, however, for your consideration that irrespective of merits of issue and the response that you may see fit to make to Hammaraskjoeld, it might be desirable for you to receive Hammaraskjoeld making it clear that this is without prejudice to any and all issues involved. To refuse to see him would give some handle to China's enemies. His visit to Peking and reception by you might well help in stating China's case fully before the world. It would indicate both China's strength and her willingness to discuss matters. I am venturing to suggest this to you in the hope that you will give it consideration. It is of course for you to decide your course of action in this matter.

## 12. Cable to Dag Hammaraskjoeld<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message which our representative has forwarded to me. Your special message for Premier Chou En-lai has been sent to him through our Ambassador in Peking....

3. I need hardly tell you that we are anxious to help in every way in solving the new problems and difficulties that have arisen. I feel however that approach of UN Resolution is unhappy and has made situation much more difficult.

4. I have given careful consideration to your proposal that Ambassador Dayal should assist you in this matter and should accompany you in case you go to Peking.<sup>2</sup> I feel that Dayal's association in this matter will not be desirable from either India's point of view or from your own. As you know, India has not approved of UN Resolution on this subject and any association by us or action taken in pursuance of UN Resolution would be against our policy and would not lead to results aimed at. Dayal is now our Ambassador in Yugoslavia and is in India at present in connection with President Tito's visit to this country which will last till beginning of January.

5. Another message is being sent to you separately in this connection.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 13 December 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Hammaraskjoeld had requested that Rajeshwar Dayal, Indian Ambassador in Yugoslavia, should assist him during his visit to China, given his vast experience in the matter.

3. Not Printed.

### 13. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

I had long talk with Hammariskoeld today.<sup>2</sup> He began by expressing his regret at the contents of the UN General Assembly's Resolution about American airmen in China and especially at condemnation of China. He said that he did not agree with that approach at all and had therefore refused to forward that resolution as such to the Chinese Government. He considered his function as Secretary General to endeavour to solve the difficulties that had arisen and to try to get release of these prisoners, apart from General Assembly's Resolution. It was most unfortunate that just when tensions were lessening and there was growth of more friendly atmosphere, this incident should have come in the way. At the same time, he thought that some good might result from his visit to China. This was first direct contact of UN Executive with Chinese Government and this might help in future. He was grateful for friendly and courteous behaviour towards him of Chinese representatives in London, Stockholm and elsewhere. This indicated friendly attitude of Premier Chou En-lai.

2. He said that he had seen large number of original papers with US army relating to their forces in Korea. These indicated that these airmen belonged to normal Korean operations. Of course, that was one side of picture and he would like to see the other side also. In any event, he hoped that his visit to Peking would open out fresh avenues of direct contact and cooperation with Chinese Government which would, no doubt, affect other problems also. The above is Hammariskoeld's statement of his position and approach. We have listened to him and expressed no opinion about it.

3. I told him that we disagreed with General Assembly's Resolution and therefore did not wish to be associated with it in any way. We welcomed his going to Peking and hoped that this would lead to some satisfactory solution. I also mentioned case of Chinese prisoners sent from Korea to Formosa which had been done against wishes of International Commission and which had agitated Chinese opinion greatly. This question was still pending. We had not pressed it in UN in order not to add to present difficulties, but it will have to be faced some time.

1. New Delhi, 3 January 1955. JN Collection.

2. Dag Hammariskoeld was in Delhi on 3 January.

## 14. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 166 January 25th.<sup>2</sup> We are all gravely concerned about recent developments on Chinese front, more especially Eisenhower's statement.<sup>3</sup> American policy, during last few years, has been a continually changing and hardening one, except for brief recent interlude when Eisenhower talked about coexistence. Six years ago, America clearly acknowledged China's right to Formosa as following Potsdam Agreement. Even after communist success in China, Dean Acheson acknowledged this right. Later, when Korean war started, Truman's declaration about Seventh Fleet preventing China from attacking Formosa and vice-versa was specially related to Korean war. When Korean war ended, Eisenhower stated that Seventh Fleet would protect Formosa from attack, but would not prevent Formosa attacking China.<sup>4</sup> Recently we had the US-Formosa Treaty which was grave affront and challenge to China.<sup>5</sup> Eisenhower's statement takes matters further still and creates impossible situation which cannot normally lead to any compromise.

2. British Government, in spite of private protestations, has publicly supported American attitude throughout and brought pressure to bear on China to submit to it.<sup>6</sup> Logically American attitude seems to be indefensible. For a country which has recognized China, it is even more so. Even now, British Government says that coastal islands would ultimately go to China and later Formosa also will have to be handed over to China. Nevertheless they adopt an attitude which is wholly inconsistent with this. Their idea that China did not

1. New Delhi, 26 January 1955. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, had informed Nehru of her talks with the British Foreign Office officials, who felt that the situation following the US airmen issue and disturbing developments over Taiwan was 'threatening' and feared that perhaps China did not fully realise the devastating nature of the nuclear weapons recently devised by the US.
3. On 24 January 1955, Eisenhower asked the US Congress to authorize him to take measures to protect Taiwan, and stated that he would not hesitate to take any action which jeopardized the safety and security of a country bound to the US through the Mutual Security Act.
4. On 2 February 1953.
5. On 1 December 1954. See *ante*, p. 214.
6. China's position that the issue of the captured airmen was an internal matter was publicly ridiculed by the British representative at the UN on 8 december 1954 as "a miserable, worthless product of absurdity and hypocrisy." On the other hand the British Foreign officials admitted to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit that, it was just a matter of time before Formosa was handed over to China, "who's right over it was in no doubt."

appreciate destructive potential of recent nuclear weapons does poor justice to Chinese intelligence. It might equally be said that Americans do not appreciate consequences of modern war.

3. American attitude throughout has been based on assumptions that show of strength and threats will bully China into submission and that people of China are waiting for some signal to rise against their own Government. Both these assumptions are completely wrong and last few years have proved them to be wrong.

4. I am sure that China does not want war, but on no account will she submit to coercion or threat. The sooner this is realized, the better. It is unfortunate that British Government continues to support policies which lead to explosive situations and then complains about them. If American public opinion, has to be considered, so also has Chinese public opinion, not to mention public opinion of many Asian countries which, in this matter, does not think that American policy is right. United Nations, condemnation of China over issue of American airmen was another instance of action which was not only wrong in itself but could only produce contrary results.

5. As at present advised, I do not feel like interfering in any way or bringing any kind of pressure on China. I must have fuller facts....

## VI. REPOSSESSION OF FOREIGN ENCLAVES

### 1. Situation in Goa<sup>1</sup>

I think that the establishment of a "provisional government" at this stage is definitely undesirable.<sup>2</sup> It is quite a different matter for some areas to be liberated and some provisional arrangement made there for the administration. But to call some people sitting in Bombay or elsewhere a "provisional government"

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 1 October 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. A "provisional government" for Goa, Daman and Diu was set up in Nagar Haveli towards the end of September 1954, avowedly to work out plans for liberation of these territories. Earlier, in the last week of July, Dadra and Nagar Haveli had been liberated by the volunteers of Goan People's Party (backed by PSP) and Azad Goa Dal (backed by Jana Sangh), who had consequently set up local administration.

of Goa would not only be completely unrealistic, but might even create internal troubles among the Goans, both outside and inside Goa.<sup>3</sup>...

3. In a note of 1 October 1954, R.K. Nehru had suggested that, "We should of course discourage this move as this will lead to further dissensions among the Goan groups." As additional measures, he suggested, discouraging Indians from participating in the satyagraha, which had been continuing since August 1954; stricter control in the issue of permits to Goans; currency restrictions; export restrictions; and refusal of port facilities to Portuguese ships.

## 2. Agreement on French Establishments<sup>1</sup>

... 3. So far as the French Settlements are concerned, an agreement has been arrived at and all that remains is to give effect to it.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, of course, that minor difficulties might arise. Care should be taken to avoid them. If a major difficulty arises, reference might be made to me. It is now proposed to have the congress in the French Settlements on or about the 18th October.<sup>3</sup> I am rather doubtful if the time allowed for it is adequate. If it is necessary, the date might be advanced by two or three days. It is also proposed that the actual hand-over of the administration should take place on the 1st November.<sup>4</sup> As I shall be coming back soon after that date, I need say nothing about that now. I gather that arrangements to take charge have been made on our behalf already. It would be better, if the French authorities agreed to it, for some of the persons we are sending to take charge, to go to Pondicherry, a few days earlier to get in touch with affairs there, to meet the French authorities, and thus be more prepared to take charge and carry on the administration from the 1 November onwards. This is not a matter for any formal agreement because if these people go there, they will not be functioning in any capacity, but will merely watch and see and confer. Nevertheless, this should only be done after informal agreement with the French authorities....

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 12 October 1954. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to the Deputy Minister, MEA.
2. On 7 October 1954 an informal agreement was reached between the Indian and French negotiators in New Delhi to hold a convention of the elected representatives of the French Indian Municipalities and Assembly to decide on the issue of merger with India. This was a technical requirement according to the French Constitution. A decision on the merger plan was arrived at on 12 October 1954, which was announced through a joint declaration on 13 October. The Agreement was formally signed on 21 October 1954.
3. The elected representatives met at Kizhloor on 18 October and by an overwhelming majority, 170 in favour and 8 against, voted for merger with India.
4. For Nehru's message on this occasion see the following item.

### 3. Vindication of Peaceful Methods<sup>1</sup>

I am far from India on this day but my thoughts are at Pondicherry where an event of great significance is taking place. A part of India long separated from the motherland is coming back to us of its own free will and this change is taking place as a result of friendly Agreement with France. The French Settlements in India were small in area but they raised difficult problems. It is never easy to solve problems which involve the interests and prestige of different countries. It is thus a matter of peculiar satisfaction that both India and France have succeeded in solving this question with grace and goodwill. In doing so they have set an example of tolerance, good sense and wisdom which if applied to other problems in the world might lead to successful results.

I congratulate the people of what used to be the French enclaves in India and welcome them as nationals of the Republic of India. I offer felicitations also to the Government of France under the wise leadership of its Prime Minister and the people of France on this occasion. I am happy that Pondicherry will continue to be a centre of French language and culture and will be a cultural link between the Republic of India and the Republic of France.<sup>2</sup> The settlement of this problem is a justification and vindication of the policy we have pursued in such matters. That policy is of peace and patient perseverance. Some people have thought that it was slow in achieving results. But the way of peace, though it might appear long, is always the shortest and most satisfactory. That way we shall continue to pursue, holding always to what we consider to be right and yet ever ready to be friends with even those who might oppose us.<sup>3</sup> *Jai Hind*.

1. Message to be read out by the Foreign Secretary at Pondicherry on the occasion of transfer of power on 1 November 1954. Beijing, 24 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. One of the salient features of the Agreement signed on 21 October was the commitment from India to protect the existing French institutions of scientific, cultural and educational value in India.
3. Alongwith the message Nehru instructed the Foreign Secretary: "Every courtesy should be shown to the French and appreciative references made to French Government. Occasion should be marked by friendship and harmony." Further, he instructed that keeping in view the cultural multiplicity of the region, the messages of the Prime Minister and the President of India and the announcements in the taking over ceremony should be done in French and Tamil.

#### 4. Policy towards Goa<sup>1</sup>

I enclose a letter dated 30 November 1954, from the Chief Minister of Bombay together with a note on the present crisis in the Goa National Congress. As you know, I had a talk with Peter Alvares<sup>2</sup> this morning, and subsequently I had a brief talk with you also.

2. I entirely agree with what the Chief Minister has written in his letter.<sup>3</sup> I think that Peter Alvares has not always followed a correct policy and some of his statements have certainly not represented the Government of India's policy, such as his declaration that Indian *satyagrahis* will be sent to Goa.<sup>4</sup> I think we should strictly adhere to the policy we have so far pursued in regard to Indian *satyagrahis*. It does not matter much if an odd Indian goes with a group of others, but any reliance on groups of Indian *satyagrahis* and any attempt to bring them in large numbers would change the whole nature of this movement and be disadvantageous to us. It would give a handle to the Portuguese authorities against us.

3. Also, there is the danger that if those Indian *satyagrahis* are associated with that element which proclaims that Goa should be an integral part of Maharashtra, this will frighten many of the Goanese and specially the Christians there.<sup>5</sup> Any association with a communal body like the Jana Sangh

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 2 December 1954. JN Collection.

2. Peter Alvares (1908-1975); freedom fighter; was imprisoned twice; associated with the Congress Socialist Party; member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1948-52; participated in Goa freedom movement from 1952 until liberation in 1961; President, National Congress, Goa, 1953-61; member, Lok Sabha, 1963-67; Secretary of Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees in the strikes of 1960 and 1968; President, All India Railwaymen's Federation, 1974.

3. Morarji Desai had written about the "confused state of Goan politics... marked by dissension and disunity", where it was not easy to suggest a line of action. He felt that a concerted effort should be directed towards increasing Goanese participation in the movement and maximum encouragement should be given to the Goan Liberation Council, which represented Goans from all walks of life.

4. Desai had averred that Peter Alvares had not played his hand well. His reliance on support from Praja Socialists, and Jana Sanghis had led a substantial group within the Goan National Congress to renounce his leadership. Further, his declaration that Indian *satyagrahis* would be sent to Goa, against the avowed policy of the Government of India had precipitated a split in his support base.

5. Desai alleged that Peter Alvares' claim to leadership had been weakened when his support for the Samyukta Maharashtra movement—a movement to carve out a united state of Maharashtra out of contiguous regions of the Bombay State—became known. The Goan Liberation Council and various other liberal groups, who wished to retain the Goan identity within the Indian Union, distanced themselves from Alvares on this issue.

will also be harmful. For the matter of that a close association of the Praja Socialist Party might also prove somewhat injurious. I do not wish to keep out the Praja Socialist Party. My point is that the Goan movement should not be tied up with any such party in India. That will narrow its scope and might frighten many elements among the Goanese. It must always be remembered that the popular movement must essentially be based on the Goanese.

4. Therefore, it is essential that every effort should be made to build up the Goa popular movement. I do not wish at all to discourage Peter Alvares or to ignore him. But I agree with Shri Morarji Desai that the emergence recently of the Goan Liberation Council<sup>6</sup> is a welcome development and should be encouraged.

5. My broad view of the Goan situation is that, on the whole, we have made progress and there is absolutely no reason for us to feel dissatisfied with it. To expect sudden changes and always to think in terms of bringing about a big crisis is wrong both from the general political point of view and that of satyagraha.

6. The Goan problem may be said to have three major aspects: (1) The international aspect; (2) the economic aspect; and (3) the popular movement aspect.

7. The international aspect: So far as this is concerned, we have made very considerable progress. This progress is due to our restrained but firm policy which people in other countries have gradually begun to appreciate. This is also due to the smooth change in Pondicherry which has had a considerable effect on public opinion abroad. Thirdly, it is due to our direct approaches to various Governments. The Vice President's recent tour,<sup>7</sup> which included Rome, Washington and the South American countries, has had a very good effect in this respect. The Vice President discussed this matter everywhere he went and the response he got in all these places indicated a better understanding of the problem and a realization that Goa must ultimately come to India. All this is a great gain and we should allow these processes to continue. For this reason also we must avoid any precipitate action which might come in the way of this international appreciation of our position:

8. The economic situation: It is generally recognized that the economic measures we have taken<sup>8</sup> are having a good deal of effect on the Portuguese in

6. The Goan Liberation Council, headed by A. Soares, was formed in Mumbai in July 1954. It scrupulously kept its distance from the Jana Sangh-backed Azad Goa Dal and the PSP-backed All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee. A delegation of the Council had met Nehru on 28 September 1954.

7. S. Radhakrishnan undertook a six week tour of Europe, USA, Canada and Latin America during October-November 1954.

8. The economic measures taken by the Government against Goa included restrictions on money transfer; stricter control on import of essential goods, such as steel, textile etc.; ban on import of Indian labour and stricter border vigil to stop smuggling.

Goa. Peter Alvares told me that they were seventy five per cent effective. That is saying a good deal. We should continue these measures and, at the same time, examine how to make them more effective. In particular, we have to see how we can weaken Portuguese economy in Goa. We should consider this matter again more fully. It would be desirable to have a paper prepared on the effects of economic action so far taken and what more can be done in this respect.

9. The popular movement: I have already referred to this earlier in this note. We should encourage the new Liberation Council which has a broad basis and is not allied to any party. At the same time, we should not discourage Peter Alvares or others.

10. In this and like matters we should keep in close touch with the Bombay Government and specially the Chief Minister. He is in close touch with developments and is taking an active interest in them. Any step taken by us should be referred to him previously for his advice.

## 5. Fate of French Establishments<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am rather glad that this cut motion<sup>2</sup> has been brought forward because it enables me to remove a number of misunderstandings. Hon. Members who have spoken would probably have got an answer to many of their questions if they had read the Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of France.<sup>3</sup> There was the Agreement and in terms of that Agreement we have to do some things and we cannot do some things at this stage.

1. Reply to cut motion on demand for supplementary grants, 16 December 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Part II, 1954, cols. 3119-3129. Extracts.
2. The motion read: "That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 61,63,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges....in respect of 'French Establishments in India'."
3. The Agreement signed on 21 October 1954 by R.K. Nehru and Stanislaw Ostrorog, the French Ambassador in India, stated that after taking over the administration of the Settlements the Government of India was to bring in necessary constitutional changes after ascertaining the popular wish; the existing Municipal Councils and the Representative Assembly were to continue; the Government of India would take over the financial and social obligations of the French Government; the question of citizenship was to be decided only after the de jure transfer; public servants were not to be dismissed on account of action taken in course of duty before transfer of de facto power; the existing French cultural and educational institutions were to be retained.

The House will remember that this *de facto* transfer took place last month<sup>4</sup>—exactly six weeks ago. It is not a long period. And it took place in terms of that Agreement. After the *de facto* transfer, other things have to take place—certain enquiries. The next step would be the ratification, according to the laws of the two countries concerned of this *de facto* merger and then it will become *de jure*.<sup>5</sup> Now, we cannot of course hurry the French Parliament although I am quite sure that they will proceed with this without delay. But it is open to us to take this step in time. At the present moment enquiries and other things are not complete and the matter will have to be brought up before this Parliament and it will more or less mean, if we take it up, some kind of amendment of the Constitution. That will of course come later.

The hon. Member who just spoke referred several times to what he called merger.<sup>6</sup> Another Member spoke about integration.<sup>7</sup> There is no question of merger or integration before us at this stage; I cannot talk about the future. First of all, we cannot do it at this stage. We cannot talk of merger and integration when the *de jure* transfer has not taken place. The question does not arise even. It cannot be done. In terms of the Agreement some things can be done afterwards. What we shall do afterwards it is for us to consider then. I cannot express myself on behalf of Government about that. Parliament will decide. But, if I may say so, it will probably be desirable and more advantageous not to have that merger with surrounding districts—I am not for the moment referring to certain small areas, which may be considered perhaps distinctly and differently, for example Mahe, but the main block, the Pondicherry block by itself may or may not be merged now. But we have undertaken to make it a centre of certain cultural activities, and we will continue certain cultural activities concerned with French language, etc., and it may be desirable to keep it as a unit of culture. But it will be for the Parliament to decide. And what we have undertaken is that we will make no change there without the consent of the people.

I shall refer to the Agreement itself. Hon. Members said about our continuing, what they call, the French imperialist system and administration, etc.<sup>8</sup> Well, I do not think it is quite correct. But we have undertaken to continue

4. On 1 November 1954.

5. The Treaty for the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry was signed on 28 May 1956 and was ratified in July 1962.

6. K.A. Nambiar had said that the Government of India should give a guarantee regarding holding of a free and fair election in these former French Establishments within three months. He also demanded that the Government state categorically that efforts would be made to merge these areas with the adjoining districts of South Arcot and Tanjore soon.

7. M.S. Gurupadaswamy wanted to know when the *de jure* transfer would take place, so that there could be "full fledged integration of these areas with the Indian territory."

8. This was raised by Nambiar and Renu Chakravarty.

the officers there, except the French officers who have as a matter of fact departed, all of them, so far as I know. I am not quite sure about some educationists, who might be there.

Under Article 1 of the Agreement— "With effect from November 1st 1954 the Government of India shall take over the administration of the territory of the French Establishments in India. These Establishments will keep the benefit of the special administrative status which was in force prior to the de facto transfer. Any constitutional changes in this status which may be made subsequently shall be made after ascertaining the wishes of the people."

The hon. Member referred to some Chairman or Members of the Municipalities, that is the Communes—why we put in this man and that man.<sup>9</sup> We have done nothing of our own accord. We have maintained, in accordance with the Agreement, those people who were there.

Renu Chakravarty: Two nominations were made.

JN: Nominations were made for particular reasons. There was another case where a person died. Something had to be done. The man who presided over the Assembly, who was to have become the Chief Justice, died.

K.A. Nambiar: These two were not filling of vacancies.

JN: I know, they were not. But in accordance with the spirit of the Agreement it had to be done.

Under Article 5 of the Agreement— "With effect from the date of de facto transfer the Government of India shall take in their service all the civil servants and employees of the Establishments, other than those belonging to the metropolitan cadre or to the general cadre of the France d' Outer-Mer Ministry. These civil servants and employees including the members of the public forces shall be entitled to receive from the Government of India the same conditions of services, as respects remuneration, leave, and pension and the same right as respects disciplinary matter or the tenure of their posts, or similar rights as changed circumstances may permit, as they were entitled to immediately before the date of the de facto transfer. They shall not be dismissed or their prospects shall not be damaged on account of any action done in the course of duty prior to the date of the de facto transfer."

9. K.A. Nambiar had alleged that Muthu Pillai and M. Goubert, who had been thrown out of the Municipal Councils, were brought in by an appointment order of the Chief Commissioner, Kewal Singh. He had asked, "How can a Chief Commissioner fill such posts by appointment?"

What has been done is, in regard to the services, first of all, we are not making any constitutional or institutional changes. We have retained, according to the Agreement, French Indian officials. The French officials, that is French by nationality, have practically all gone, I believe. That is, the French Governor,<sup>10</sup> his secretariat and others have gone. And the French Governor's place had to be taken by somebody by the Chief Commissioner and his secretariat. The Finance and Economic Affairs Department have been amalgamated into one department, and the Police Department is headed by an Inspector General of Police, because the police head has gone to France<sup>11</sup> and two deputy inspectors, constables, etc.

In the case of Administrators for Karaikal and Mahe, officers from the State Government and Centre have been appointed. In the case of Yanam, the officer of the former French administration has been appointed as Administrator.

For the purpose of import and export regulation at Pondicherry the posts of Collector of Central Excise and Chief Controller of Imports and Exports have been created. So far as the judicial system is concerned, we have agreed to carry on the French system, the French laws. It is not particularly easy, apart from carrying on with the old people, to find people having cognizance and experience of French laws. The French laws continue. All the officers of the Judicial Department, not desiring to proceed to France after the transfer, have been retained.

Then some posts have been created, developmental posts, in regard to the Five Year Plan.

The administration of Pondicherry after the de facto transfer has been faced with a number of cases of officers who for political reasons had either been dismissed or had resigned during the nationalist movement or had been appointed by the Liberation Council. The policy followed has been as follows: The officials dismissed by the French for political reasons since March 1954 have all been reinstated. With regard to the officials dismissed in connection with the Mahe uprising of 1948<sup>12</sup>—about ten junior officials were dismissed in 1948 who had then sought refuge in Indian territory—the individual cases are being examined and they are being reinstated if there is nothing else

10. Andre Menard. He left India in August 1954, giving his charge to Secretary General Escargueil.

11. Commandant Goyard left India on 31 October 1954.

12. On 18 October 1948, the Malabar Socialist Party held a rally demanding liberation of Mahe. On 21 October they marched to the French Administrator's Office and in the ensuing fracas with the French police, the building was burnt down. The civil administration surrendered to the Malabar Socialist Party, which set up a Liberation Government. On 29 October 1948 the French Army recaptured Mahe.

against them. In regard to resignations of officials during the last seven months of French rule, all these officials are being reinstated.

Difficulty has arisen about certain temporary staff employed by the Liberation Council, because it is difficult to absorb all these people. Such as could be absorbed have been absorbed. Some of them were found to be, well, not competent enough for the work. They had been suddenly taken, and some were really not competent to do the work they were supposed to do. Even in regard to these, efforts are being made to take them in some other local service.

So that, so far as integration or merger is concerned, the question does not arise at this stage. First of all the *de jure* transfer will take place. After that it is for Parliament to consider, in consultation with or with the approval of the people in Pondicherry, what their future should be.

The hon. Member who spoke last referred by name to certain persons who, he said, had misbehaved in the past and who had now been nominated or given positions of responsibility.<sup>13</sup> Well, it is rather difficult for me to consider individual cases. It is perfectly true, I would say that from the Indian nationalist point of view many people in these Establishments have often misbehaved in the past. The gentleman whose name he mentioned as an emblem of virtue<sup>14</sup> has also misbehaved greatly in the past there. But the point is that in regard to these recent changes that were brought about in Pondicherry, there can be no doubt that some of these people whose names he mentioned with disapproval played a very important part in bringing about those changes. We are neither punishing them nor approving of them. We are merely taking things as they were and continuing them, unless there is a very special reason. All this is temporary, of course.

Then in regard to this talk about elections, I would again remind hon. Members that this transfer took place last month. It is a temporary phase. We have to wait for the next phase before we have these elections or whatever they may be.

The customs barriers ultimately will have to go. I hope it will go before very long. The difficulty is that during the French rule, as hon. Members know, large quantities of goods were imported without payment and they were smuggled into India also. Many merchants wanted to profit by this change. They knew that the change over was coming up and they imported many things like this. So, we wanted a certain period to deal with these properties that had accumulated or were coming in under the previous licences issued by

13. Nambiar had referred to Muthu Pillai and Muthukumarappa Reddiar, who he alleged, had indulged in "looting, arson and gangsterism in French India."

14. Nambiar had referred to one V.K. Subbiah, a communist, who was honoured and respected in Pondicherry as the leader of the freedom movement there.

the French Government. I suppose this will be a short period and it will be over. Then, there will be no customs barrier or anything.

I was not here at the time when the hon. Member Shrimati Renu Chakravarty spoke. I have read the notes of what she said. She referred to—apart from referring to undemocratic methods and no elections being held—meetings being banned and legitimate democratic work being suppressed. I had occasion to answer a question, or may be, I made a statement in regard to this matter. At no time has there been any order banning meetings. What the Chief Commissioner did was, he said, for a short time, for a few weeks, I hope there will be no public meetings, let us settle down; you can hold meetings in your compounds and houses, wherever you like, roughly, till the middle of December, that is till about now. If I may say so, a small reason for this was, the Chief Commissioner himself was going away for a short period because he was ill. I may say that the present Chief Commissioner, who was our Consul there previously, has acquitted himself with very great credit—I am not talking of the last few weeks, but previously too—and I think he deserves praise for the manner he has conducted himself and has worked in very difficult circumstances before the transfer of power. So that, all that he said was, for a few weeks, because of possible party conflicts and the rest of it—do not take out processions or hold meetings. That was a request which was agreed to by everybody here except one leader, to which I shall come later. Even so, that small period is practically over. I must tell the House that meetings have been held in the last few weeks, quite a number of them, without any stoppage or prohibition. In fact, even Shri Subbiah,<sup>15</sup> the Communist Party leader held a meeting with the approval of the administration as recently as 5 December. So that, the information available to hon. Members Opposite is neither up to date nor accurate.

... Let us consider. Is it a sin for the Chief Commissioner to have said so soon after the merger, with all kinds of forces at play, all kinds of feelings between local parties and different people? Hon. Member also referred to some people in very strong terms adverse to them. When they hear these abuses at each other, there is likelihood of friction and possibly more trouble. All that the Chief Commissioner said was, for three or four weeks, please do not hold public meetings which may bring about any party conflicts; hold them in your

15. V. Kailasa Subbiah (b. 1911); joined national liberation movement 1930; Secretary. Harijan Sevak Sangh, 1933-36; joined Pondicherry liberation movement and courted arrest, 1938; suffered imprisonments several times; launched Communist Party of French India, 1942; represented Pondicherry in French Parliament, 1946-49; member, Pondicherry Assembly 1946-74; Secretary, Tamil Nadu Communist Party, 1952-54; Minister for Health, Agriculture and Social Affairs, Pondicherry Government 1969-74; author of *Freedom Struggle in French India*.

private compounds which are big enough and it is easy to hold them in private compounds. In fact, they have been held later. The whole thing is over now.

One rather remarkable charge was apparently made by Shrimati Renu Chakravarty. My note says that she said that hundreds of people were being thrown into jails.

Renu Chakravarty: What I said was, during the time of the French, hundreds of people were thrown into the jails and even now there were specific numbers—I do not have the papers before me—who are still there. They have been charged under the French law; they are political people, who have been charged for criminal acts. They are still there. Hundreds of people had been thrown into jails.

JN: If the hon. Member is referring to people who were sent during the French period—I think I mentioned about it—I am not aware of a single case. What happened was—I think it was in Yanam—some people who had been previously charged had appealed and in fact, I believe, the appeals had gone to some Court of Appeal in France and were pending. When our administrator came in, a Judge or whoever it was, he summoned them. The purpose of his summoning them was to quash the proceedings. They thought they were being summoned for being sentenced. I think I made it clear. They wanted to quash the proceedings. In order to proceed judicially, they asked them to come. That was all. In fact, the Administrator did not know anything about it and when asked, he said, I will look into the matter. Our policy is that they should be released; the only thing is to do it judicially according to the French law. If the hon. Members refer to the French law, the French law is still existing there. It was in accordance with the French law that they were summoned so that the proceedings may be quashed.

Renu Chakravarty: I had mentioned that there were twenty volunteers in Pondicherry jail for leading a demonstration on the 9 August. There are also liberation volunteers. They are not in thousands. They are there for specific acts in connection with the liberation struggle.

JN: I am sorry I cannot give any answer to that. This is the first time I have heard of it. I will enquire certainly. As a matter of fact, since Shrimati Renu Chakravarty spoke, I got in touch with the Chief Commissioner over the telephone to enquire if there is any person in jail. This is the answer I got. I did not know that some of these persons were in jail because he said clearly that all the previous persons were being discharged. He said, whether some have been left, I cannot say, I must enquire. He said that except in one instance, to which I shall come later, no arrests had been made of any kind. The fact is

that arrests have been made in connection with criminal acts. He said;—I am reading out—hon. Members will forgive me if the word “communists” comes in there— “About fifteen days ago, a number of communists went to the Pondicherry municipal commune and tried to force a man called Santiago, who is a socialist municipal commissioner, to join the Communist Party.”

I am reading the message as I received. There is something more exciting coming up. “He refused to do so. They stabbed his brother and assaulted his mother-in-law. Then, they went to another house and assaulted a man called Balasundaram. In this connection nine people were arrested and prosecuted. This is the only incident in which any arrests have taken place since the de facto transfer on the 1 of November.”

K.A. Nambiar: Poor mother-in-law.

JN: I am glad the hon. Member sympathises with the mother-in-law.

So, I beg the House to consider in this perspective. A change took place last month under a certain Agreement which lays down that we should maintain the French law, the French services, the French conditions and that we should not make constitutional or institutional changes till later, not without the consent of the people there. That is the position. Inevitably, when these changes occurred, many people who were formerly there expected to profit by the change in terms of office, etc. It is quite impossible to provide offices for everybody. I cannot from personal knowledge say that this person is better than that. On the whole, the Chief Commissioner has proceeded according to the Agreement and kept those people there. In some cases he had to appoint people. He has got them from India. In some cases he has appointed the persons who were there in the place. And we have obviously to abide, in such matters, by his judgment who is on the spot, more specially when, during the last six months or more—he has been there for about a year I believe—he has functioned with exceedingly good judgment and produced results. Undoubtedly, later this matter will come up before this House in the form of an amendment to the Constitution, I suppose. After that the question would have to be considered about the merger or integration, whatever it may be.

Renu Chakravarty: ...We take it that within a very short period elections will take place.

JN: I cannot say. It will have to be, normally speaking, a period of months, not years. I cannot say exactly when. Even a constitutional amendment takes time, but before we can do that, certain preliminaries have to be settled with the French.

## 6. To T.B. Cunha<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Santiniketan  
24 December 1954

My dear Shri Cunha,<sup>2</sup>

... Broadly speaking, I am not worried at all about the Goan situation. By pursuing the policy we have laid down, we have largely influenced international opinion in our favour. This is important and therefore, I think that that policy should be generally pursued and no attempt should be made to make it appear that non-Goans are really running the movement.<sup>3</sup> We have to look at things in some perspective and coordinate our activities in regard to Goa with our wider policy.

Almost a similar situation exists in Macao<sup>4</sup> in China. I mentioned this to Prime Minister Chou En-lai and his answer was that Macao was like Goa. They have no inhibitions in China, but from the point of view of wider policy they have avoided taking any military or like step. There is no doubt that Macao will go to China just as there is no doubt that Goa will come to India. It is true that the Goan problem is more ripe for settlement than Macao. The economic measures are having their effect. Whenever an opportunity arises, we should take advantage of it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary. Extracts.
2. Tristao Braganza Cunha (1891-1958); founded Goa Congress Committee, 1928; organized Goa Youth League, Bombay, 1945; imprisoned in 1948 and kept in jail in Portugal, released in 1950 following a general amnesty; returned to India in 1953; organised Goan Action Committee in Bombay. Edited *Konkani Weekly*; *Azad Goem* and *Free Goa*.
3. Cunha had been urging Nehru to relax the policy of sending only Goan volunteers as *satyagrahis* into Goa. He contended that if ample number of Indians, who were eager to participate, were allowed to enter Goa, the Portuguese administration might cave in.
4. Macao was a Portuguese colony.

## 7. To K. Kamaraj Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 January 1955

My dear Kamaraj,

I am writing to you about Pondicherry etc. Some time ago, you wrote to me on this subject.<sup>2</sup>

It seems to me that it is highly desirable for urgent steps to be taken in Pondicherry to form a Congress Party consisting of the various groups there which are at present at loggerheads, but all declare their allegiance to the Congress. You visited Pondicherry late in November and it was hoped that your visit would lead to the formation of such a Party. But, apparently, nothing much has been done since then. I should like you to take particular interest in this matter and expedite the formation of a Congress organization there including all the groups except, of course, the communists.

Strictly speaking, such a Congress Party at present cannot be member of the Congress organization in India.<sup>3</sup> But this is a minor difficulty which we can get over. In fact, I would suggest that this matter might be considered at the Avadi Congress.

It has been suggested, and probably this is your view, that Pondicherry etc., should be merged in the Madras State.<sup>4</sup> This, of course, is not at all possible till the de jure transfer of these old French Settlements has taken place. But, even apart from this, I think it will be very undesirable to bring this matter up now. So far Mahe and Yanam are concerned, they will undoubtedly be merged, after the de jure transfer, with the neighbouring districts. But Pondicherry stands on a different footing and we have given numerous assurances to the people and to the French Government about it. It is possible that, under pressure from us, we may even get a vote there in

1. JN Collection.

2. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras, had written to Nehru on 2 December 1954 that during his two day visit to Pondicherry and talks with political parties there, he found that except the communists, all others were eager to join the Congress.

3. Earlier, on 17 October, the French Indian Liberation Congress, formerly the French Indian Socialist Party, led by B. Muthukumarappa Reddiar, resolved at Madukarai to wind up the party and become a unit of the Indian National Congress, pending the de jure transfer and formation of the French Settlements into a part 'C' State.

4. Kamaraj had written that the desire of the local political leadership to join the Congress was due to the fact that Pondicherry might be constituted into a separate part 'C' State. He felt that "Persons at the top are anxious to have power for themselves. The general desire of the people here is that Pondicherry should be merged with the Madras State."

favour of this kind of merger, but I would not encourage this at all. Even if a majority votes for it, a strong minority would feel unhappy and would say that we have broken our pledges. Apart from this, this will have a bad effect on the Goa situation.

We must, therefore, keep Pondicherry separate for some time at least and not even raise the question of merger with the Madras State.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. Integration of Pondicherry<sup>1</sup>

Mr Mayor,<sup>2</sup> Councillors, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sorry that I am not addressing you in the beautiful French language which you have just used. I have not enough practice in that language to speak fluently. My coming here today after a long gap of years has brought many memories to me and more particularly, has brought before me the significance of all that has happened in Pondicherry during the last few months. For what has happened here is of a much larger significance than perhaps the mere size of Pondicherry might indicate. What has happened here, from the point of view of India, is a certain step forward in her political revolution. The first step was taken when India became free, after an agreement with the British Government. This is another step forward, however small it may be. Not much remains to complete this political revolution and political integration of India.

We in India desire no dominion outside our country. We have no ambition to dominate over any people or over any country. But we have to complete this political revolution by bringing about the integration of these pockets in India, for reasons which I need not repeat here. So it is important that this step came about. But even more important than this is the manner of its coming about. It came about by a friendly negotiated settlement with the French

1. Speech at a reception held in his honour, Mairie, Pondicherry. 16 January 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Muthu Pillai was the Mayor of Pondicherry.

Government. And if I may say so, that settlement does honour both to the Government of India and the Government of the French Republic, as all true settlements always do.

Some years ago—seven and a half or so—we came to a settlement with the British Government in regard to this great country of India. We had opposed each other for a long number of years and yet those in charge of the destinies of both countries were wise enough to seek the path of friendly settlement. And as a result, the conflicts and the bitterness that had existed previously almost vanished and we deal with each other, that is England and India, as friends and we cooperate. It very seldom happens in history that a problem is solved without leaving other problems behind. Wars are fought and won and lost, but even the winning of a war does not end the problems that the war creates. Every conflict leads to other conflicts even if that conflict ceases. How then did this happen that in India this solution of a tremendous problem between the great country like India and a great empire like the British empire took place in a manner so as to leave practically no problem behind and no bitterness behind? There are few examples of that in history. So also, in dealing with this question of Pondicherry, we have achieved the settlement in friendship and cooperation with the French Government, leaving no problem behind, not even bitterness behind. All that is of the past. That, if I may say so, with all respect, is the civilized way of dealing with problems. The uncivilized way is that of war, even though big countries may fight them.

So, while Pondicherry may be a small, very small part of India, it is a symbol of many things. It has now become a symbol of this friendly solution by negotiated settlement between nations of problems that troubled them. Therefore, this settlement truly brought joy and happiness to me. Anyhow, I would have been glad because I have laboured throughout my life for a certain objective in India. I have seen that objective fulfilled in a large measure and as more fulfilment comes to it, naturally, I rejoice. But my joy has been much greater because of the manner of doing it. You may remember that our great leader Mahatmaji always laid stress on the manner of doing things, on the means employed. It is good to have a right objective, to have right ends in view, but he always said that it is more important to adopt right methods and right means because if you adopt wrong means, the objective itself changes and it lands you into great difficulties.

I thank you very much for your welcome here, Mr Mayor, and the other organizations who have extended it. It would seem both from the welcome here and from the welcome I have received in the streets of Pondicherry that almost all the people of Pondicherry, to whatever group or way of thought they might belong, have joined in this welcome. Naturally, that makes me glad, but it also casts a burden of responsibility on me, which I cannot fulfil without your cooperation. That welcome—what did it mean, what does it mean,

more specially the welcome of the common people in the streets, who do not know how to spin fine phrases, but whose affection looks out of their eyes. What does it mean, that welcome? It means an expectation, a hope, a faith in the future. Now, how are we going to fulfil that hope and expectation, how are we going to lighten their burdens and bring some relief and some joy in their harassed lives? That is a question which you and I and all of us have to think about and try to find an answer. And that is the only answer that is worth giving, not some words of thanks that I might give. Well, of course, this problem is a problem for the whole of India. How to answer this question that these millions and millions of Indian eyes put to us, friendly eyes, pleading eyes, sometimes sad eyes—that is our problem.

We have to think of the future of Pondicherry in terms of the common people of Pondicherry more than in terms of a certain elite, just as in the rest of India. We have arrived at a stage in India, and in the world when nobody dare ignore the common man.

You referred, Mr Mayor, to the individuality of Pondicherry. That is true, in the course of the last two or three hundred years, these Settlements, Pondicherry, Karaikal, etc., acquired a certain individuality, a certain impress of French culture and the French language. You know that we have stated in our Agreement with the French Republic that we shall respect that French culture and the impress of the French language here and other customs here. That involves our treating Pondicherry and Karaikal in a somewhat different way from the way we may treat other parts of India, because we recognize that individuality and what is more we wish to preserve it and even encourage it. And we wish to do so, not merely because we have come to an Agreement on that score with the Government of France. That, of course, is important, and we have to honour our Agreement. But even more so because apart from our Agreement, we feel that that should be done. That is the right course, that is something which is good not only for you in Pondicherry but for India.

India is a strange country, a very big country in size, with very great variety. I have travelled about in India, from the northern mountains which run into Central Asia, or the North East Frontier close to Tibet and Burma, right down to the south. I have seen the infinite varieties of India. Behind those infinite varieties is the unity that binds it. I am not afraid of the variety. It enriches our culture, it enriches India, but only when there is that strong bond of unity also. So I look upon Pondicherry with its background of French culture and language as something that enriches Indian culture and something that I should like to preserve. French, of course, is a great language of the world, a very beautiful language, and anyhow we should welcome it. Therefore, I should like Pondicherry to continue to be a seat in many ways of the French language and thereby, help to serve India in that respect also.

I need not say much more to you, except this, that the justification of what will happen in the future will depend on how we serve the common man in Pondicherry. I repeat that because we think of that all the time in India, and the future of Pondicherry will depend, may be to some extent on us sitting in Delhi, or our officers here. But it would depend far more on the people of Pondicherry, on you gentlemen, and others here. How far you can cooperate together for the common good, or how far you will pull in different directions and prevent each other from functioning.

We live in an age of democracy and India is committed to the democratic ideal. For the first time in history we were brave and courageous enough to give the vote to hundreds of millions of people of India. We gave the vote to the dwellers in the jungle as also to the dwellers in the cities. We did not keep away the vote from any person in India. We did not attach qualifications to it, either educational or property. We treated everyone as a human being who has a right to say as to what his government should be. So we put our faith in democracy to the fullest extent, for it is an age of democracy. And democracy only flourishes, ultimately as freedom only flourishes, when the responsibilities of freedom are understood and carried out. If the responsibilities are not understood and carried out, then that freedom itself tends to slip away. There is no rights without a corresponding responsibility and obligation. We claim rights we are entitled to, but we forget the obligations that accompany those rights and hence those rights will not be a blessing to us and it might even turn into a curse.

Now that you have come into the larger freedom, you have to remember the obligations and the responsibilities of that freedom. You have to remember that democracy means cooperation, it means adjustment, it means often

freedom. You have to remember adjustment, it means often adjustment means an avoidance of conflict, conflict and violence.

You that you will have the fullest freedom. As I came to you, just before I came to them in the same terms as I am merely drawing a salary. Every officer must discharge that trust as to this Corporation, or councillors;

because this is the first occasion when we come together and we shall hope our cooperation will be

the obligations and the responsibilities of that freedom. I repeat that because we think of that all the time in India, and the future of Pondicherry will depend, may be to some extent on us sitting in Delhi, or our officers here. But it would depend far more on the people of Pondicherry, on you gentlemen, and others here. How far you can cooperate together for the common good, or how far you will pull in different directions and prevent each other from functioning.

So, if you work together, I can assure you that you will have the fullest help and cooperation from our officers here. As I came to you, I met our officers here and I spoke to them in the same terms as I am speaking to you. Being an officer is not only a privilege but an obligation. An officer is a trustee to a certain extent, and I am speaking to everyone of you, whether you are the Mayor or the members of the Corporation, you are trustees of this city.

I have ventured to speak to you frankly because this is the first occasion when we come together and we shall hope our cooperation will be fruitful. Thank you, Mr Mayor.

## 9. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Madras  
16 January 1955

Indu darling,

I have just come back from Pondicherry and received your letter of the 15th.<sup>2</sup> I am glad you were going to Simla with the children. Look after yourself there and don't exert yourself.

Pondicherry had a festive air. The town was decorated with numerous arches and buntings and large crowds from outside had come there. In the various functions French, of course, was dominant. It was interesting to see how people there took pride in their French as many of us have done with our English. At a college function French poetry was recited with great gusto.

I visited the Aurobindo Ashram and met the 'Mother'.<sup>3</sup> The lady has grown quite old and looks fragile. She produced no great impression of spirituality on me. I saw the boys and girls there, and indeed the grown-ups too, indulge in athletics. They were quite good at it. What was interesting was that the girls of all ages were clad in the most diminutive of attire.

You will remember showing me Bijji Kaul's<sup>4</sup> letter about the Chinese delegation's visit to Madras. I have not discussed this matter with anyone here, but I have gathered the impression that the delegation was quite happy here. I am inclined to think that Bijji Kaul dramatises little events. There was some faint reference here to people from Delhi trying to boss everybody here.

Love,  
Papu

1. From Sonia Gandhi (ed.), *Two Alone, Two Together: Letters Between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-1964*, (London, 1992), pp. 605-606.
2. Indira Gandhi had written about her departure from Delhi for Shimla with her children on 15 January 1955.
3. Mirra Alfassa (1878-1973); popularly known as the 'Mother', was the principal associate of Shri Aurobindo in the activities of the Ashram and the spiritual movement initiated by him in Pondicherry.
4. General B.M. Kaul (1912-1972).





## 1. Assembly Resolution about MPs<sup>1</sup>

Please acknowledge this letter and inform Maulana Masoodi<sup>2</sup> that I have been so busy that I have not been able to read my letters and it was only late on the 8th evening that I saw this letter. It is not possible at all for me to find time for interviews during the next two days. I might be able to see him some time later, if he so wishes.

I saw the news item he refers to yesterday, but I forget exactly what the wording was. As far as I can remember, it stated that the Assembly had passed a resolution to say that the four members from the Jammu & Kashmir State in the Lok Sabha did not represent the J&K State Assembly and that it further criticized their activities.<sup>3</sup> I do not know what I am supposed to say about this. The Kashmir State Assembly is perfectly competent to pass such a resolution if it so chooses. It is clear that the activities of Maulana Masoodi and some of his colleagues have been entirely opposed to the views of the J&K State Assembly. A constituency which elects its representatives has a right to criticise them or dissociate itself from them.

So far as I am concerned, I have also disagreed with Maulana Masoodi's activities.

1. Note to the PPS, 8 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. Maulana Saeed Masoodi, a National Conference member of Lok Sabha and a close associate of Shaikh Abdullah.
3. The Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly passed a resolution expressing no confidence in the four Lok Sabha members from the Jammu & Kashmir on the ground that they were "engaged in activities prejudicial to the interests of the State." The resolution was conveyed to the Government of India through the Ministry of States. Masoodi was associated with various groups belonging to PSP, World Democratic Congress, 'End the Kashmir Dispute' Committee, etc., who campaigned for the release of Shaikh Abdullah and focussed their activities on exposing the character of Bakhshi Government.

## 2. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 November 1954

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of November 14<sup>2</sup> has just reached me this evening. Bamzai<sup>3</sup> tells me that he will be going to Srinagar tomorrow morning. I am, therefore, writing this letter in some haste.

I am glad to read your letter and the account you have given me of the National Conference session and the other work done there.<sup>4</sup>

You mention the names of nine persons who have been in detention since the 9th August 1953. Is that the total number of detainees now? I think it would be a good thing if the number of people in detention was publicized because probably most people think that many hundreds are so kept in detention.<sup>5</sup>

I understand that Asoka Mehta has been expressing his resentment here against, what he says was the attempt of the Kashmir Government to minimize the attack on him and his group.<sup>6</sup> He addressed a public meeting in Delhi this evening. I have had no report of it yet.

1. JN Collection.
2. This letter was in reply to Nehru's letter to Bakhshi of 12 November 1954 (not printed), where Nehru had sought clarification on a reported manhandling of Asoka Mehta, PSP Member of Lok Sabha, at Srinagar on 10 November by Bakhshi supporters. Nehru wanted to know how many political prisoners were there in Kashmir and whether the J&K Government was paying their families any allowances. Nehru also advised that proper medical care should be taken of Shaikh Abdullah and other detenus.
3. K.N. Bamzai, Officer on Special Duty (Kashmir Publicity), Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1949-65.
4. Bakhshi had reported that the National Conference session had gone off peacefully and was a great success. He informed about various steps taken by his Government regarding flood relief work, anti-corruption measures and the Five Year Plan.
5. The nine arrested persons were: Shaikh Abdullah, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Ghulam Mohammad Beg, Kashyap Bandhu, Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Ali Mohammad Butt, Pir Afzal Shah, Mubarik Shah and Ghulam Mohammad Chikkan. Bakhshi had reported that apart from these there were twelve other political prisoners, who were arrested in connection with the arrest of Shaikh Abdullah.
6. Asoka Mehta had lodged a formal complaint with the J&K Police of the manhandling incident by the Bakhshi faction of National Conference workers at Lal Chowk, Srinagar, on 10 November 1954. In his letter of 14 November, Bakhshi called these allegations baseless and said that these had been part of an excuse by those PSP workers who had failed to gather a crowd for the meeting to be addressed by Mehta.

As Asoka Mehta is a Member of the Lok Sabha and will no doubt meet a large number of other Members, he is likely to create much misunderstanding about Kashmir. In regard to the general position, one can deal with it. But about the particular incident in which he got a beating, it will not be easy for us to say much.

I had a complaint the other day from Dr Satyawadi,<sup>7</sup> a Congress MP, about permits to go to Kashmir<sup>8</sup> having been refused to Lakhanpal<sup>9</sup> and others including Satyawadi. I replied to it in rather strong terms condemning Lakhanpal and his group.

You will see the remarks made by Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor-General of Pakistan, in Lucknow.<sup>10</sup> It is quite possible that some fresh attempt might be made by Pakistan to have talks with us. In any event, I am likely to meet Mohammad Ali at Djakarta in Indonesia at the end of December.

The presence of Dr Khan Sahib in the Pakistan Cabinet also is rather intriguing, and I have no doubt that he will encourage further talks. I am merely mentioning all these factors to you as they indicate some possible developments in the near future.

As far as I can see, the Kashmir issue is not likely to be raised in the Security Council in the near future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Dr. Virender Kumar Satyawadi (b. 1910); member, Working Committee, All India Depressed Class League, 1950 and INTUC, Punjab; President Bhumi Mazdoor Sabha, Karnal, 1950-51; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
8. V.K. Satyawadi had written to Nehru regarding rejection of his request for a permit to enter Kashmir by the Defence Ministry. He had contended that this was a violation of his fundamental right. Nehru, in his reply dated 10 November (not printed), explained that Jammu & Kashmir had been treated in a special way because of "special circumstances". "If the permit is justified, then the denial of the permit to a person considered wholly undesirable is also justified."
9. P.N. Lakhanpal, was the Convenor of the 'End the Kashmir Dispute' Committee. Nehru contended the activities of this group, which had alleged links with Pakistan and US agencies and was actively criticising the Government of India's policy regarding Kashmir, as "harmful".
10. On his way to Dhaka, Ghulam Mohammad had said on 14 November in Lucknow that "I have faith in Jawaharlal as much as you have.... We must forget the past and do whatever we can to open a new chapter."

### 3. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

19 November 1954

My dear Bakhshi,

Yesterday I wrote a brief letter to you<sup>2</sup> in which I referred to copy of a letter to you which Asoka Mehta had sent me.<sup>3</sup>

This morning I have received your letter without date in which you have dealt with Asoka Mehta's visit in some detail.<sup>4</sup>

I am glad you are having a fairly full enquiry in this matter and I hope the fullest publicity will be given to it. I am much worried over this incident because this kind of thing injures us greatly. Already our opponents here have seized hold of it. The Praja Socialist Party often acts very irresponsibly here and I have been surprised and distressed at their approach in Kashmir.<sup>5</sup> But it is an important party in India and if they take up a matter, they can create a good deal of public misunderstanding. It is not difficult to deal with a matter on principle, but where an incident of the kind alleged by them takes place, this gives them a great handle. Asoka Mehta, in his letter, has mentioned specific names of persons.<sup>6</sup> Obviously it is not for us here to deny any statement

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Vishnu Sahay, Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Union Ministry of States.
2. Not printed. Nehru had informed Bakhshi that Asoka Mehta had written to him giving details of what happened to him in the incident of 10 November and felt that "there is no particular reason why he should lie."
3. Mehta had written that he reached Lal Chowk on the 10th to address a meeting organized by the local PSP workers. While he was out for a walk, he was accosted by a few prominent Bakhshi supporters who started heckling and beating him. They kicked a colleague of his, Vasanti Shroff and slapped Farooq Abdullah, Shaikh Abdullah's son, when he tried to rescue her. In such unfortunate circumstances he had to cancel his meeting.
4. Bakhshi had written that an informal enquiry, revealed that, when Mehta reached the spot, it was already crowded, since it was the birthday of the Prophet and Guru Nanak and where Mehta "might have come in midst of the crowd and received some pushes unwittingly." Bakhshi's contention was that despite previous announcements, Mehta had failed to attract a sizeable crowd for his meeting and thus, had made an issue out of a trivial thing.
5. The various factions of PSP operating in Jammu & Kashmir were extremely critical of the Government of India's policy regarding its dealings with Praja Parishad, arrest of Abdullah and unswerving support for the Bakhshi regime, which they felt was a "corrupt, opportunistic and pliant" Government carrying out the diktats of Delhi.
6. Those named by Mehta were: Bakhshi Abdul Hamid, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's brother, Ghulam Ahmed Sufi, Ghulam Kadir Khan Natta, Ghulam Kadir Gandharbat, Motilal Misri and P.L. Handoo, all prominently connected with National Conference or the Bakhshi administration.

that he has made because we have no personal knowledge, and he was on the spot. He is supposed to be one of the moderate leaders of the PSP and he is an MP. As such he meets large numbers of people here and has some influence. I do hope, therefore, that you will be able to show that your enquiry is a fair enquiry. I suggest that you might write yourself to Kripalaniji<sup>7</sup> also. You will, of course, reply to Asoka Mehta's letter to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. J.B. Kripalani, President, PSP.

#### 4. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
23 November 1954

My dear Bakhshi,  
Your letter of November 21.

I can well realise how put out you must be by the Asoka Mehta incident, and even more so by the propaganda that is carried on by some people. Among these, as you say, is Mridula Sarabhai. I really do not know what to do with her. I have expressed my view very strongly to her.<sup>2</sup>

The other day Maulana Saeed came to see me. He had asked for an interview some two weeks ago, but I had no time then. So I sent for him now. He told me that his whole object in the course of the last year or more has been to bring about some agreement between your Government and Shaikh Abdullah because he felt that there would be no stability till this matter was settled. There had always been an inner conflict in Kashmir. He denied running your Government down and said that this was not his desire just as he did not want Shaikh Abdullah to be run down and condemned. This kind of thing led nowhere.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Vishnu Sahay.
2. Mridula Sarabhai had been active in Kashmir politics since 1938. After Abdullah's arrest on 9 August 1953, she took upon herself the responsibility of defending Abdullah and getting him released. She felt that Abdullah was a victim of a conspiracy hatched by some influential people, who had Nehru's ears and were fundamentally opposed to the special status of Kashmir within the Indian Union. In this, she believed, the conspirators were indirectly helped by the Praja Parishad and Jana Sangh. Such open defiance of the Government of India's policy by her elicited repeated stern responses from Nehru. See *post*, pp. 249-251; see also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 23, p. 327.

When I pointed out to him somethings he had done which I thought were objectionable, he agreed that he had made some mistakes. But he added that many people, including you, imagined that everything that happened was due to him (Maulana Saeed). As a matter of fact, he said, he did not know much that had happened and that he was not even in any intimate touch with some others in Delhi, who were carrying on propaganda. But, unfortunately, he was supposed to be the cause of every evil in this respect. He would prefer to be in prison so that his responsibilities might end.

I told him that I entirely disapproved of Mridula Sarabhai's activities as well as of persons like Lakhanpal and company. I referred to the Praja Socialist people who, far from helping to solve any difficulty, were making things worse.

I had a fairly long talk with him, but this is the substance of it. He said also that he could not understand why he or others were prevented from seeing Shaikh Abdullah. After all, nothing much could happen if he saw him. It is possible that he himself might be convinced that Shaikh Abdullah was hopeless and could not be reasoned with. Or else, he might create some impression on him. Anyhow, no harm would be done.

I told him that it was obviously not my desire or, for the matter of that, any one else's to keep Shaikh Abdullah indefinitely in prison. This hurts me. But this was not merely a personal matter and I could not take the responsibility for any action which might result in a grave situation. That responsibility must rest with the Kashmir Government and it was for them to decide what to do and when.

At my instance Vishnu Sahay<sup>3</sup> saw Asoka Mehta and had a long talk with him trying to explain to him the position in Kashmir. Asoka Mehta listened patiently. What effect this talk had on him, I cannot say. Vishnu Sahay will be going to Jammu or Srinagar soon and would, no doubt, meet you and tell you all about it.

You must have noticed the new turn in the Pakistan press. *The Civil & Military Gazette* recently pointed out that all their efforts in regard to Kashmir and other Indo-Pakistan matters had failed. No outside powers would help them. The Security Council would do nothing for them. Therefore, it was better to deal with India directly. One of the things that India had asked for in the past was a 'No War declaration.'<sup>4</sup> After all, it was said, nobody was thinking of war. So why not agree to this 'No War declaration'?

All this indicates some new thinking in Pakistan, no doubt chiefly due to their internal difficulties.

3. The Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Union Ministry of States.

4. See *ante*, p. 179.

I agree with you that it would not be worth while for you to write to Kripalaniji now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5 December 1954

My dear Bakhshi,

I am glad you have released Beg.<sup>2</sup> Among other reasons, I am glad that he is no longer with Shaikh Saheb. I do not particularly like Shaikh Saheb being surrounded by some people who must have influenced him all the time in a wrong direction.

I suppose that there are very few persons left in detention now, at least of those who were arrested last year. I told Vishnu Sahay to point out to you that this fact should be publicized so that people might know how few they are. There is a vague idea that hundreds of people are kept in detention in the Jammu & Kashmir State.<sup>3</sup>

I am anxious that, so far as possible, the evil influences surrounding Shaikh Abdullah should be removed. Those persons can be released or put in some other place of confinement. How far this is feasible, I do not know. But I should like you to give thought to this. Of course, you have to leave some one or two persons with Shaikh Saheb. Kashyap Bandhu can be left with him as well as, perhaps, someone else who might be thought to be harmless from this point of view.

Beg appears to be ill. If he wants to come for treatment to Delhi or Bombay, I presume you will have no objection. In fact, it might be a good thing for him to be outside Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg was released on the ground of illness on 30 November 1954.
3. Asoka Mehta, and various other groups, had been claiming that, by using the Preventive Detention Act, Jammu & Kashmir, Bakhshi Government had put hundreds of people in jail without trial. In fact, Mridula Sarabhai wished to challenge the Act in the J&K High Court.

## 6. Propaganda Against Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

From time to time, I have drawn attention to the activities of various individuals and groups in Delhi and elsewhere who have been dead set against the Kashmir Government and the Government of India's policy in regard to it. A number of newspapers apparently concentrate on this and do much mischief. The Pakistan press gives the fullest publicity to these.

2. The DIB made some kind of an enquiry about these newspapers and informed me that in all probability they were financed by outside sources.

3. We have the Lakhanpal group, the Prem Nath Bazaz group, a number of Muslim newspapers in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay which have been very communal, and some persons connected with the Praja Socialist Party. Some of the Hindu communal organisations fall in line with these attacks, though in a different way. So also the Praja Parishad of Jammu.

4. All this concentrated propaganda is directed chiefly against our Kashmir policy and the Kashmir Government and, to some extent, against our foreign policy in general. It is financed obviously from some outside sources. It may be that the USIS provides a good deal of these finances. The argument often is that the Kashmir Government is run by the communists or is going to be captured by the communists and therefore it should be upset. The various groups work probably for somewhat different ends, but all agree in this general alignment and because of it, they find it easy to get money from different sources. They provide excellent propaganda stuff for the Pakistan press. In fact, some messages are sent direct to Pakistan and not even published here.

5. I am told that Lakhanpal has instituted some kind of a suit against me. Information about this appears in the Pakistan press. This is apparently about a remark I made at a private Congress Party meeting in which I warned members not to associate themselves with Lakhanpal as he was engaged in anti-national activities. Some brief report of this appeared in the papers.

6. I think that we should look at this picture as a whole and try to understand its various features and how they are connected with each other. For instance, I am told that Maulana Saeed Masoodi, MP, is on the one hand in touch with Lakhanpal and, on the other, keeps in touch, through another person, with the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi.

7. Some time ago I drew attention to the *Pratap* writing an editorial which appeared simultaneously in Karachi and elsewhere. This was an attack

1. Note to G.B. Pant, the Union Home Minister, Madras, 20 January 1955. JN Collection.

on Chou En-lai's visit to India. The presumption was that it came from the USIS.

8. I suggest that a comprehensive and thorough enquiry into all these connected matters should be made.

## 7. Situation in Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

I spoke to you yesterday about a letter I had received from Mridula Sarabhai. This letter was addressed to you, but was sent to me so that I might forward it to you. I am, therefore, doing so.<sup>2</sup>

8. I suggest that a comprehensive and thorough enquiry into all these connected matters should be made.

## 7. Situation in Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

I spoke to you yesterday about a letter I had received from Mridula Sarabhai. This letter was addressed to you, but was sent to me so that I might forward it to you. I am, therefore, doing so.<sup>2</sup>

2. I find it very difficult to deal with this matter. Indeed, I told Mridula Sarabhai over a year ago that I would rather not discuss with her in any way the position in Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> Since then, I have not had any such discussion with her, but, from time to time, she has sent me copies of letters addressed to other persons. On one or two occasions, I have even sent back these copies to her. I have not liked. In the same way, I can say that many things happen in the other States of India which I do not like. We give our advice and on rare occasions we interfere whenever we can.

President. 24 January 1955. F.No. G-86(ii)/1955. See in JN Collection.

Sarabhai explained that she wished to keep the matter of her proposed activities, since Nehru was going abroad, and during this period she might take some action which would be regarded as violating the proper procedure.

, Vol. 25. pp. 326-327 and Vol. 26. pp. 303-304.

1. Note to U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President. AICC Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. In a covering note of 22 January 1955, the Congress President informed about the matter. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25. pp. 326-327 and Vol. 26. pp. 303-304.

3. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25. pp. 326-327 and Vol. 26. pp. 303-304.

5. In the Jammu & Kashmir State, a serious situation arose in 1953, which led to the arrest of Shaikh Abdullah, and some others, and I was unhappy about these developments,<sup>4</sup> but I felt that the Government of India should not interfere. After all, somebody had to shoulder the responsibility there and for us to come in the way of the then functioning Jammu & Kashmir Government, without a suitable alternative, would have been irresponsible action. We must, therefore, assume ultimate responsibility for what happened there, although part of it at least was done without our knowledge.

6. Mridula Sarabhai refers in very strong language to what occurred in August 1953 in Kashmir.<sup>5</sup> I think that her account is very greatly exaggerated and, therefore, very misleading. We made special enquiries into this matter through independent agencies all round and received full reports. I am sure that those reports were largely correct. In spite of this, Mridula Sarabhai and some other people have been carrying on propaganda about so-called atrocities and the like. Evidently she has made up her mind to believe something whether it is correct or not.

7. This applies to subsequent happenings too. It is an unfortunate fact that Shaikh Abdullah is still in detention. There are only three or four other persons in detention on this account. But, apart from this, the general situation in Kashmir has undoubtedly improved greatly and it is a great exaggeration to say that some kind of political terrorism prevails there. A very large number of tourists have gone there and our own representatives go there frequently to see and report to us.

8. Some of the informants of Mridula Sarabhai are, according to our knowledge, not only very unreliable, but mischievous and anti-India. She accepts their statements and rejects ours. Knowing her as I do, I cannot impute any mala fides to her. But her behaviour in this matter has caused me the greatest distress. She has done a great deal of injury by her propaganda and deliberate association with some highly objectionable people.

9. I do not quite know what the object of her letter to you is. She had previously written about some action to be taken by the Civil Liberties Union and I had made it clear to her that we could not approve of this. Apart from the fact that the Civil Liberties Union is a small organization which is opposed to both our Government and the Congress, it seems to me a little absurd for

4. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 309-318.

5. She had written that what had happened in August 1953, culminating in Abdullah's arrest, were not due to "mass passions in any sense of the word, but as a result of organized gangsterism." In state-wide demonstrations and consequent violence perpetrated by the State on the people following Abdullah's arrest, 168 persons were injured and thirty six persons were killed.

such an organization to sit in judgement over the policies of both the Jammu & Kashmir Government and the Central Government of India.<sup>6</sup>

10. The difficulty is that any person who happens to disagree with Mridula in this matter becomes suspect in her eyes. She thinks it is a deep conspiracy in which many people in the Government of India are involved.

11. In this matter of Kashmir, we have naturally been constantly in touch with Maulana Azad. Previously Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was also frequently consulted by us. So also other colleagues of ours in the Cabinet here, and they have been in agreement with the general policy adopted by us.

12. We have a Special Secretary dealing with Kashmir affairs, Shri Vishnu Sahay. He is a very balanced man and he goes there very frequently and reports on the situation to us.

13. The real problem in Kashmir is about Shaikh Abdullah's detention. I do not like it, nor can anyone like it on grounds of principle. But in this, as in some other matters, we can hardly brush aside the Jammu and Kashmir Government and take any action which might well produce a grave crisis there which we cannot possibly manage from here. I might add that so far as our information goes, Shaikh Abdullah's general attitude of mind is not at all helpful.

6. Sarabhai had written to Nehru on 29 November, seeking permission for working for the Civil Liberties Union. Nehru replied on 30 November (not printed) stating: "instructions were issued to Congressmen by the AICC to keep away from the Civil Liberties Union because that Union had ceased to function independently and had become merely an organ of attack of present Government policy." He asked her not to send any papers regarding Kashmir and reprimanded her for her activities in strong terms.



# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



## I. AVADI SESSION

### 1. Draft Resolutions for the Avadi Congress<sup>1</sup>

#### I. Socialist Pattern of Society<sup>2</sup>

In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.

#### II. Foreign Establishments in India<sup>3</sup>

The Congress had noted with pleasure the de facto transfer of the French Establishments in India to the Union of India.<sup>4</sup> It welcomes the inhabitants of these areas as citizens of the Indian Republic and as members of the large family of India, and looks forward to their progress and advancement. In particular, the Congress is gratified that this historic change has taken place by means of a friendly settlement with the French Republic. It welcomes the

1. Drafted by Nehru, 9 January 1955. File No. G-67(C)/1955. AICC Papers, NMML. The 60th session of the Indian National Congress took place at Satyamurthinagar, Avadi, Madras, under the presidentship of U.N. Dhebar, from 21 to 23 January 1955.
2. The word 'socialist' was changed to 'socialistic' on 17 January in the AICC Steering Committee meeting. While moving the resolution in the Subjects Committee on 19 January 1955, Maulana Azad explained that the words "socialistic pattern of society" had been purposely used because "India did not want to tie herself to any particular dogma or doctrine." She must endeavour to build up a society befitting her own genius and suited to her own requirements. In the open session, Nehru moved the resolution on 21 January 1955. For his speech, see *post*, pp. 279-283.
3. U.N. Dhebar moved this resolution in the open session on 21 January 1955.
4. On 1 November 1954.

assurance given that Pondicherry will continue to preserve French culture and thus add to the richness of India's life and culture.<sup>5</sup>

2. The Congress is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India.

### III. Unity and Integration of India<sup>6</sup>

This Congress is of opinion that the progress and well being of the people of India necessitate not only political and economic advance but also social reform, so as to remove the barriers which come in the way of individual and social growth. The unity of India requires that every separatist tendency that comes in the way of such unity should be actively discouraged. While preserving the great variety of India and the richness of her cultural life, it is essential that India should be integrated culturally and psychologically. Caste, which is not only separatist but is opposed to the democratic ideal of equality, should be put an end to; and communalism, which degrades both religion and politics, should be sternly repressed. Provincialism, which is a narrowing and disruptive factor, checking the development of a unified and integrated India, should also be opposed.

### IV. International Affairs<sup>7</sup>

The Congress welcomes recent developments in world affairs, which have contributed to some lessening of international tensions, and trusts that this process will continue and lead to a further improvement of international relations. The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China not only brought an end to seven years' war but, for the first time in a generation, put an end to fighting in the world as a whole. The Congress earnestly hopes that this will lead to a peaceful settlement in this important area of South East Asia. India, in association with Canada and Poland, has undertaken heavy responsibilities in Indo-China. The Congress is glad to learn of the satisfactory work of the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China and hopes that there will be no outside interference or pressure and that the future of these countries will be decided by the peoples themselves as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

5. In the Subjects Committee on 17 January, this sentence was changed to "It welcomes the assurance given that French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India's life and culture."
6. This resolution was moved by K.P. Madhavan Nair President, Travancore-Cochin Pradesh Congress Committee, in the open session on 23 January 1955.
7. This resolution was moved by Morarji Desai in the open session on 22 January 1955.

2. In Korea, while war is ended, peace is not in sight. The establishment of peace in Korea is vital to Asian and world stability, removing from the international context a source of grave danger which may lead to large scale conflict. The Congress hopes that further steps will be taken to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

3. The establishment of a "South East Asian Defence Organisation", by some great Western powers and some countries in South East Asia, is regrettable and has added to the insecurity of that region and extended the area of cold war.

4. The Congress believes that real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly cooperation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world. The principles which should govern international relations have been set out in the joint statements issued by India, China and Burma, and more recently by India and Yugoslavia.<sup>8</sup> The Congress warmly welcomes the Five Principles or *Panch Shila*. They represent the approach and policy of India in international affairs, and put forward the alternative of collective peace to the preparation for collective war. The Congress is of opinion that these principles must basically govern international relations and establish peaceful coexistence, which is imperative in the circumstances of today for the survival of civilization.

5. The continued exclusion of China from the United Nations is very regrettable and retards the progress of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. This Congress expresses the fervent hope that, during the present year, China will take her rightful place in the United Nations.

6. The Congress welcomes the proposal, originally initiated by Indonesia at the Colombo Conference last year, to convene a Conference of the independent countries of Asia and Africa and wishes this Conference all success.

7. The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Even the experiments of the hydrogen bombs continually threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effects, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional atomic weapons such as atomic artillery, is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction. This Congress earnestly

8. India and China in a joint statement on 28 June 1954; see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 410-412; China and Burma in a joint statement on 29 June 1954; India and Yugoslavia in a joint statement on 23 December 1954 had declared that the *Panch Shila* should be the governing principle between them and in their international relations.

requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The Congress further suggests that the United Nations should take steps to give a scientific appraisal of the consequences of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons so that the people of all nations might become fully aware of the grave menace of war today.

8. This Congress records its deep appreciation of the policy of the Government of India in the realm of international affairs. It realises that the success of any foreign policy and its capacity to make itself felt, depends, in a large measure, on the strength and internal solidarity of the country, as well as a true understanding and appreciation of the basic aim and approach towards world peace.

## V. Economic Policy<sup>10</sup>

The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five Year Plan, which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but also of great achievement. The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service which have already covered over eighty thousand villages and fifty million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and cooperation which these schemes have evoked.

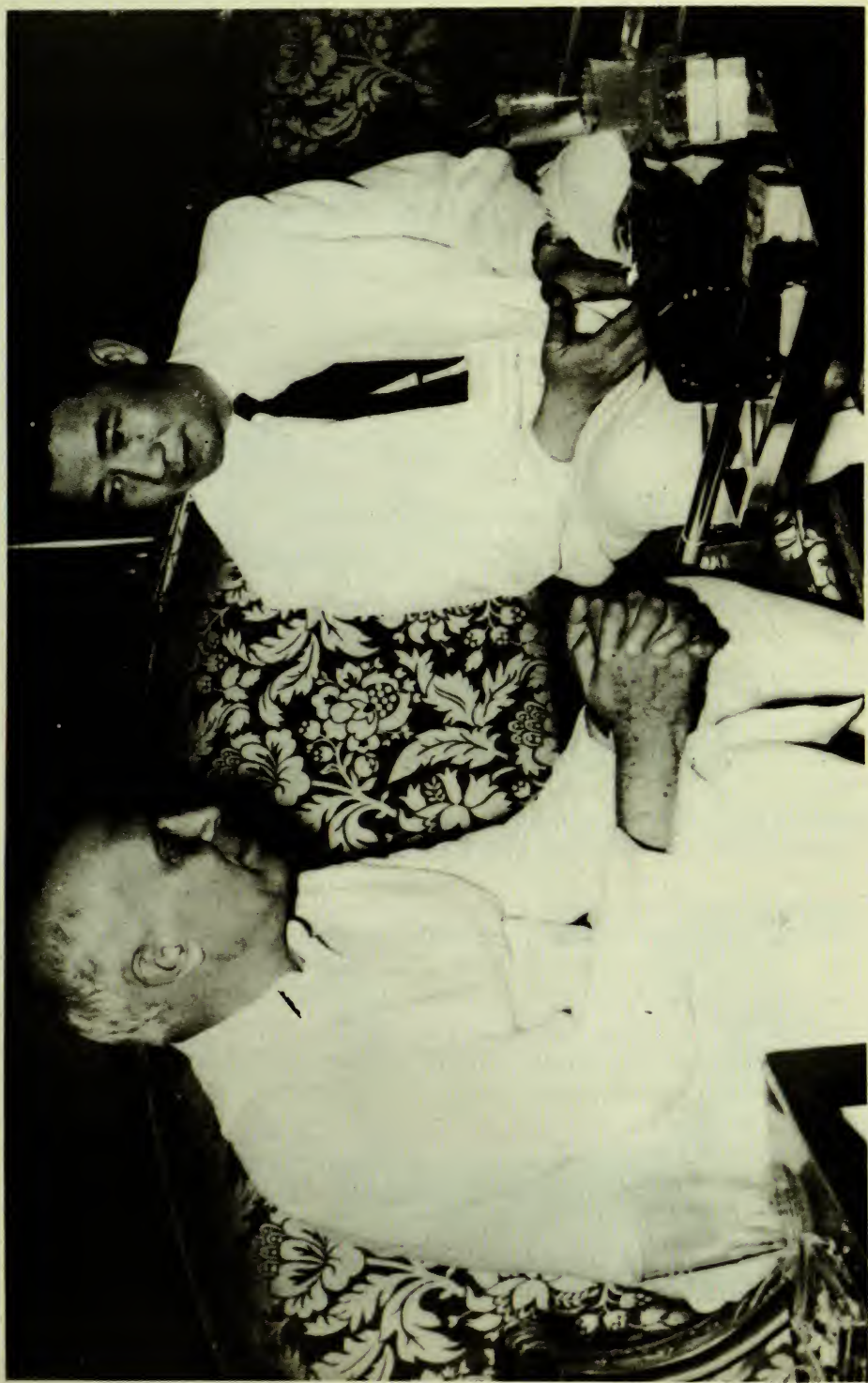
2. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for all round advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five Year Plan. The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living, and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years. The national aim is a Welfare State

9. The words "and experiments with" were added here in the final resolution.

10. Govind Ballabh Pant moved this resolution in the open session on 22 January 1955. For Nehru's speech on this resolution see *post*, pp. 272-277.



WITH HO CHI MINH, HANOI, 17 OCTOBER 1954



WITH NGO DINH DIEM, SAIGON, 30 OCTOBER 1954

and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

3. The Second Five Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people, which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry, including machine making industry, as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions being given, but also on the full cooperation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

4. In view of the declared objective being a socialist pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will:

- (i) initiate and operate large scale schemes providing services, such as power, transport, etc;
- (ii) have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy;
- (iii) check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production; and
- (iv) plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

5. The First Five Year Plan was based on a public sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part, more particularly, in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include cooperatives and small scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the National Plan. The private sector has thus a definite place in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic controls of the plan.

6. India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitate rapid advance, so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic processes. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them.

## VI. Purity and Strengthening of Organization<sup>11</sup>

A strong, powerful and dignified political organization is an indispensable requisite of sound and efficient democracy—much more so in the context of India with the vastness, numbers and magnitude of her problems. The Congress has, by reason of its services in the past and in recent years, acquired an abiding place in the hearts of the people. Because of such trust and because of its solidarity it has been able to deal with successfully with difficult and intricate problems, to assure an orderly and progressive government to the people, and to undertake planned development on a wide scale through democratic processes. The Congress looks back with pride and gratification for its contribution towards the freedom and advancement of the country.

The Congress, however, views with serious concern some of the trends and tendencies noticeable in the working of the organization. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp the strength of the organization, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency. It, therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organizational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked.

The Congress has a positive role to play apart from the running of governments in the country. It has an obligation to prepare the masses for shouldering heavy responsibilities involved in a democratic form of government in order to achieve its social objectives. It is its duty to inspire the masses to cultivate a social and moral outlook and work for the psychological and cultural integration of the country. Anything that goes against the vital principles, for which the organisation stands, must be dealt with firmly.

The Congress hopes that a firm and determined effort in weeding out the undesirable tendencies referred to above and implementation of the constructive and developmental programme will cleanse the organisation of its weaknesses and raise its strength and dignity, so that it continues to perform its historic mission to the people of India and through them to humanity as a whole.

## VII. Welfare of Women and Children<sup>12</sup>

This Congress is strongly of opinion that all social and legal disabilities as

11. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Railways, moved this resolution in the open session on 23 January 1955.

12. A.V. Kuttimalu Amma moved this resolution in the open session on 23 January 1955.

well as reactionary customs and usages to which women are at present subjected and which retard their development and prevent them from taking their rightful place in the various activities of the nation, should be removed and ended. The history of India contains numerous examples of women who have shown their greatness in many fields of activity. In the struggle for freedom, women took an active and effective part. It is, therefore, not only desirable but essential in the national interest that they should have full opportunities of growth and service and should also have rights of inheritance so that they might not suffer from legal disability<sup>13</sup> or social usage and are in a position to lead their individual lives.

2. The welfare of children is of paramount importance and should be given first place in the plans for national development.

3. The Congress appreciates the efforts made by the various governments in India for the welfare of women and children and urges them to pay even greater attention to them. In particular, the Congress welcomes the Hindu Law Reform Bills at present before the Parliament<sup>14</sup> and trusts that they will be enacted at an early date.

13. The final resolution read: "from any legal or social disability."

14. The Hindu Code Bill was divided into several self-contained parts such as the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill and Hindu Succession Bill. The first was passed in 1955 and the latter two, in 1956.

## 2. Tasks Before the Congress<sup>1</sup>

On my relinquishing the office of Congress President, I venture to submit this report to the AICC. I am very happy that my successor in this high office is Shri U.N. Dhebar, who is eminently fit for it by his high integrity, ability and experience, both in the organization and in governmental activities. I think that under his leadership the Congress will prosper. So far as I am concerned, I need not say that my relinquishing the office of President will in no way affect my deep interest in the work of the Congress.

2. Over fifty years ago, as a boy, I attended a session of the Congress.<sup>2</sup> Over forty-two years ago, I became a delegate to the Congress for the first

1. Report to the AICC, 10 January 1955. File No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. It was presented on 17 January at the Steering Committee meeting.

2. In 1904, Nehru attended the Congress session at Bombay with his father.

time.<sup>3</sup> Ever since then, I have been intimately connected with this great organization. About thirty years ago, I became General Secretary for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Since then, I have repeatedly held the offices of General Secretary or President.

3. I have thus grown up with the Congress and shared in its wide fold the comradeship of innumerable persons. What I owe to the Congress, I can never repay, for the Congress has made me what I am and has given me opportunities of service, such as are very rarely given to any individual. I look back with pride and thankfulness to these long years of my association with the Congress. That association has been, through the Congress, with the people of India. I have been blessed by the affection of our people and I have found that there is nothing more wonderful in the wide world than the love of the Indian people.

4. The long years of struggle and feverish activity, with repeated periods of enforced inactivity in prison, pass before me. During these years, I was a soldier in a great army of freedom and I shared my experiences with innumerable others. It was our high privilege to work for a great cause under a great leader, and though we failed him often, yet, even to the extent that we proved true to him, we were ennobled. The vision of freedom that we saw warmed us and lighted us up and made us better than we were. It was given to us not only to dream but to see the realization of our dreams. We saw great sons and daughters of India and drew our strength from them. Above all two magnificent sons of India, Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore, showed us the right path and inspired us.

5. Success came to us, but not in the manner that we had envisaged, and with the joy it brought, there was sorrow and trouble also. Suddenly we were faced with mighty and unexpected problems.

6. For these seven and a half years we have struggled with these problems and the record of our struggles is the story of India during this dynamic period of our history. I cannot here deal with our successes or failures, for that will be a long story and it is known to all. But I think I am justified in saying that these seven and a half years have seen the growth of India to a remarkable degree and in many ways. Her prestige has risen high in the world and strong foundations have been laid for the progress of her people. That is due not merely to governmental activity but rather to the work of innumerable persons who have laboured to this end. Today, there is a feeling throughout the country of self-reliance which comes from great tasks undertaken and fulfilled, and faith in the future destiny of our country and people.

7. I realize that we are very far indeed from the realization of our objective. There is a great deal of unemployment, both explicit and disguised. Our

3. He attended the Bankipore session of the Congress as a delegate in 1912.

4. In May 1923.

standards are low and we cannot provide even the necessities of life to all our countrymen. But the progress we have already made and the strength we have developed fills us with hope for the future.

8. We inherited the great problems following Partition, the old Princely States, relics of feudalism, and a backward and stagnating economy with its concomitants of poverty and unemployment. While many of us talked of economic development and even of socialism, we were governed by social attitudes and historical survivals which came in our way. Even the maintenance of the unity of India was not something to be taken for granted as disruptive forces were continually at work. Partition, the result of communalism, led to a growth of a narrow communal spirit amongst some of our people also, divisions, petrified by caste, came in the way of unity and social progress, and a narrow provincial spirit prevented the emotional and psychological integration of India.

9. We succeeded, through the genius of a great leader and our old comrade Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in bringing about the political integration of India by the merger of hundreds of the old Princely States. That was a surprising and magnificent achievement brought about peacefully and with the cooperation of all concerned. We took a big step towards land reforms by putting an end to the big zamindari, *jagirdari*, and *talukdari* estates which were relics of a feudal order. That too was done peacefully and cooperatively.

10. Nowhere else in the world, to my knowledge, have these great changes been brought about through peaceful and cooperative processes. It has been the genius of India to do so. Our freedom itself, as a result of Gandhiji's teachings and techniques of action, was achieved peacefully and brought friendship with our old adversary England. So also in the great steps that we have taken in regard to the Princely States and the land system. The recent movement of *Bhoodan* and *Sampattidan* started by Acharya Bhave is typical of the old Indian spirit and approach.<sup>5</sup> In regard to industry, we have moved towards a socialist pattern of society without breaking with those who represented the older order. We have sought their help and cooperation and received it in some measure.

11. We have been criticised by some of our countrymen for moving slowly and not declaring boldly that we must have a revolutionary change immediately. But revolutionary changes have come to our country, in the political, the

5. Vinoba Bhave, a prominent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, started the *Bhoodan* movement after 1947 to collect land through donation for distribution among the landless. *Sampattidan* movement denoted a regular contribution from one's income in order to help recast the social system. The fund remained with the donor and was spent at his own responsibility. It aimed at voluntary welfare work by people without interference of the State.

economic and the social spheres, without the usual accompaniment of war, conflict and blood. Some people do not realise this because they cannot conceive of any great changes without bloodshed and, therefore, they seek ways of conflict and violence. Other countries have waded through blood towards their objectives. They have done so because of historical accidents and the compulsion of events. They have paid a very heavy price for them and have been pursued by trials of bitterness and conflict.

12. Those historical backgrounds and conditions are fortunately lacking in India and our development has been different and what is more, we are making good. It is folly, therefore, to try to copy the undesirable features of other countries merely because they have sometimes been associated with good motives and right objectives.

13. The basic lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us was that means govern ends, and that we should never adopt wrong means even for right ends. Perhaps many of the troubles of the world today are due to the fact that no importance is attached to means. I do believe in the fundamental rightness of the principle that Gandhiji laid before us, even though we may not always be able to live up to it. But, apart from ethical theory, even practical wisdom and self interest in the widest sense have demonstrated the worth of following the path laid down for us by Gandhiji. We have done so in the international field to the best of our ability, and India has been, I believe, a healing influence in a world which is torn by discord and has been living on the brink of catastrophe. Incidentally, we have prospered by following this path and respect for India has grown in other countries.

14. We have tried to do so also in our domestic sphere. We know that there are class divisions and struggles, and that vested interests resist any change to their disadvantage. Any attempt at reform, whether political or social, brings about a clash of these conflicting interests. It is not by denial or non-recognition of these conflicting interests that we proceed. But, at the same time, we do not encourage and intensify these conflicts, because we are convinced that ultimately the surest and the best way of solving them is through peaceful methods and by a friendly approach. Where there is a conflict of interest, the good of the people as a whole must prevail. While this must be so, it is not necessary to aim at injuring others or to spread the spirit of hatred and violence. Out of hatred and violence no good can ultimately come.

15. A significant instance of the success of our peaceful methods was the solution of the problem of the French Possessions in India. We were patient and, in spite of difficulties, we persevered and aimed at a negotiated settlement. Thus, we gained the goodwill of the French Republic and attained our objective, at the same time retaining the friendship of the people of France.

16. I am mentioning these matters because they are basic to our conception of international as well as domestic policy. We must be clear about these in

our minds. While our policy has necessarily to adapt itself to changing circumstances, it is based on this strong foundation which does not change. Because of that, there has been a certain continuity in our policy and it has brought good results to us and has at the same time strengthened our people. It is important that there should be a full realization of the springs of our policy among our people, so that we might not be led astray by momentary passion and prejudice into wrong action.

17. It is for this basic policy that the Congress has stood and I earnestly hope that it will adhere to it, whatever the future might hold. That policy means the development of India as a great cooperative commonwealth with equality of opportunity and social justice for all. It means equality for all classes and religions in India. India has many religions, but it is a secular State giving freedom to all religions to function and favouring none. Any narrow communalism or provincialism must, therefore, be repressed and the evil of caste rooted out.

18. At a moment when the countries of the world become increasingly intolerant towards each other, we have to remember that tolerance is not only a virtue but the only practical approach to the problems of today, whether national or international. Every other approach brings conflict and degradation. In the international field, this may be called coexistence and the application of the *Panch Shila*, the Five Principles which we have agreed to in common with some other countries. This coexistence is not merely an absence of war and conflict but a recognition that each country should live its own life and not interfere with others and should have friendly approach to other countries, even though they differ from it in many ways.

19. In the world today we look on no country as an enemy and no people as hostile to us. We are friendly with all countries, even though they may be opposed to each other. We are prepared to cooperate with them and learn from them, but we shall follow the policy of our own choice. The only country with which unfortunately our relations have not been cooperative is Pakistan. Partition left us many problems and a legacy of suspicion and bitterness. I believe we have got over this to a large extent and there is no longer any bitterness between the people of India and the people of Pakistan. Problems, however, remain but they will no doubt be solved, even though this might take some time. It is inevitable that India and Pakistan should live in friendship with each other.

20. The only other countries with which we have major problems are the Union of South Africa and Portugal. We have no enmity with South Africa, nor do we wish to interfere with their internal affairs. But we can never agree to the policy of a 'master race' and of racial discrimination which South Africa has pursued openly and aggressively. So also we have no hostility towards Portugal. But it is clear that the Portuguese Possessions in India must

come to India. They are a part of India and nothing can make them foreign to us. The Indian revolution will not be complete till Goa and the other Portuguese Possessions are integrated into the Union of India. We desire no territory outside India, but we cannot tolerate a part of India to be under the domination of a colonial power. Once Goa also becomes a part of India, then our political revolution will be complete.

21. India is finding herself again. She is learning a great deal from other countries, but, as of old, her roots remain deep in her own soil and find sustenance from it. We believe in no narrow nationalism and realise that, in the world today, this is out of place. We have, therefore, encouraged in every way our friendly contacts with other countries, but we realise that, if India is to advance, she must be true to herself and not be a pale copy of some other country. During the past few centuries, we became static and fell away from the current of human progress. But we still have the experience and wisdom of an ancient race behind us and the ability to make up for lost time. Perhaps the most heartening feature in India today is the revival of our arts and sciences, the new spirit in the literatures of our national languages and the widespread interest in music, song and dance. This rapid growth of interest in our beautiful folk dances from all over India, in their infinite variety, is significant evidence of our masses participating in the new freedom and sharing in the joys of life that this freedom has brought. Their drab lives are slowly becoming better and fuller.

22. Even as it has been in India, so it has been, in greater or lesser degree, in many of the other countries of Asia. This awakening of Asia is one of the striking features of the age we live in. It has inevitably taken, first, a political aspect. But from a political awakening we now proceed to a social awakening and every country in Asia is astir with a new social consciousness. Nationalism still plays a dominant role. It is not an aggressive nationalism, but a strong urge to recover one's own soul and to be rid of outside control and interference. Recently the five Colombo Countries decided to convene an Asian-African Conference in Indonesia in the month of April.<sup>6</sup> This Conference is not aimed against any other country or group of nations and is not intended to form any bloc. It represents an urge for self-expression and the desire to know each other better and to cooperate with each other in the tremendous tasks which these countries have in common. In order to succeed in these tasks, peace is an imperative necessity.

23. The world is said to be in a state of continuing crisis—the crisis of civilization, the crisis of the Industrial Revolution—which has found its ultimate

6. It was decided on 29 December at Bogor to hold the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April 1955.

fulfilment in the release of atomic energy for peaceful or warlike purposes. There is no escape for any country from this crisis which, though common for all of us, takes a different form in different countries. In the countries of the West, which are highly industrialized, the crisis is the most acute. In under-developed countries, like those of Asia, we are on the threshold of an Industrial Revolution.

24. Many of us dislike the consequences of the Industrial Revolution as we see them and are, therefore, apprehensive of its development in our own country. The evils of industrialism are obvious, even as its magnificent achievements are patent. Can we have those achievements without the evils?

25. Though we may find our own way to industrialize India, we have no choice but to go ahead in the rapid development of industry and all that it carries. The alternative is to remain a backward, underdeveloped, poverty-stricken and weak country. We cannot even retain our freedom without industrial growth. An agrarian economy might have been adequate in an earlier age when our population was much smaller than it is now and technology was less advanced. Today, it means living on starvation level and perhaps worse.

26. Therefore, it has become an urgent necessity for us to industrialize as rapidly as possible. This means the development of heavy industries which would lay the foundations for future growth. In the First Five Year Plan we laid special stress on agriculture and food production. That was not only the most urgent of our problems then, but was necessary for us to have a stable agricultural basis to build up our industry. We have now achieved a considerable measure of success in agriculture and food production and the time has come to advance rapidly on the industrial front. The Second Five Year Plan will undoubtedly lay far greater stress on industry and employment.

27. We are on the eve of formulating our policies and programmes for the Second Five Year Plan. We are now in a better position to plan both because of our experience and the data available to us. It may be said that real planning will begin now on a physical level, taking into consideration the needs of our people and not merely financial resources. This requires a different approach from the previous one. The principal considerations will have to be greater production and progressively fuller employment, leading to full employment.

28. It has been stated that the social purpose governing our planning will be to establish a socialist pattern of society. This has been implicit all along in our Congress objective. It is right that we should make this perfectly clear now and keep this picture in view at all stages of our planning. Socialism has many connotations. It is neither necessary nor desirable for us to have a rigid and dogmatic approach in this matter; it is still less desirable for us to imitate what has been said or done in the name of socialism in other countries, where conditions were wholly different. There are bound to be common features and certain common principles which can be applied everywhere. But every country

must proceed on its own lines and according to its own genius. More specially so in the case of India which has a very strong personality and historical background and tradition. It was out of that background and tradition that our freedom movement arose and this struggle itself has conditioned us today.

29. It is not for us to criticise other countries which have followed different paths and which have had different circumstances to face. But it surprises me that some of our people should think and talk continuously in terms of what has happened in other countries and try to make that a model for their own. It surprises and distresses me to see these people run down their own country without knowing it, while they sing and chant the praises of others. They adopt not only the slogans but also the emblems of other countries. I am convinced that this is a wrong approach and further that it is not even the correct socialist approach, as it ignores the objective conditions and social attitudes prevailing in a country. We have to take 360 million people with us to our goal and not merely to proclaim a doctrine after our heart. In the circumstances of India today, a false step, however good the motive, may well lead to conflict, violence and disruption, thus stopping progress for a long time.

30. It is of the first importance to rule out violence, both because it is bad in itself and because it is disruptive and evil in its consequences. We have always to remember that the Congress is not just a political party seeking entry into the legislatures, but a great national movement marching with the millions of India towards our destined goal. We are fellow-travellers with them and cannot go ahead by ourselves, though we should seek to lead them in the right direction. We have to balance the overall view of this great country with the intimate view of millions of individuals and homes, whose welfare we seek. We have to bring both peace and freedom to them because one of these without the other has little meaning. All this means our understanding the present with its multitude of problems and at the same time looking at it in the perspective of history.

31. Our national aim is a welfare state and a socialist economy. Neither of these can be attained without considerable increase in national income and neither is possible without much greater volume of goods and service and full employment. In order to attain this welfare state of a socialist pattern, it is not enough to pass a resolution or even law or to limit our thinking to nationalization of existing industries. We have to increase production and aim at an economy of plenty. We have to see that there is equitable distribution and that the privileged position of individuals and groups is not favoured.

32. Everything, therefore, that leads to fuller production and fuller employment is to be encouraged, provided it does not take us away from the ultimate objective of a socialist pattern of society. If we cannot have fuller production and fuller employment, then there will be neither welfare nor socialism, even though we might nationalize some industries or pass brave

laws and decrees. If we aim at mass production, this is only possible if this production is for the masses and the masses have the purchasing power to consume it. We have to introduce a certain dynamism in every sector of our economic and national life in order to achieve this goal. The test must always be the results to be achieved and not some theoretical formula.

33. This test should be applied to the argument that has been going on as to the relative importance of the public or state sector and the private sector or non-state and voluntary enterprise. It is obvious that, in a socialised economy, there will be social control of the means of production and distribution. It is equally obvious that in any planned approach to a socialised economy the public sector must grow and become the dominant feature of the landscape. But, in our present state, to limit resources to the public sector means restriction of our opportunities of production and growth. The main purpose of a socialised pattern of society is to remove the fetters to production and distribution. If, however, we adopt a policy, in the name of socialism, which actually maintains some fetters or encourages them, then we are moving away from our objective and preventing the growth of full dynamism. It becomes necessary, therefore, to have a private sector also and to give it full play within its field, provided always that it is coordinated with our planned approach. Many of us, because of past fears or comparisons with some other countries, are afraid of a private sector functioning. There need be no such fear if we are vigilant and keep our objectives in view. Planning will necessarily have strategic controls and, as I have said, the public sector will inevitably grow, more specially in the basic industries. But there is a wide field which the public sector cannot touch for a considerable time and growth in that field will, therefore, have to be left to the private enterprise. In the present state of our development, there is, or should be, an integral and essential relationship between the public sector and the field of private enterprise. This does not at all mean our accepting the out of date and discredited policy of *laissez faire* as that is opposed to the very conception of planning. In present circumstances, the public sector itself will fail to function adequately if it is not helped by private enterprise in many ways, chiefly in the consumption of power and the products of heavy, medium and light industries. We shall require a network of well spread out industries of all levels and types. It will of course, always be open to the State to enter into any field for economic or social reasons, but in no event will it be in a position for a long time to come to cover the entire field of the nation's economy. As a matter of fact, land, which is the biggest industry of all in India, will remain essentially in the private sector. Small scale and cottage industries will also remain largely in the private sector, though it is highly desirable to organize them on a cooperative basis. So also most of the lighter industries. It may be advantageous to allow some heavier industries to be organized by private enterprise, if the state is not prepared to assume that burden.

34. If this is so, then we must adopt a healthy attitude towards the private sector, keeping always in view the main objective of achieving a socialist pattern and preventing the growth of any tendency which might come in our way later. The existence of state enterprise side by side with private enterprise may also prove healthy in the present circumstances as providing some kind of a competition between the two. We have to remember always that within the large framework that we lay down, the test always is fuller production and fuller employment.

35. We are, I believe, on the eve of a great expansion in our industry. This will require a straining of all our resources to the utmost and we cannot afford to waste any. The financial aspect is important, but far more important is the training of personnel for the Industrial Revolution which is coming our way. The danger is that we may have to slacken our pace for lack of trained personnel. We have manpower enough and sometimes manpower can take the place even of capital. But, without trained manpower, we cannot go far. We have, therefore, in our planning, to think ahead and train an adequate number of persons for all branches of national activity.

36. However vast we may develop our big industries, it is inevitable that great emphasis should be laid on the widespread development of small-scale and cottage industries. The Congress has always stood for cottage industries. Today the need for their growth is even more important as in no other way can we absorb the unemployed and add substantially to our production. I see no basic conflict between big industry and cottage industry provided our approach is a balanced and planned one.

37. I have ventured to put forward some observations which do not cover the whole field. What I wish to emphasise is that we have to think deeply about all these problems and not allow ourselves merely to repeat some slogans of the past. The world today is in a state of flux. Even in the 'cold war', we have arrived at a stage of deadlock when neither party can make a major move. Some way will have to be found out of this deadlock and that can only be by recognizing facts as they are today and not living in the world of yesterday. All of us in India have to give fresh thought to these national and international problems. I am afraid that perhaps few of us do so in any creative way. Even the Congress thinking is apt to be static. The other parties have become tied up with cobwebs of their own making. The communal parties think and talk in terms of a medieval age and have no relevance today, though they have some capacity for mischief. The Praja Socialist Party appears to have lost its moorings and tends to disintegrate. Instead of facing the problems of today, it spends its energy in empty argument and the repetition of some phrases as if they were some powerful mantras of old. The Communist Party of India can only repeat what it has read or heard from others and, though brave and fierce in its talk, has been wholly reactionary and anti-national in its approach

to India's problems. The world and its problems change, but not so the Communist Party of India, which lives firmly and rather romantically entrenched in a past age. It thinks still in terms of violence and disruption, hoping that something good might come out of this. It is a surprising example of how reliance on others leads to incapacity to see or think for oneself. It has not yet quite realised that India is an independent country and till a year or two ago, our national Republic Day demonstrations were actively opposed by the Communist Party of India. Anything more absurd and more anti-national I cannot imagine. And yet, because of its continuous shouting and apparently brave words, it deludes some people. More and more it appears that they have no adequate or constructive approach to India's problems. They can only bring disruption and reaction in India.

38. All these parties have one common feature, that is, condemnation of the Congress and of the Congress controlled governments in India. Lack of positive and constructive thinking has led them to confusion and frustration and they become more and more unrealistic from day to day. The burden thus falls on the Congress, and the Congress must, therefore, think hard and creatively. It has to face the problems of today and solve them and not merely as others do, that is take up a negative approach. We have to rely on ourselves both in our thinking, our plans and our action. In this way only can the nation grow in strength and self reliance and achieve its objective. This has been the historic mission of the Congress in the past and it continues to be so today. It is the Congress that has proved a cementing force in India and largely helped in bringing about unity in this country. That unity is by no means complete yet in the minds of men. We have to complete that process and in doing so we have to fight every separatist tendency, whether it is communalism, provincialism, or caste. There can be no compromise with these basic evils. But we have to do something far more, and that is to give a creative lead to the country and to march hand in hand with the millions of our countrymen and country women to our destined goal. We have now to be the pioneers in the industrial and social revolution which is coming to this country and to bring about that revolution peacefully and democratically and with the goodwill of as large a number of persons as possible, in accordance with the genius of India.

39. This is a high and tremendous task worthy of this great country. It requires many qualities in our people and, more especially, in those who take pride in calling themselves members of this mighty organization. Above all, it requires a dynamic and fearless approach. Fear today encompasses the world and the mightiest and most powerful of countries suffer from fear and apprehension of what might happen. Fear leads to frustration and hatred and the spirit of violence. In the old days in India the sovereign virtue was said to be fearlessness, *abhaya*. Gandhiji spoke to us about this in his gentle but firm

language. When he started his great movements in India, his voice penetrated to distant hamlets and had a magical effect on our country. A weak, fearstricken and demoralised people, who had been dominated over by a foreign authority for many generations, suddenly and amazingly shed that fear and faced the might of a proud empire. What then have we to fear now? We have survived innumerable perils and we shall no doubt face and survive all other dangers and difficulties that might come our way.

40. But the Congress, if it is to perform its true function effectively and worthily, must not only remain true to its ideals but must also maintain high moral standards of behaviour. It has distressed me greatly to see that those standards have fallen and many a person who calls himself a Congressman, has not hesitated to behave in a manner which brings discredit to him and the Congress. If we cannot maintain our high standards, then we have lost our function. The spark that lighted our path has gone out within us. The Congress never measured its strength by mere numbers. It was by the quality of its membership and the service that they rendered that it grew in strength and in the affection of our people. It is of the utmost importance that every Congressman should search his heart and seek an answer to the question as to how far he has kept up to the standards of old. Little men cannot work for great causes.

41. I am happy that this Congress is being held after a long interval in Tamil Nadu, which played such a brave part in our struggle for freedom and which has been the repository for many centuries of some of the basic elements of Indian culture. Its great and ancient language is a proud possession of India. Here also the classical dance and music of India have found their home and are now spreading out again to the rest of India. I trust that the Avadi session of the Congress will send out to the four corners of our ancient land a life-giving message to our people.

### 3. Integration of Public and Private Sectors<sup>1</sup>

One could say a lot on the subject of economic policy, but before speaking one had to keep in mind the objects which we aim to attain. There is a lot of talk about nationalization which is quite meaningless in the context of the problems facing the country. For instance, we have before us the large problem of

1. Speech while moving the resolution on economic policy at the Subjects Committee meeting, Avadi, 19 January 1955. AICC Papers, Youth Department, NMML.

unemployment, and the Government has been trying to find a solution to this. In the next two Five Year Plans it has been visualised that this problem will end. This is no small achievement for a country which became master of its own affairs only seven years ago.

The real thing, today is that the whole of India should become a national sector embodying both the private and the public sector of our economy. The private sector has also to be fully absorbed in this national plan sector.

The idea that the two sectors, private and public, are necessarily pulling in different directions is wrong. The two must work in cohesion under the overall direction of the State. All the "strategic positions" in the country's economy should be under the control of the State. The private sector could then be allowed to flourish without interference in its own specified field. The public sector too would be governed by the same principle of achieving the maximum good for the people of the country. An army does not occupy a country or place by planting a soldier in every nook and corner of it. It occupies it by taking command of all the strategic areas in it. The army controls the entire area from these strategic places. A gun mounted on a hill enables the army to control effectively the surrounding areas. In the same way, we have to take charge of all the strategic positions in our economy, so that the work in the private and the public sectors may go on unhampered under an overall plan, the National Plan.

The argument that India's progress should be measured merely by the extent to which the private sector is 'suppressed' in favour of the public sector, is without any meaning. Mere suppression of the private sector is no sign of progress. The question of nationalization should be viewed in this context. It would be appropriate here to take the case of steel. The Tatas had a huge steel plant, one of the biggest in the world, which was being run by the private sector. The suggestion that it should be nationalized would mean that about Rupees two hundred crores would have to be paid by way of compensation to acquire it. What difference would such a step make to the actual production of steel in the country? The difference would be insignificant. But this huge amount could be used more advantageously for setting up one or two more steel plants to be controlled by the public sector. This would make a great difference in the production of steel in the country and provide more employment opportunities.

There is no doubt that the country has done a few big things and has achieved considerable results. It seems to me that we have been able to impress the world at large much more than some of our brethren at home, who talk about socialism and revolution and things like that. We are apt to be lost in a battle of words. Sometimes words were apt to cloud ideals. *Sarvodaya* is any day a better word than socialism, not only because it is our own word but because it has stood for fundamental ideals before us. It is not proper that this

word should be used by the Congress. Acharya Bhave is the proper man to use the word. We should not try to steal it. Words have various measurings. For instance, socialism has been described in dozens of ways. The Congress do not want to get involved in any such controversy.

About three and half years of the first Plan has passed and a stage has come when we have to think about the next Five Year Plan and the basis on which it should stand. It is not enough to say that we are socialists. In fact it is not correct to talk in terms of any 'ism' at all.

We have to do a lot of things in India. There is need for consultation and exchange of views. Cooperation of the people is very essential. The Congress, in spite of its many faces had always been a mass organization. It had never been a body of a chosen few. It had always been our ambition to advance the interests of the crores of Indians. The time has come to work on a large scale. It is not something which could be achieved by mere nationalization or any other single solution.

Talk of nationalization as a dogma sometimes does more harm than good. In countries which are highly industrialized, it has a different place and meaning. But in a country like India which is still industrially backward, it has to be approached from a different angle. The Government approaches this question of nationalization from the practical point of view. If nationalization in a particular sphere is good for the country and the people, then nationalization would be resorted to. Recently, the Government announced the decision to bring the Imperial Bank under State control. This has been done after careful thought, when it has been found that such a step was necessary in the interests of the country as a whole. There is very great need for providing rural credit to the people, and the proposed State Bank would help a great deal in doing this.<sup>2</sup>

People should not run away with the mere phrase of "socialistic pattern" used in our resolution. The important thing is not the word or phrase used, but the goal to be achieved. The whole question had to be looked at from the point of view of achieving speedy progress.

In our conception of achieving progress, we do not rule out the place of the private sector. If we say that we want to have a socialistic pattern of society, it does not mean that we visualise taking the private sector in our grip at once. This is wrong. What we have to take complete hold of are the obstacles

2. The Committee for Conducting All India Rural Credit Survey appointed in 1951 recommended creation of a bank with countrywide branches to increase flow of rural credit for agriculture and small-scale industries. The A.D. Gorwala Committee in 1954 recommended creation of State Bank of India having branches in all districts through amalgamation of Imperial Bank and other State-associated banks which in addition to rendering various services would also provide credit facilities in rural areas.



WITH NORODOM SIHANOUK, PHNOM PENH, 31 OCTOBER 1954



AT THE ICSC OFFICE, VIENTIANE, 17 OCTOBER 1954

which come in the way of achieving our ideal under the National Plan. We have to keep the picture of the socialistic pattern of society always before us. What does not hinder us in building it up should be left to flourish. We, therefore, propose to control only the obstacles created by the private sector in the way of attaining the socialistic pattern. But even here we want to remove these obstacles slowly. In solving the problem of land distribution the landlords had stood in the way and had appeared at one time to be a great obstacle. Now this problem has been solved satisfactorily. Similarly there were a number of difficulties in the way of industrial regeneration of the country. Nationalization itself is no panacea for all the economic ills. There is need for hard work and labour.

There are two methods before us to increase national wealth. One is to ascertain our capabilities, our financial resources and prepare a list of priorities according to our necessities, and the other is to determine the means by which to increase wealth, that is by large scale production or village industries. By the use of large industrial undertakings the production of necessities could be increased manifold. Any such increase was a good indication. The country could not remain independent without modern industries. These village industries were necessary but if they alone were relied upon, it would mean slavery and starvation for India. They should first produce machinery which in turn would produce essential consumer goods. To satisfy the demands of effective planning, it is necessary to know now what people will eat five years hence, what they will wear and where they will live. It has also to be decided how a particular thing has to be manufactured, by machine or by hand. Steps have also to be taken to guard against inflation.

America and Russia are producing far more than they need. This gives them an excess of wealth. If, for instance, India were to produce two per cent more than she needed, she too can spend this excess wherever she wants.

In Europe and America, they have been consistently working on industrialization for two hundred or more years. In Russia too, for thirty seven years they have been planning and building. India's progress during the past seven years has in no way lagged behind in any comparable period in the life of those countries.

The pace of the growth of the public sector may get faster in the future, the private sector will still have an important part to play. It is not as if they were tolerating the private sector today and intend to push it out after some time. The private sector has an important place.

All land is in the private sector and all the cottage, village and small-scale industries. We hope to organise them on a cooperative basis, but in our present programme, we are not thinking of land becoming a public sector.

But, leaving that aside, when we talk of the public sector we mean only the big industries. Industry is a vast field. We have laid down that certain

basic industries must necessarily be State-owned. But, ultimately, the test is what the State wants to do and what it can do. If the State cannot do something, why should private enterprise be stopped from doing it? We have to look at it from this point of view.

If we are to plan, the plan has to be an integrated whole and in that integrated whole, the public and the private sectors must also be integrated. You may gradually change the picture as time goes on. But the first thing is that you should control all the strategic points of your plan. Your plan, having done that, must contain both the public and private sectors. There is no conflict about it. The two must be seen as a whole if we are going to make India wealthy and a welfare state. The main thing is to increase our wealth and production in such a way as to lead us more and more to the economy that we aim at—a socialistic pattern.

Take a country like China, which has got what is called a regimented economy. China has a centralized economy, although it is twice as big as India. Control of its economy—politically and economically—is highly centralized, with all power concentrated in the hands of the Central Government bent on imposing socialism.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Republic, has said that they hope to establish the foundations of socialism in twenty years. Mao Tse-tung is not a slogan monger. He is a person who sees a problem realistically, and worked hard to realise it. They are supposed to be Marxists in China, but the way they interpreted Marxism is different from the way Marxism is interpreted in Russia. They (in China) are trying to understand their country as it is and trying to lay down its policy. They have plenty of private enterprise in China, although the leaders are communists.

Therefore, we must get out of the phrases and slogans which hinder us from thinking. We have to face a new set of affairs in this country, in this world. I say with all respect that the thinking was done under different circumstances. The problems we have to face today and the circumstances have changed. It is often said that we are now in the atomic age. I want you to consider the economic and political consequences of this, leaving aside the war consequences, however important they may be. A very great man, Mr Einstein, the other day explained in a phrase what the consequences of war might be. He said, rather quietly, that the war after the next will be fought with bows and arrows. I want you to think out what that means. That is, if there is another war, the world will go back economically and otherwise two thousand years and start life afresh on this planet. On the other hand, suppose atomic energy is used for good purposes; its power is colossal. All our conceptions of economic conditions would become out of date when this power comes into the picture.

We are a mighty organization, which has to produce results. I want you to think hard on all these things, and not imagine that you can solve problems

by substituting a phrase or specifying a period of ten years for the free play of the private sector in the economy. I do not know what will be the shape of things in ten years' time. I cannot say.

What does socialism mean? It is creating conditions in which the creative energy of our masses is released. Fetters on production should be removed. If in removing the existing fetters we create some others, we will not succeed. I beg of you, therefore, to think in a dynamic way. We have got to increase our wealth and our employment capacity. It is by hard work and hard thinking and not by substitution of phrases or raising slogans that we can solve our problems.

The resolution I have moved is important because it gives a major direction not only to the Congress and to the Government, but to the country. Therefore, it is a turn in our thinking, and it is a vital turn. I think this turn is in the right direction. But having turned, how far we go and what we do is a matter which would require hard thinking and action. I beg of you to think in this way and not in any narrow way.

What is India? When I think of India and when I travel about India I am struck by the enormous variety of India and the absolute necessity of taking all this India along with us. We are fellow-travellers—three hundred and sixty-nine million people of India. We have to view our problems in the historical perspective and, taking a synthetic view, formulate a broad policy and put our strength into it. That is how broad national movements have grown. We must try to avoid the tendency to break up into sects fighting each other.

So, I venture to place this resolution<sup>3</sup> before you. I hope here is another step—let us not shout about it. In the broad march of the Indian people forward, it is the privilege of the Congress once again to give this direction.

3. For the draft resolution on Economic Policy, see *ante*, pp. 258-259.

#### 4. Need to Cleanse the Congress<sup>1</sup>

Congressmen should not close their eyes to the fact that a lot of "impurities" do exist in the Congress organization from which even some of the highest people in the Congress hierarchy are not immune.

1. Intervention in the debate on the resolution on Purity and Strengthening of Organization at the Subjects Committee meeting, Avadi, 20 January 1955, From the *National Herald*, 21 January 1955. For the text of the resolution, see *ante*, p. 260.

I have heard the speeches made by delegates on this resolution. Mr Algurai Shastri made a thundering speech<sup>2</sup> and talked of things which by themselves were not improper. But they had no relation with the resolution under discussion. Mr Shastri said that in one paragraph of the resolution we had criticised ourselves and thereby put the noose round our necks which other people might use to drag us with. But this had no relation to the resolution. I say that the resolution is appropriate, full sixteen annas in the rupee. I say, and say it with a challenge, that the atmosphere in the Congress is not good and pure. After all what is the yardstick with which we are going to measure our work and ourselves?

I have been President of the Congress and I know from personal experience that there is a lot of impurity in the Congress and even some of the senior Congressmen are a party to it. Why should we hide these things? Are we to live behind purdah and wear a veil? Mr Algurai Shastri had himself talked to me several times about these impure trends in the Congress and expressed his regrets at them. If any member wants to suggest an amendment to the resolution by all means he can do it, but we must face our weaknesses and drawbacks and the impure trends that have crept in truthfully, and honestly.

The question of how to avoid or remove quarrels among Congressmen is a different matter and can be tackled separately.

Azad intervened to say that this could be done by the Congress Steering Committee appointing a sub-committee.

I agree with Maulana Azad's suggestion that the sub-committee can take care of these conflicts and quarrels.

We have to remember that we have always had these little quarrels and petty bickerings. These things are inevitable in a mass organization like the Congress. They have existed for the last twenty to thirty years or more and had to be tackled even in the early and the late thirties. But after freedom, this question has become more complicated. This is quite natural to some extent as circumstances change when members of a party form the Government. There are many things, good and bad, which flow from this development.

After the Congress took over the reins of the Government, a lot of people joined the Congress, not out of any conviction for the Congress principles, but for other reasons. Such a thing tended to put in the background the real workers, who at the time of struggle came forward enthusiastically to serve the cause. This development has to be faced.

The most dangerous thing for a big organization like ours is success. When we are struggling we put every ounce of our energy into it and strive

2. Algurai Shastri, President, UPCC, had said that the resolution should not publicise the malpractices that had crept into the Congress.

hard to achieve our cause. But success always makes people complacent and saps their strength. This cannot be helped but we have to control this tendency all the same.

Mr Shastri does not want this small amount to be taken from Congressmen.<sup>3</sup> The Congress Constitution says that this amount has to be saved up by the active members and paid to the Congress. This is mainly for Congress to exert a bit. I do not understand the point made by Mr Shastri that this small sum should not be taken from Congressmen. I fail to know how the millionaires of Kanpur, Bombay and Calcutta can misuse this to get into the Congress fold through the backdoor by buying votes. If we do not collect the money from rank and file Congressmen, then how are we going to meet our expenses? We have to fight elections and undertake other things. If we do not collect this small sum then the question will arise of going to bigger people to collect large amounts. Should I collect this small amount of Rupees ten from Congressmen or go to richer people and ask for Rupees ten thousand? Will democracy grow in the Congress from such a step? It is much better that we increase our income by taking small sums of money from the rank and file Congressmen, rather than go to the richer folk for our funds.

If anybody wishes to donate a bigger amount, we will certainly take it. But we must remember that if we depend on a few for large amounts, then we will automatically enable them to interfere in our affairs.

There is no doubt that the resolution is quite appropriate and should be understood thoroughly by all Congressmen.

3. Algurai Shastri had said that the fee of Rupees ten per year being charged from 'active members' of the Congress had resulted in rich people buying votes by enrolling bogus members during Organizational elections.

## 5. Socialistic Pattern of Society<sup>1</sup>

Comrades and Friends,

I am greatly moved at having to put this resolution before you.<sup>2</sup> I am moved because of a variety of reasons. I am moved, first of all, as I stand here and look at this mighty concourse of humanity and at our comrades in our struggle

1. Speech while moving the resolution on 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' at the open session of the 60th Indian National Congress, Avadi, 21 January 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. For the first draft of the resolution, see *ante*, p. 255.

for freedom in this country, to see all of them here together; that is a moving sight, it is a strengthening sight. It is a sight which will increase anybody's faith in the future of the country. I am moved when I look at you and when I think of the past history of this mighty organization, which it has been our privilege and honour to serve. Here, all round us, the Reception Committee of this Congress has put up as a reminder to us some portraits of the Presidents of the Indian National Congress—those pioneers of old who started this organization, at first, in a small way. I do not say that they worked in a small way. It is easy for you and me, who reap the fruits, to imagine that they worked in a small way. They had to face all manners of difficulties and problems and it is because of the work they did that we are what we are today. So, I look back at this history of seventy years of the Congress. It is a fairly long time in a country's history, seventy years, and during this period this little seed which was sown, grew into a sapling and this sapling into a mighty tree covering the whole of India from the snows of the Himalayas to Kanyakumari in the south. All these tremendous success in history come before me—of great men and women and great leaders of our country, each playing his or her part and taking the country one step forward.

We have met academic debaters talking loudly about big things. We have been in touch with the people of India from the fields and in the factories, in the market places, in the streets, because we represent the people, not a few high intellectuals. High intellectuals, of course, were with us but we represent ultimately the urges of the common man, the passions and the feelings of the people of India and so, as they grew, we reached out to them and reacted with each other. The Congress became the symbol of the will of the Indian people. It acted on the Indian people and the Indian people acted on the Congress, and each contributing to the strength of the other. I have no time to refer to the past history of this great movement but I want to remind you of one or two things. There were the early years of domination by Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grandsire of India, as I may call him. Then there was a great deal of struggle and chaos in the Congress, the great figure of Lokmanya Tilak arose. It is not merely that he was great; of course he was, but he represented a new thought in the Congress, a new spreading out, a new revolutionary fervour. The Congress was a different Congress after that and so it went on; and then Gandhiji, our beloved leader came into the Congress and again there was a mighty change in this organization and it spread out all over, more specially to the poor downtrodden peasantry in the country. It became fundamentally an organization representing the peasantry of India. It represented others too, but after all eighty per cent of the population of India was peasant. Now, at each stage, the Congress took a new turn reflecting the stage of development of our thoughts as a people as a whole, not as individuals, not as a number of able people laying down the law for others. We grew as a people and the people

grew with us. And so, during the Gandhian era, we took step after step under Gandhiji's leadership and you will remember how each step strengthened our organization. Sometimes we stumbled and fell. The point is to know how to get up when we fall and march on and not remain there and complain. Only the weak complain, only the weak are afraid of marching on if they fall. So, though we stumbled, we got up and marched and went ahead and the nation grew in its vision and it led us to that Congress held here twenty seven years ago, when first we raised the promulgation of *Purna Swaraj*<sup>3</sup> and two years later, on the banks of the Ravi in Lahore, when we took that pledge.<sup>4</sup>

Well, we have honoured that pledge fully and completely and here we are meeting in this Congress again as proud citizens of the Republic of India, having honoured the pledge that we took twenty six years ago. But that does not mean that the journey has ended for us. There is no journey's end for a people on the march. There is going to be no journey's end for the Indian people, for we have to march on and on. There is no end to the vista opening out before us. There is no journey's end to the Congress which represents the Indian people.

Having attained political freedom, obviously other things immediately came in and you will remember that at no stage in the history of our struggle for freedom did we think only of political freedom. All the time the concept of freedom moved before us. We thought of the economic aspect, we thought of the peasant, we thought of the worker and the underdog and the downtrodden and the disinherited in India. After all, what was Gandhiji but a symbol of the disinherited and the downtrodden in India, whose aim and passion in life, as he himself put it, was to wipe every tear from every eye? Well, there are very many tears and very many eyes in this country, and the world. I do not know if there is any person capable of wiping them all, but it was given to us in our generation to see a man, to serve under a man, to learn from him—a man who blessed us by coming to us and blessed this generation in India. He brought us swaraj, but that was always incidental to what he did for this country. He made us what we are; he gave us something of the spark which was in him. And, for the poor people, we became petty heroes because he showered a part of his light upon us. So this freedom struggle all the time gained in its social content, in its economic content. And now the time has come when we should march further in this direction and declare openly what we have often said that the type of society we are aiming at in India is a socialistic society. What exactly a socialistic society is, I do not propose to go into in detail. Many may argue about it and many of the pundits, *maulavies*

3. On 27 December 1927 at the Madras session of the Congress.

4. On 31 December 1929 at the Lahore session of the Congress.

and the academic people have argued about it and go on arguing, if you like, but I want to tell you this: Whatever it is going to be, it has to be in keeping with the Indian genius, the genius that is India. If it is something superimposed then it will not go far. I do not mean to say that we cannot learn from others. We can, we will, and we must learn from others. But whatever we learn must also be grafted on the soil of India and not be something apart from it.

We have fought for this great right of independence. Now our work is not so much to fight, although, certainly we have to fight evils within or outside us; our work is to be the builders of India. How shall we build? We have the Five Year Plan. You know that although the Five Year Plan was a cautious Plan, because we did not want to say more than we could do, yet, even now, in these three years, we have fulfilled, more than fulfilled, some of the targets of the Plan. Now that shows us our strength and shows what we can achieve. I need not go into what we have achieved, but the point is that we are now on the eve of the Second Five Year Plan and therefore, it has become necessary for us to say in what manner the Five Year Plan should be made up. Planning is essential; it is important. But what manner of planning shall we have? How shall we utilize our resources best? That is the problem. What picture should we have? We have said that we want a welfare state. Good, but remember that although a welfare state is in itself not a socialistic pattern, it is an essential part of a socialistic pattern. You may have a welfare state without a socialistic pattern but you cannot have a socialistic pattern without a welfare state. We want both for a variety of reasons. Now, do not think that we are going to achieve this quickly or rapidly. It is a very big thing. The point is that we must be set on the right path. We must look at that ideal and everything we might do should be governed by that ideal and that pattern. Therefore, it is necessary for the Congress now to state clearly that our planning in future should be in terms of a socialistic pattern of society and that we should work for that end from now on. We cannot establish it fully for many years because the problem is a big one. So, I beg to put this resolution before you.

I would like to say that when we talk of socialism and the socialistic pattern that the word 'socialism' has come to us from the West and sometimes it is a little unfortunate that it is a word with a history, and the past history of the word comes up also. Now the word 'socialism' in Europe has a past history and connotation. It is entangled with a great deal of struggle of the European proletariat and others during the last one hundred and fifty years or more and it is connected together with the struggles in regard to the last War, and many other struggles. It is not necessary that we should go through the struggles of Europe to achieve our socialistic pattern. It will be foolish for us to go through those struggles and copy the mistakes of others. Apart from the fact that India is a country with a strong individuality, we have a way of doing things for ourselves in a peaceful way. I do not deny and you cannot

deny that there is a class struggle in India. Where one class dominates over another there is bound to be conflict. And to deny that conflict is to shut your eyes to the facts as they are. But the point is how we meet the conflict. There was the very big conflict between British imperialism in India and Indian nationalism. We met it by peaceful methods which proved to be effective. After we attained swaraj, we had other problems; we dealt with problems of the Indian Princes and the old feudal order. We solved them by peaceful methods and negotiation. People told us we gave them too much, too big privy purses, and that we could not afford so much. I am inclined to agree that we paid large sums; but remember this, that the solution of that problem was brought about peacefully and if that had not been done, the cost of conflict would have been tremendous. Later we undertook the solution of land problem in India. I would not say that we have solved it wholly and completely, but we have very largely put an end to large landed estates, *zamindaris*, *jagirdaris* and *talukdaris*, again peacefully. Now, all these problems have been solved in other countries usually with bloodshed, civil wars and tremendous suffering. I think we have some reason to congratulate ourselves that we can deal in a peaceful way with these big problems that produce conflict in society.

Why, then, should we not also solve the problems of industry and the problem of bringing about a socialistic order in India also through peaceful methods? Why should we think in terms of violence? Therefore, I say to you that when I use the word 'socialism', I do not use it in the historical sense in which it has evolved in Europe. Certainly, I adopt the principles, because they are common to all, but we shall have our own socialism. Our own way is to develop these things through peaceful methods and not through violence and certainly we should avoid what is much too common in people, 'adventurism'. We are not going to get socialism by revolution or by a decree or by saying suddenly that there is socialism in the country. We can only get it by hard work, by increasing our production and by distributing it equally. And so this resolution says, and I shall read it out to you now:

In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objective stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India that planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.

I put this Resolution before you because I think it represents the wish, the hope and the aspirations of the people. I put it before you not merely as an aspiration but something much more than that, as a pledge which you and I take, as a challenge of the future which we are determined to conquer.

## 6. Full Employment in Ten Years<sup>1</sup>

Comrades and Friends,

Yesterday, I had the honour to present a resolution before you which you passed.<sup>2</sup> In that resolution we elucidated further what we meant by our objective which is laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution. We wanted it to be clearly understood that we aim at a socialist pattern of society. Now, in the present resolution before you, which deals with the economic policy,<sup>3</sup> we have to give effect, if I may say so, to that resolution, to that decision of yours because ultimately it is this economic policy that is going to shape that economic and social picture of India which you call the "socialist pattern" or whatever you may like to call it. Therefore, this resolution is of the highest importance.

Naturally, in a resolution of this kind, however long drawn out it might be, one cannot enter into detailed policies. There is one danger in such resolutions and that is that you may use striking phrases, broad words and imagine that you have given a great lead to the country. That is possible but that does not help, because we have come up against a specific question, how to deal with the problem of India—the problem of Indian unemployment, the problem of raising the level in this country which is low, the problem of industrialization—and so many problems. These problems are not solved by broad generalizations and slogans. I say this without any disrespect because I myself am a wielder of phrases. I have been all my life drafting resolutions and getting them passed. But a time comes when you have to forget your phrases and deal with the hard actualities of the situation. That time is upon us in India, for all of us, but more specially for Congressmen, because Congressmen are much more responsible for the running of government and governmental policies than others. Therefore, for us merely to write a bright resolution with striking phrases is not good enough. In fact it tends to delude one. What then are we to do? In reality, the only thing to be done is to sit down and draw up a plan, a detailed plan. That is the function of the Planning Commission plus the Government plus those whom we may consult. Obviously, the Congress session cannot sit down and draw up a five year plan or a one year plan. It cannot be done. But in a resolution of this kind you have to indicate the type of thinking that should go towards drawing up that plan.

In this resolution which has been read out to you, there are brief references to this approach. First of all you see that after expressing appreciation of what

1. Speech during the debate on the resolution on economic policy at the open session of the 60th Indian National Congress, Avadi, 22 January 1955, AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Resolution on 'Socialistic Pattern of Society'.
3. The resolution on economic policy was moved by G.B. Pant on the same day. For the text of the draft resolution, see *ante*, pp. 258-259.

has been done. It says: "The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social planes with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years. The national aim is a welfare state and a socialist economy."

The first thing to gather is that this resolution is not merely repeating what we have said before. It is pointing to a certain turn in our thinking and in our action. The time has now come to do this. Well, in a sense, we have been doing it even before. But, evidently, we have not been doing it adequately or, at any rate, we should do it much better now. Therefore, the resolution says, the time has now come to do this and that with the specific object of raising the standard of living and trying to put an end to unemployment.

is of a big country, heavily populated, underdeveloped and all that. That is a different problem. Similarly, you cannot compare our problems with those of America or England or western Europe, where they have had two hundred years of industrial growth. These comparisons sometimes may be helpful but they mislead. We have to understand our problem as it is in India, learning no doubt from what has been done in America or England or Yugoslavia or Russia or China, but always bearing in mind that the conditions of India are special and specific. Quite apart from the background of thousands of years we have to keep in mind what I might call the Gandhian background, that we developed in the last thirty or forty years, and think out our own solutions. It is true that in thinking them out we have to learn from the experience of others.

Now we talk so much about planning. Planning is quite essential; otherwise there will be anarchy in our economic development. I think most people have come to recognize that. Four or five years ago, when some of us talked about planning, others used to object and ask "what do you mean by planning?" Planning was not an acceptable idea to many people in high places about five years ago. But today planning has come to be understood as essential by the average man in the street, apart from people in high places.

We have the First Five Year Plan, of which three or more years are over and we are now thinking of a Second Five Year Plan. Of late, there is much talk about this plan being built up from below, with the village panchayats and the like being consulted. It is right that they should be consulted. Every specialized group of persons should be consulted—scientists, engineers, doctors, merchants, industrialists—apart from various village panchayats and other organizations at the governmental level. Even so, what do we mean by planning? Have you thought about it? Have you paid much attention or any attention to a particular phrase in this resolution? "The Second Five Year Plan must keep these objectives", it says. What are these objectives? I shall read them. "The national aim is a welfare state and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must therefore aim at plenty and at equitable distribution. The Second Five Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people which should be mainly provided for by production within the country." Mark the words: "should be based on the physical needs of the people". They are important words, they are governing words and they ought to be the controlling factors in the drawing up of the Second Five Year Plan.

Before I deal with this question of physical needs, may I say something more about the phrases "welfare state" and "socialist pattern of economy". "welfare state" and "socialist pattern of economy" are not synonymous words. It is true that a socialist economy must provide for a welfare state but it does not necessarily follow that a welfare state must also be a state along the socialist

pattern of society. Therefore, the two are somewhat different. We say that both must be achieved. Naturally, you cannot have a welfare state in India with all the socialism or communism in the world, unless our national income goes up greatly. Socialism or communism might help you to divide your existing wealth, if you like, but in India the existing wealth is not there for you to divide. It is only existing poverty that can be divided. A handful of rich men here and there really make no difference to our national wealth. We may object to their excessive riches. We may deal with them by taxes, this, that and the other. That is, it may not be psychologically good for them to be there. But from the practical point of view, there is not much to divide in India because it is a poor country. Therefore, we have to produce wealth to divide it equally. And those people who are constantly thinking of some division and not production fail to realise that they will have little to divide when they start doing it and nothing to go round with. Therefore, production becomes absolutely essential. You must have wealth. How can you have a welfare state without wealth? How can you have any health scheme, education scheme, industrial growth, anything, without the wealth for it? The wealth need not be in gold and silver but wealth in goods and services. That is an absolutely essential thing which we are apt to ignore. Therefore, this can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty. That too has a specific meaning. Until very recently, economic policies have often been based on scarcity, in our country as in others. In the modern world an economics of scarcity has no meaning. In the world as a whole it has no meaning. The world is producing a lot. The only trouble is that it is not distributed properly. That is a different matter.

Now I come to this governing clause which I just referred to with regard to the Second Five Year Plan, namely, that the Second Five Year Plan should be based on the physical needs of the people. Now, what does that mean? What were the factors on which the First Five Year Plan was based? You will remember that our President, in his presidential address yesterday also emphasised the necessity for the planning being based on the physical needs.<sup>5</sup> Now, our First Five Year Plan was based on the data, on the material, on the information we had at our disposal as well as on the things that were actually being done at the time. Take these big river valley schemes—Bhakra Nangal, Mahanadi, Tungabhadra and others.<sup>6</sup> All these were being done at the same time. So we

5. U.N. Dhebar, in his presidential address, said that now the aim was real physical planning which meant that "our needs will be our basis of the Second Five Year Plan. To that extent, the Second Five Year Plan will be a realistic Plan...."
6. Proposed expenditure during the First Plan period for Bhakra Nangal project was Rupees one hundred crores and for Hirakud project, Rupees sixty one crores. On Tungabhadra project, Rupees fifty crores had been spent since 1945. It was expected to be completed by December 1956.

had to continue them. We would have continued them in any case. What I mean is that we did not have much choice. We had to accept that. Half of our Plan was accomodating what was being done. The rest was starting new schemes, good ones, small, good, and giving certain priorities. That is to say, our Plan was largely a plan based on the finances available and on priorities being given to the various schemes. Now, that is useful and good and we have had good results. But really that is not planning in the real sense of the word. Or, if you like, it is limited planning. The conception of planning today is not to think of the money you have got and then divide it up in the various schemes and give certain priorities but the conception is based on the physical needs. That is to say, we see what is it that the people of India need. Food. How much of food do they need? We calculated. How much cloth do they need for clothing? how much housing do they need? how much of education do they need? how much of health services do they need? how much of work and employment do they need? and so on—the essential things. Well, we decide that they need so many million tonnes of food. We must produce it. We are not going to get it from outside. So we decide how should we produce it. What is the deficit? We make arrangements to produce it. So also about cloth. So also about the other things. The point is, to begin with, we are not thinking of our finances. We are thinking of the needs of the people, not today. Suppose it is a five year plan. We say at the end of the five years what will our people need, food, housing, clothing, etc., etc. Then we organize as to how to produce and fulfil those needs. And remember, this is not such a simple matter because in calculating the needs of the people we have to calculate not only on the basis of an increasing population but on the increasing needs. I shall give you an instance. Take sugar. Our people consume much more sugar than they have ever done before, with the result that all our calculations have gone wrong. We produce more sugar and they consume even more than that. And that is not due to increasing population but due to the fact that people eat more sugar. Why do they eat more sugar? Well, frankly, because they can afford to eat more sugar, because they are better off and can afford it. And that upsets all our calculations about sugar. If a man who is getting Rupees one hundred a month, and his income increases to Rupees one hundred and fifty a month, he begins to eat more sugar. One has to calculate that. He possibly begins to wear more clothes and buys more cloth. And we have to calculate that. Therefore, in making calculations we have to keep in mind how the increasing money that goes into circulation, because of the higher wages, higher salaries, etc., how that would affect consumption, how much consumption would go up. We have to provide for the increased consumption at the other end. I am only giving you an instance of how very complicated this calculation business is.

So we decide that in five years' time or ten years' time these will be the needs of the people. The needs will include everything, including our defence

services, what our army requires or navy or the aeroplanes we require, the railway engines we require. All these are needs of the people. And then we sit down to decide how to produce those needs in India, all the needs, or almost all the needs. In order to produce them, we decide what is required. Suppose we have to put up a factory. Then we have to produce the machinery required for the factory. So we have to decide how to produce the machinery for the factory which will produce the goods that we will need five, ten years hence. All that becomes planning. You see, it is more complicated than your sending us some schemes, this scheme and that scheme, and our considering them in some priority. Real planning consists of considering the needs of the people and fulfilling them.

Behind this comes another factor, and that is of finances. Of course, finances are important but not so important as people think. What is really important is drawing up the physical needs of the people and then working to produce things which will fulfil those needs. What is really important again is the trained men who can produce. One can arrange the necessary finances because if you are producing something, wealth is being produced by the nation and you can be paid for it. It does not matter how you are paid, paper currency or other things, because you are producing wealth. That is to say, if your production is balanced by the money put in, there will be no inflation. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. We must avoid it. There is no such fear at present in India. There is deflation, on the other hand. There is the reverse process to some extent. So there is no risk. Otherwise, we can pump in as much of money as we like in the stream in order to increase production and avoid inflation. Inflation is avoided if your work produces the equivalent of the money thrown in. But there is sometimes a gap period and inflation sets in only then.

Let us say we have a big river valley scheme. We put in a hundred crores into it but it takes seven or eight years to build. During these seven or eight years I get nothing out of it. It is only expenditure. Therefore, there is a lag. There might be inflation. So also in big industries. But all this can be arranged and balanced. In cottage industries there is this advantage that the gap period is not big. It is a short gap period. You put in some money and production comes very soon. That is another advantage in small scale and cottage industries. That means that the additional money that you have put in is not locked up for long. Now, therefore, in planning you have to balance heavy industry, light industry, village industry and cottage industry, balance them from a variety of points of view. You want heavy industry because without heavy industries you can never get going. Let us be clear about that. You can never really be an independent country because every country depends on heavy industries today, whether it is for its defence or for its production. You must have it. Light industry is of hundreds of kinds. But in addition to that it has become

essential for us to think in terms of widespread development of village and cottage industries in order to achieve a balance with heavy industry and light industry, in order to prevent inflation arising out of the gap between the pumping in of the money and the production.

I am just putting some ideas before you so that in your leisure moments you might think about them, discuss them and read about them. The main thing that I wish to suggest for your consideration is that this business of planning is not making lists of all the good things that we want done. That is not planning. It is not even making a list of your finances or financial resources and saying, "We have Rupees five hundred crores. Well, that is all." That is not good enough. That is not planning as it is understood today. It is much more intricate. If we went by the old method of planning we would no doubt make progress. But the progress would be rather slow. And we have to set the pace. When this resolution says to you that we should endeavour to put an end to unemployment within a period of ten years, well, we have to plan in ways different from the old ways. Otherwise we will certainly not put an end to unemployment in ten years' time. To do it you have to plan in a big way and in a wide way—heavy industry, light industry, cottage industry—in order to bring all these people in the field of employment and balance their production.

Again remember, how does a man produce? Normally speaking, a man produces something because he expects to dispose of what he produces. He expects to sell it. He expects other people to consume what he produces. If people do not buy what he produces he is left high and dry and he stops production. Therefore, whether it is a big factory manager or a handloom weaver, if his goods are not bought, the poor fellow stops producing. No good. Therefore, you have to arrange for consumption also. Mass production inevitably involves mass consumption. If there is no mass consumption there can be no mass production. It stops. That is the difficulty. That again involves, among other things, purchasing power on the part of the consumer. There may be millions of people in India who have not got shoes, and who would like to have shoes. The first thing is to enable them to have money to buy shoes. Therefore, in this planning business you have to provide the purchasing power. How? By way of wages, salaries, etc. Enough money should be thrown in to give them purchasing power for the goods you produce and the full circle then goes round and round. You are producing wealth and you and others are buying it in different forms. Produce more and more and consume more—that is how your standard of living will go up. That circle should be completed like that fairly rapidly. It will only happen if in every year you have a certain surplus for investment. Everything depends upon there being an adequate surplus. If you have, let us say, one per cent surplus, it is too little; two per cent is also little; if three, four,—yes, slightly reasonable; we

can get five or six per cent, it would be very good indeed. All these facts have to be considered by your planners and by those who ultimately approve of these plans. Obviously, this is a complicated business. It requires all kinds of detailed calculations. It requires facts and it requires sample surveys of what the people need, what they demand. It is not guess work. It is no good somebody telling you, "Oh, we know what people need." Of course, we broadly know. But this is a specific thing. We cannot plan in a broad, vague, loose way.

I have ventured to take up your time in this matter to give you some idea of the approach that is intended in this resolution when we say that the Second Five Year Plan should base itself on the physical needs of the people. I hope that will help you to understand the way we are thinking. I do not see any other way of achieving rapid progress in the economic field. The purely financial way of drawing up a plan is certainly not good enough and rapid enough to solve the problem of unemployment. Mind you, finances are important. I do not decry that. But the approach should be non-financial and finances should be considered at a later stage.

I should like you, when you go home, to explain this to your respective provinces and districts, so that people would understand. People may not understand the intricacies of this problem. But broadly speaking, they should understand it because, I repeat, we are responsible for giving effect to this resolution and it is just not good enough for us to talk tall about socialism or any 'ism' or make vague promises. We have got to fulfil them. We therefore have to go in for the hardest thinking. Thank you.

## 7. Basic Education to Build a Better India<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

I am proposing a resolution on basic education.<sup>2</sup> This is the resolution. "Far-reaching changes in the existing educational system are absolutely essential

1. Speech while moving the resolution on basic education in the open session of the 60th Indian National Congress, Avadi, 23 January 1955, AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Conceived by Mahatma Gandhi and propounded in a series of articles in the *Harijan* in 1937 basic education or *Nai Talim* was based on three fundamental points viz., (1) to develop faculties of the child by imparting education by means of crafts—in other words "learning by doing"; (2) to impart education through the medium of mother tongue of the child; (3) to make the child self-supporting and the education system universal, by linking it to the child's cultural and social milieu.

for achieving the national aims and social objectives of free India and in particular to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of the developmental plan. The Congress welcomes the scheme of the Ministry of Education for reorganization of secondary education, particularly the decision to establish multipurpose schools throughout the country to give adequate and basic training to students for specific vocations in life, as well as for proceeding to higher educational courses. The Planning Commission and the Government of India have already accepted the policy of introducing basic education as the future pattern of primary as well as secondary education in India. Since basic education uses the medium of productive activity and correlates academic subjects to different crafts and to the social environment, it is eminently suitable for the needs and conditions of India. The Congress calls upon all the state governments to further, as early as possible, this policy so as to implement it fully in both rural and urban areas in a systematic and well-planned manner within a period of ten years."

Looked at purely from the educational point of view, any modern educationist, I think, is bound to accept this method—called the basic method of education—and yet unfortunately, and to my great surprise, some educationists in our country have criticized it and have said that this is a throw-back to some primitive stage of education. I can only say that they have not taken the trouble to understand what basic education is. Further, they have not quite understood what India is aiming at today. The old style of education, it is well known, was originally started by the British one hundred and fifty years ago (or whatever it was) with the particular purpose of getting a number of Indians trained to help them in the administration of the country, in lower grades. It is true that since then our education has progressed and it is also true that even under the old style of education India has produced some very fine specimens of humanity, very finely educated, cultured, trained great men and women. That is not an argument that that is a perfect type of education. For my part, I think that, given the opportunity, India ought to produce a vast number of very high class persons, men and women. I have no doubt in my mind and I am not merely, talking casually about this. I have no doubt in my mind that given the opportunity, India can produce hundreds of thousands of absolutely first class people in various branches of work and knowledge. But they do not have this opportunity and I tell you nothing saddens me so much when I go around and I see little children who are denied proper education, sometimes denied even food or clothing. But if our children today are denied that, what is our India of tomorrow going to be? It is the duty of the state to provide good education for every child in the country. That is true. And I would add that it is the duty of the state to provide free education to every child in the country and make proper provision for it. I admit, that but unfortunately we cannot do all these things quickly and suddenly because of

our lack of resources, lack of finances, lack of trained personnel, lack of teachers, lack of many things. But we have to get going because after all whatever pattern of society we are looking forward to must contain trained human beings, not people who have just learned to read and write, but trained human beings whose character has been developed, whose minds have some elements of culture and whose hands can do something creative. Unfortunately in our country there has been a tradition that manual labour is something bad and degrading and meant for the lower classes. I doubt if anything has done more harm to India than this peculiar and fantastic notion that manual labour is meant for some lower class people and that the high class person should not move his hand, but should only do what is called mental, intellectual work. That idea still persists. I can only describe it not only as a wrong idea but as a pernicious idea. I do not think that any nation that thinks that way can really progress. Apart from everything else, from the point of view even of physical development, manual work is essential.

I claim to have good health and I am prepared to meet anybody of my age in most contests, physical or other. If they want to run a hundred yards or a mile I will go with them; if they want to swim I will swim with them; if they want to ride on a horseback, I will ride a race with them on horseback. Naturally, I regret to say I am not quite so active and agile as I was ten, twenty, thirty years ago; that is the misfortune we all have to suffer from. But nevertheless, if I may take you into my confidence, I have always attached a good deal of importance to the body. It is your lookout to be fit and strong, and I have an inner dislike, an acute dislike for illness, for anybody's illness. I do not sympathise with illness. I say so because I am afraid many people here think that it is aristocratic to be ill, to be feeble, but I do not like feebleness, sickness, illness, weakness. I want people, young and old, to be healthy and strong and agile, and I want them to be physically an A-one nation. I do not think we can really make much intellectual progress unless we give it a good physical background.

That has little to do with this resolution and yet it has much to do with it. Any type of education which presumes to concern itself only with the reading of books is from any point of view, incomplete. You may become a high class mathematician or a high class something else as an individual, but you will find that you will be an even better mathematician if your body functions adequately and properly. Therefore, it has become necessary in our country to lay the greatest stress on physical fitness. I do not like people going about with a bent back. I want them to be straight. I want them to be quick in their walking, not sauntering and loitering as many of us do. So, it has become of extreme importance—this stress on two things—on physical culture, physical fitness, and the ability of their hands to do things. You can take it from me that if your hands can do things, your minds will work more satisfactorily. I have no doubt about it.

When we talk about basic education as you will see in this resolution, we say something that is of very great importance. We say that we require "an education for the purpose of achieving the national aims and social objectives of free India and in particular to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of developmental plans." After all, you want to educate a person for something. What is it? Previously it was to get a post or a job in government service. Well, government service is an honourable calling. There is nothing wrong about it, in free India certainly. But obviously, only a small handful can get into government service and the vast majority of people have to do something else. Of course, they can become lawyers —not if you take my advice! I do not think it is very profitable, from the national point of view, for us to have too many lawyers. However, that is a matter of personal opinion. But I want each one of you to be productive, to produce something. You consume, each one of you, you eat, clothe yourselves, you consume what society produces. Unless you produce at least the amount you consume, you are a burden on society; you are consuming something that others have produced. A Frenchman said: "You are a thief on society, you are stealing other people's wealth."<sup>3</sup> You talk about the rich man who lives on other people's wealth; you may be right, and yet possibly the rich man is performing, apart from this riches, an important part, giving his organising capacity and all that, he is doing something which somebody else may not be able to do. But it is equally theft for a person who is not rich, but yet produces nothing and lives on another person's production. Now, we want a society in which everybody is a producer in some way or other. Everybody, of course, is a consumer. He must also be a producer. If he is to be a producer, and an effective producer, he must know his job well, he must learn it. We want, of course, absolutely first rate men at the top but we want everyone to be good at the particular job he does. There are hundreds of thousands and millions ways of working. I do not confine you to this or that but you must, in some field of activity or other, be a producer.

If that is our objective then our whole training must be aimed at that, both ideological training, intellectual training, as well as physical training. The whole concept of basic education is, as I understand it, that for a period of seven years everybody in India, boy and girl, I believe from the age of say seven to fourteen years, must go through this course of basic training and that training must give that person an adequate background to do something. He may at a later stage go to higher studies. Higher studies do not necessarily mean a degree like a BA or MA. It will probably mean some kind of scientific or technical institute where he can specialize, but the first seven years of basic training will be common for all. That should give him, I hope, some cultural attainments, character, some

3. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865); French Libertarian socialist and journalist; in his first significant work *What is Property?* (1840) he stated: "Property is theft".

capacity to work his hands and feet and to coordinate manual activity with his mental processes, some intellectual ability and all that. So, we want that type of basic education throughout. And, before basic—though we do not say that in this resolution, but what I consider very very essential is pre-basic training, i.e., training of the child, from the moment almost of the birth or at any rate, say after the child is a year or two old, simple training but which is more important than almost any training you may give afterwards, because the child's character is largely formed in the first nine or ten years.

We have to do that for everybody in India. It is a tremendous task. For the moment let us take up basic education and try to give it to every child of that age in India. The next step would be of course post-basic training, because you cannot have a full stop after basic training. It has to go on, although many people may not go for additional training. One may become a good farmer, a good worker, a good shopkeeper or a good artisan. There the matter ends. Most people need not go to a college or university. But those who have the capacity to go, should go for higher technical training, higher scientific training, engineering or medical training, and so on. So the basic training and the other training should be linked, should fit in. At present they are not. There is some difficulty. Here is a subject of the highest importance for us—the training of our youth, training them in mind, in body, in hand and getting rid of this extraordinary notion that manual work is something degrading. There is nothing more ennobling than manual work and nothing better for your physical or mental health.

So I put this resolution before you and I hope and trust, as it says in the last sentence of this resolution, that our state governments will take this up with speed and enthusiasm, because it is largely the question of state governments. Of course, the Central Government comes into the picture also, and they must play their full part. Nevertheless, it is largely a question of state governments. They must take it up and push it through.

## 8. Carrying the Torch<sup>1</sup>

Our labours are on the point of ending. A week ago many of you came here from distant parts of India and during these six or seven days we have worked in the Steering Committee, in the Subjects Committee and last of all in this open session of the Congress. Presently, you will pack up your belongings and go to

1. Address at the concluding open session of the 60th Indian National Congress. Avadi, 23 January 1955. From the AIR tapes, NMML.

the regions of India where you came from. What impressions do you carry back with you of this session? I think you and everyone will agree with me that this has been in many ways a remarkable session—a session which has been very much a live session, a session which will endure in our memories for a very long time for a variety of reasons. It will endure because this magnificent amphitheatre or whatever you like to call it—where we have met and the vast numbers of people who have come here were a sight which none of us will ever forget.

You will remember the great organization that has gone into making this session a great success on such an enormous scale. It must have been a very heavy task for the Reception Committee and those who helped them to build the Satyamurthinagar and specially to build this *pandal* which is certainly, so far as my memory goes, the most attractive one that we have had in the Congress. You will remember the efficiency with which the Reception Committee and the volunteers have done their work. You will remember their hospitality and their uniform courtesy. You will remember not only what you have seen in Avadi, but the gracious atmosphere of the city of Madras, because Madras is a very special city in India. At least, so I have always thought, and it has always been a pleasure to me to come to Madras, which is in truth the southern capital of India. But it is not because of what you may call a capital city or not, but rather because of that indefinite thing which you cannot see but can feel as soon as you come here, the atmosphere of a great city that pervades Madras. It is a warm, cordial atmosphere which embraces you. So here we have met in this warm atmosphere, and we who came from all the four corners of India have sensed again this powerful thing that draws us together, the unity of India, the future of India. And we have felt how all our individual fortunes and futures depend upon that great fact of what happens to India. I am afraid many of us often falter and go along strange paths, many of us fall into grooves and ruts of provincial feeling or caste feeling or other, even though we realise that it is bad. Well, we have to counter it and put an end to it, because we can never compromise with something that is basically bad. But fundamentally we all realize, as we must, that India is a unity, India must remain a unity and that we must not encourage any thought or activity which impairs that unity.

We have come to the far south. Some of us from the far north feel the impress of this unity of India, oddly enough perhaps more than we might feel it in the north. Here, many aspects of old time Indian culture are found more firmly established than even in the north. In a sense you might say it is more Indian than the rest of India, which is saying an odd thing, but I hope you understand what I mean. So we have met in these pleasant surroundings and we have met many old friends and renewed many old contacts, but the principal thing which we have achieved is the work we have done. And when you think of the work you will carry with you a powerful impression of the President of this session of the Congress.

It has been our good fortune that he has been chosen as President and he has presided over this session. You may have seen him functioning in this high office, if I may say so with all respect, not only with efficiency, not only with courtesy, but with a peculiar combination of humility and discipline. Both are necessary. You will go back with the assurance that the Congress will not only be safe in his hands, but that it will be revived and rejuvenated. It is all very well for you to go on looking up to some people who may still have some good work ahead of them but who are in the evening of their days and are bound to fade away. It is right that this Congress should make itself young anew by the people it chooses to carry out its high mission. All of us who are here, we are not here because we hold certain position. It is because the compulsion of events forced us into a certain activity long years ago. We came into it impressed by many things but ultimately impressed by a powerful urge within us. It did not matter then and it does not matter now whether we occupy a post or we do not occupy a post, because the urge was not for a post but to help in achieving something. Well, we have been fortunate in achieving something big in India. But that function of ours still remains and none of us who has felt strongly can ever forget that function and if he forgot it he would fade away. So we have to work so long as strength lies in us for the great causes which we had espoused. But it is right that the person who holds the banner of freedom on behalf of the Congress should be a youthful person, with the fire and energy of youth, so that he may represent this Congress not in its past phases but in its present and its future phases to come. Therefore, it has been our good fortune to have our President, and I am sure you would like me to assure him, again, as I assured him at the meeting of the Subjects Committee, that we offer him our loyal service in the work that he is going to do.

Again, I would repeat, on your behalf and mine, our grateful thanks to the Reception Committee, its Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Secretary and others and the volunteers and also the Chief Minister of Madras, who seems to have been present at many places at the same time and was hovering all over the places helping, organizing, directing, so that one could see very well what a very important part he has played in bringing all this up here—this fine scene we have been witnessing these days. We thank them, they are our comrades, but I hope that we go back with fire in us. We hope that we go back with some fixed resolve in us to do something to convert our resolutions into results. A time has come for action and continued action, not action in a hurry, not action just to show off, but constant, continuous work for the great cause that we have undertaken.

I have often said, and I repeat, that it is a tremendous fortune for us of this present generation, as it was a fortune for those of the passing generation, to

2. Smt. S. Ambujammal was the Chairperson of the Reception Committee.

have been actors in this great drama of India during the past three or four decades. We lived full lives and those unhappy persons who kept away because they were weak or feeble or doubters, what lives did they lead, I want to know. I am not criticising them, but sometimes they come and say, as if bemoaning our lot: "Oh, how many years you spent in prison," and this and that, not realising that we experienced the fullness of life. It has been given to few people at any time anywhere to live such lives as we have lived—prison or no prison—in the last twenty or thirty years. So it was our good fortune to have lived during this period with all its ups and downs, to see these great changes and ultimately, to see this blessing of a free and independent Republic of India.

We are still here to work for other causes. But the torch of freedom must be held out by younger hands. I think however many mistakes we have made, and no doubt, we have made many mistakes and errors in the past many years, nobody can say about the Congress, and those who have been privileged to serve the Congress, that at any time we did anything to the dishonour or the discredit of India. The honour of India was dear to us and we could not compromise with that. In the future we may make mistakes again, those who come after us may make mistakes, but I hope we or they will never do anything which may be to the discredit or to the dishonour of India. They will always hold aloft this torch of freedom which was lit long ago and which has never been allowed to come down by the Congress, whatever might have befallen us. Let it be held high. And we have to achieve big things in the future. Our resolutions are in the nature of pledges and the world watches us, not only this world of India, because this India is itself a little world, but the great world watches us, because we have become significant in many ways before the world, significant in the way we achieved our freedom, significant in the way we continued to have the temerity to act according to our own thinking and not surrender to other people's thinking. I hope we shall continue to do that whether on the political plane, the economic plane or any other plane. We have to march along all these planes. Remember the progress of a nation has to be all round progress. You may talk about politics, about independence for India, of course, but there is no separating politics and economics and social affairs. The life of an individual and the life of a nation are one integrated whole and once a nation gets on the move, it advances all along the line, not only in the political field, certainly in the economic field, but in the field of art and song and dance and everything. That shows a vital dynamic nation advancing all along. I have no sympathy with those persons who pull long faces against song and dance and the rest. We are a living nation with arts and everything developing. We have to go ahead on all these fronts. That is how a nation goes ahead, not in black robes and trying to prevent people from enjoying the arts which ought to be a part of a nation's life. So, good fortune to you, and may you and all of us prove true to the pledges we have taken. *Jai Hind.*

## II. ELECTIONS IN ANDHRA

### 1. Telegram to C.M. Trivedi<sup>1</sup>

Received your telegrams 511 and 512 on 7th November.<sup>2</sup> Also your telephone message 513 today.<sup>3</sup> We have also had a talk with Sanjiva Reddy<sup>4</sup> who is returning to Kurnool tomorrow.

2. I agree with your analysis. It is clear from this that Nagi Reddy<sup>5</sup> has no majority to support him and cannot thus form a stable government.<sup>6</sup> Raju's<sup>7</sup>

1. New Delhi, 8 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. A no-confidence motion was adopted against T. Prakasam on the ground that the recommendations of the Ramamurthy Committee for virtual scrapping of prohibition were not carried out by the Government despite a favourable vote by the Assembly. C.M. Trivedi, the Governor of Andhra, had discussed the two alternatives of inviting the Opposition leader for formation of ministry or making a report to the President under Article 356 following resignation of the ministry on 6 November.
3. Trivedi informed that there were rumours about the failure of the Communists to form a ministry with the support of KLP and some independents. Further, *pourparlers* were on to rope in KLP members along with Praja Party MLAs to form a Congress ministry. He felt that given the unreliability of the KLP members it was doubtful whether anything concrete would emerge.
4. N. Sanjiva Reddy, Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra, was in Delhi for discussions with the Congress leaders.
5. Tarimela Nagi Reddy (1917-1976); Communist leader, was imprisoned in 1939, 1940-42; member, Andhra Legislative Assembly, 1953-54, 1962-68; joined Revolutionary Communist Party in 1968 and resigned his membership of the Assembly.
6. T. Nagi Reddy, had claimed that according to democratic principles the Communist Party had the right to form an alternative government which would be stronger and more stable than the previous ministry.
7. Pusapati Vijayram Gajapati Raju (1924-1995); former Raja of Vizianagram, Andhra Pradesh; associated with Congress Socialist Party, Socialist Party and PSP; joined Congress in November, 1959; member (i) Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-53, (ii) Andhra Legislative Assembly, 1953-57 and 1960-1971; Health Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1960-62; Education Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1962-64, and Cultural and Science Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1966-67; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-60, 1971-85.

statement<sup>8</sup> as well as dissident communist members' statement<sup>9</sup> make this clear. You cannot ask a person to form government in present circumstances in the hope that he might get a majority later.

3. As a matter of fact, Sanjiva Reddy pointed out to us that if it was a question of a new ministry being formed, his party, viz., Congress, was the largest party and, as such, could be asked to form ministry.<sup>10</sup> There was no doubt that he could get adequate support from some others to enable him to have an appreciable majority. In fact, some people had approached him with this object in view. But he had no desire to function in this way after the no-confidence motion had been passed in the Assembly.<sup>11</sup>

4. The no-confidence motion was passed in regard to prohibition which is an important subject both from the Congress and the Opposition's points of view. For the present Ministry to continue as caretaker Ministry ignoring this resolution does not seem to be proper. To give effect to this vital change without reference to the people also seems to be improper.

5. Thus, both from the point of view of a reference of a vital question to the electorate and from the difficulty of forming any stable Ministry, it is obvious that the present Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections should be held as soon as possible.

6. The only question is whether during this period a caretaker Ministry should be formed. That caretaker Ministry can be the existing Ministry or another. Both courses appear to be undesirable. When Travancore-Cochin Ministry continued after dissolution,<sup>12</sup> this was strongly criticised by the public generally and even by some lawyers as something against the spirit of the Constitution. We do not want this to be repeated. To appoint another caretaker Ministry would be even more improper and undesirable.

8. After meeting the Governor, Raju, Secretary Andhra PSP, said on 7 November: "that a better political life in Andhra is not possible unless the present Assembly is dissolved and new elections are held."
9. Rokkam Lakshminarasimham Dora, leader of the four-member Vishakhapatnam Independents, who seceded from the Communist Party, stated on 7 November that they would support any coalition provided its programme was acceptable to them.
10. In a 140-member Legislative Assembly, Congress had 50 members; Communists, 48; PSP, 16; Krishikar Lok Party, 14; KMP 6; and Independents, 6.
11. The no-confidence motion was moved by one Latchanna of the PSP and was carried by one vote; 69 in favour and 68 votes against it. The Ministry's defeat came about because of cross voting by two Congress members, N. Sankara Reddy and A.V. Subbaiah, and two Praja Party members, led by T. Viswanatham, Minister for Finance and Law, Andhra Government.
12. Following the defeat of the Congress ministry, led by A.J. John, on a no-confidence motion on 23 September 1953, the Rajpramukh had asked the Chief Minister to continue in office till the elections were held in February 1954.

7. Although we do not approve of President's rule unless it is absolutely necessary, we arrive at the conclusion that the Assembly should be dissolved under Article 356. This will be in accordance with the advice received by you from the retiring Ministry and it is a good convention that their advice should be normally followed, though this need not be an absolute rule. Apart from this, you have satisfied yourself by meeting leaders of other parties and groups that there is no likelihood of stable Ministry being formed by them. To make them merely a caretaker Ministry when we know that they do not command a majority and are likely to make big changes, would be improper. Present Ministry has already indicated to you that they do not wish to continue. We are, therefore, of the same opinion as you are that a report to the President should be made by you under Article 356. Alternative one in your telegram 512 has in effect been investigated by you by your meeting Opposition leaders and your finding that they have no majority. Therefore, only alternative two remains.

8. In your report to the President, you will no doubt make it clear that you have carried out these investigations and found that no stable ministry was possible and that, therefore, the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.<sup>13</sup>

9. I have enquired from Election Commissioner<sup>14</sup> who says that minimum period of about seven weeks after notification is necessary for elections. We think it will be desirable to have elections after Congress Session and Republic Day, i.e., about early February. We also think it desirable that notification for elections should issue almost simultaneously with President's Proclamation so as to make it clear that we do not desire President's Rule for any length of time.

10. I should like you to meet Sanjiva Reddy on his return to Kurnool tomorrow and have a talk with him. We agree that action should not be delayed; at the same time a day or two's delay does not matter much.

13. However, Rajendra Prasad pointed out to Nehru on 8 November that the Governor could not possibly recommend taking action under Article 356, because that Article could only be invoked in an emergency and not during normal circumstances. He suggested that the dissolution of the Assembly could be carried out under Article 174, which lays down the procedure to meet such cases.

14. Sukumar Sen.

## 2. To N. Sanjiva Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 November 1954

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Now that a definite step has been taken in Andhra, we have to face the elections there.<sup>2</sup> These elections, I need hardly point out, have a peculiar significance not only for Andhra, but for the whole country. In fact, if you read the foreign press, you will find that great interest has been taken in these elections.

I want to write to you frankly and tell you of a certain apprehension I had in my mind. If the Congress does not function in a completely above board manner in these elections, I am sure that we shall not only lose these elections, but also our reputation in other parts of India. There is always a tendency at election time to try to bring in odd elements to our side forgetting for the moment the wider effect of any such action. The Congress would win if we paid special attention to two factors:

1. proper selection of candidates; and
2. a general impression in the public that we stick to principles and do not make odd alliances just discarding the principles we stand for.

I would, therefore, very specially invite your and other people's attention in Andhra to these two factors. We must not fall into the trap of losing our main appeal to the public in gaining the support of some odd individual. As there is always this tendency at the time of election, I am particularly anxious to bring this to your attention. Please, therefore, do not come to any alliances which might cast a shadow on the Congress position.<sup>3</sup> We must take up a perfectly straightforward position before the public. You have some independents there. It is possible that they may be good people and that we might take them. But what I have said above must be borne in mind and we must not show too much eagerness to win a doubtful individual's support at the cost of

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to B. Gopala Reddy, President of the Andhra PCC and the General Secretary, AICC.
2. The Andhra Assembly was dissolved on 15 November 1954 and the President's Rule was imposed. Mid-term elections were held on 11, 15, 18, 23 and 27 February 1955.
3. The Congress Party fought the elections by joining hands with Krishikar Lok Party and Praja Party as United Congress Front and focussed its campaign upon the issue of communism as a danger to democracy. The Praja Socialist Party, communists and socialists fought the elections but independently.

criticism in the public and, especially, among Congressmen. Therefore, special care should be exercised in dealing with this matter. I should like you to keep us informed about this.

Then there is the question of the choice of candidates. In every state there are different pulls, both individual and regional. In Andhra, as you know, there is the pull from Rayalaseema and the pull from the coastal districts and there is some slight friction between these two pulls. We must avoid any such development as that is bound to be very harmful to our cause. All Congressmen have to bury their petty differences and appear as a solid group before the public.

You may remember that in the Travancore-Cochin election we sent Malliah<sup>4</sup> and for a short while also Lal Bahadur<sup>5</sup> to help in the choice of candidates. The fact that an outsider of repute was present, helped greatly in getting over internal difficulties. In Travancore-Cochin also local people were consulted in large numbers before the choice of candidates was made. I think some such procedure is likely to be helpful in Andhra. Naturally, the person who goes there will not come in the way of your work. He will be quietly helpful and often succeed in getting over the local differences of opinion. One of our General Secretaries could go there or Madhavan Nair<sup>6</sup> could go. You may yourself consider this matter and advise us as to what course you consider best.<sup>7</sup>

I am sending a copy of this letter to Gopala Reddi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. U.S. Malliah, General Secretary, AICC.

5. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Railways and Transport.

6. K.P. Madhavan Nair (b. 1905); President, Travancore-Cochin State Congress at this time; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-62; General Secretary, AICC, 1955-58.

7. In his reply of 18 November, Sanjiva Reddy wrote that the Congressmen were meeting on 20 and 21 November at Guntur to chalk out an electoral programme and that many people who had left Congress were coming back to the fold. T. Viswanatham of the Praja Party was inclined to form an electoral alliance with the Congress, which Reddy did not favour, since such alliances, he opined, would result in many splinter groups in the coming Assembly.

### 3. Journey towards a Socialist Society<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

You know that I have come to you today because there are going to be elections here soon, next month.<sup>2</sup> But what have I to tell you and what have I in mind is much more important than elections. Elections come and go, but we have much bigger things to do in India. We have to build up India. We have to fight the poverty of this country, the unemployment of this country and put an end to them. These are the big things that we have to do and we must not lose ourselves in thinking that everything is over because we win an election. Not long ago, you and I were engaged in the struggle for swaraj, for independence, for *Swatantra Bharat* and after many years of hard work, labour and sacrifice, we achieved swaraj. Then came the next stage of our journey and we began to think and work for this economic swaraj. To bring in India blessings of swaraj to all our people, by fighting poverty and unemployment, to build up a new India. That became our task. And to that end we have been devoting ourselves all these years. Now, it is a very big thing, bigger than even achieving swaraj because that means our raising millions and millions of people from poverty to happiness; that is a very big task. We cannot solve this problem by mere slogans or reciting mantras or even by passing legislations. So I am interested in taking this great country of ours forward, in taking 360 millions of our people to another big stage in our journey. That is the big task before us. Just as all of us in India worked together for the freedom of India, so now all of us, wherever we may live, in whatever part of India we are, we have to work for the progress of these 360 millions and that progress is going to be judged by our fight against poverty and unemployment.

I am not particularly interested in individuals getting into our Assemblies and Parliament, because my interest is that this great work of India should be carried on. And if I come to you during this election time it is to ask you to consider how best this great work can be carried on. I think and that is why I have come here, that it is necessary and essential in India today for the Congress to function satisfactorily, both in the public and through government. Therefore, I come to ask you, after considering all this picture, to vote for those candidates who stand for this unity of India under the Congress and its allies.

How did we achieve swaraj? We had a very great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and we had a great organization, the Indian National Congress, an organization

1. Speech at a public meeting, Rajahmundry, 14 January 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML.
2. On 11, 15, 18, 23 & 27 February 1955.

all over India right from the slopes of Himalayan mountains in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, and in this great organization the people of every religion, every caste in India, every province and state in India were represented. It was a great organization for all the people of India, not for one state or province, not for any one religion, not for any one group only. That is how we built up the unity of India and made a great common effort which made us free. Now if we are to achieve any big things in the future we have to function also in unity, work together and not split ourselves up into numerous compartments. I am happy that here in Andhra Desa some of our friends who had parted company with us have now joined with us and are working together. I am happy that many of our friends who are in the Praja Party or the Krishikar Lok Party are all working together in this Congress joint front<sup>3</sup> because as I said we should work unitedly in this country for this great task. Here in Rajahmundry, the candidate on behalf of the Congress under the joint front is the member of the Praja Party.<sup>4</sup> I am happy to support him and to ask you to support him.

I am sorry that some of our comrades in the Congress, a few of them, have not liked these new arrangements and have resigned and stood as independents.<sup>5</sup> That is not a good thing, that is the sign of that old disease from which India has suffered, that disease of separatism, that disease of the lack of the capacity to work together, of lack of discipline. All of us have to accept many things from time to time with which we do not wholly agree. When many people work together in an organization they have to subordinate their individual selves to some extent for the good of the organization and in the good of the country. If each country, if each individual, wants to have his own way, then it becomes difficult to work together for any big cause. Therefore, I am sorry that some of our old comrades have nursed a grievance against certain developments here and have left the Congress and stood as independent candidates.

I understand that the Communist Party of India is putting up a number of candidates here in Andhra<sup>6</sup> and also in this district. I do not know the name of any candidates, on our side or opposing us. Because I am not interested in individuals; I am not interested in any people, in any particular person getting into the Parliament or the Assembly. I am only interested in big causes and I am interested in how we can achieve the great objective that we have got. So in considering this election you have to consider what are these big causes,

3. See *ante*, p. 302.

4. A.B.N. Rao of Praja Party won the election defeating G.S.B. Das of CPI.

5. For example, Chandra Chudamani Deo, B.P. Sessa Reddi and T. Mallarya, all former Congressmen, contested the elections as independents.

6. The CPI had put up 169 candidates in this election.

how are we to achieve what we want to achieve, how are we to go ahead alongwith the millions of India.

You know that our country is friendly with other great countries of the world whatever their policy may be. We are friendly with the two great communist countries of the world, Russia and China and other countries. We are friendly with the great countries which are not communists, in Europe and America. It is for each country to decide upon its own structure of government, its own policy and not for others to impose it upon them. We have no grievance against what other countries do in their own territory. We want to learn from them, we are prepared to cooperate with them. So it is not because I am opposed to anything in another country, it is not because I am opposed to communism in some other country—that is that country's lookout—but the question before you and me is how the Communist Party of India functions in India.

Our friends of the Communist Party apparently think that people have short memories. Suddenly they are blossoming out as great patriots. Suddenly they begin talking in terms of Indian nationalism. But I want you to remember—leave out past history—that even now I believe they do not accept the fact that India is independent. They talk about liberating India. Only till a year or two ago the Communist Party opposed the Republic Day celebrations in this country. Now I want you to consider what is this party and who are these people who dare to say that India is not independent.

It is strange that any group in India, any individual in India, should say that India is not independent. It is stranger still that they should oppose and obstruct the celebration of that great day, which will be coming soon, the 26th of January, on which the Republic of India was established. You and I are citizens of this Republic of India; it is our proud privilege to be citizens of this great country. Wherever you may go in the wide world today if you carry the passport saying that you are citizens of the Republic of India and get honoured because of that fact and yet, in your own country you deny the fact or do not accept the fact of our full independence and till recently, not for the last year or two, they actively opposed the celebration of our Republic Day. I do not quite understand what is in their minds or their hearts, and what they consider their motherland to be? Because it seems to me that our friends of the Communist Party of India live in an age which is long past. They shout big slogans. They have the capacity for violence and they do not hide that. But in India today there are many types of reactionaries and the biggest of all is the Communist Party of India.

I am not afraid of communism. I like a bit of communism myself. And if any part of the communist economic doctrine is good for India, we shall adopt it. But our friends, the communists have somehow lost touch with all reality in India. Their slogans are the same which they uttered twenty years

ago. So far as they are concerned, nothing has changed for the last twenty years. It seems to me that they have been asleep for the last twenty or thirty years. The world has changed. India has changed and is changing. But nothing changes for the members of the Indian Communist Party.

If you look at the last seven or seven and a half years, you will see great changes in India, you will see great changes elsewhere, in other countries. We live today in a revolutionary, dynamic age. We live in the age of the atom bomb. And therefore, we have to think hard and understand things; we have to understand, above all, our own country, our own problems. If we are to solve the problems of our own country we shall have to understand them; we are not going to solve the problems of our own country by trying to find a solution of the problems in other countries, in another age. Therefore, unfortunately, the communists in India have somehow got stuck up in an age which is long past. They read books repeatedly, which are very good books, but books written one hundred years ago or fifty years ago. They cannot get hold of the fact that this world is a dynamic, changing one and India is a revolutionary, changing country. They imagine that revolution means bloodshed, it means strife and, it means strong language. They have plenty of strong language and they have indulged in violence too in the country. But the great revolution that came to India, that brought freedom to India was a peaceful revolution, remember that.

Even the emblem and the flag which the Communist Party adopts, come from the foreign country. They have not got the originality to have a new flag. They simply copy others. Is India, this great country, going to be a pale imitation of something else? Is this vast country, with thousands of years behind it, going to be a pale imitation of something past in some other country? It is an extraordinary thing to me—a fantastic thing—that anyone in this country should carry on in this out of date and foolish manner in which the Communist Party does.

But let us forget the communists, why waste our time with their activities? We have got work before us, tremendous work, of building up India. Can there be a greater adventure for you and me and all of us than to take part today in this magnificent task of building up India, strengthening the unity of this great country, raising its millions of people, raising their standards, bringing happiness to innumerable homes and playing our part for peace and the advancement of the world?

It is seven and a half years since we achieved freedom and after achieving political independence the big problem before us was to advance on economic front. Now, what have we done during these seven and a half years? You have a right to ask that and to understand that. These seven years have been difficult years. First of all you will remember that there was partition of India and great problems arose all over north India. There was great strife and trouble and killing. A terrible thing. Millions and millions of people came to India from

Pakistan and went from India to Pakistan. There was the terrible problem of rehabilitation of seven or eight million people. Then we had the terrible food problem. India was short of food. We could not allow people to starve and so we had to get millions of tonnes of food grains from outside. We got it at tremendous expense. We had, of course, many other problems too. But I am pointing out to you these major difficulties that we had to face immediately after independence.

During these six or seven years we dealt with this great problem of refugees from Pakistan and rehabilitated vast numbers. We dealt with this food problem and today we can say with some confidence that we are not afraid of the food problem. It is under our control. And we have raised our food production greatly and in the course of another two or three years it will be much greater still, so that we have established the economy of India on a strong basis. Then again you must have followed, how great industries have sprung up in India, how great river valley schemes have been built up, some of which are the biggest in the world; how, out of them, nourishing waters will go almost up to the desert and how out of them a great deal of power will come for industry.

As I travel about this great country from the vast Himalayan mountains to the south and see everywhere great industries and other big things happening, I have the sensation that this great mother country of ours is in labour; producing, creating, building up, some thing new everywhere. I go to the villages and find these National Extension Service and Community Project Schemes at work over large parts of India and I see how fast they are changing the face of rural India. India today, whether in the city or in the village is changing, I see it is changing fast. I wish it was changing faster and I hope it will change faster, but the fact is that the changes that have been brought now in India, during the last seven years have been such that you and I and all of us can be proud of them.

Here is all this great work being done in India, from north to the south in the cities, in the towns and the villages. What part have our friends in the Communist Party taken in it? What have they done? They have opposed all this work, they have criticised it, they have condemned it, they have said, "we will not take part", whether it is the rural work or urban work, they have kept away from it and tried to obstruct it. That is the part they have taken in all this building up of India. In opposing that work it is not that they have opposed merely the Government of India or the governments of the states, they have opposed the Indian people to whom ultimately the credit for this work belongs.

Their activities have always been disruptive, separatist, not constructive. Now the one big thing that you and I in India have to remember is that India is going to advance only through unity and through joint effort. Everything that separates in India, every barrier that keeps people apart from each other,

weakens us. The whole history of India warns us against disunity, against separatism, against barriers dividing each other. We have many barriers. Sometimes religion is made a barrier, sometimes provincialism is a barrier, sometimes caste is a barrier. In addition to all these three barriers, the communists will have more barriers still. It is through unity and peaceful work that we achieved swaraj under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. It is through unity also and peaceful effort that we shall advance. You must remember that. Now it is because of this that we have fought against every thing that separates. We have fought communalism in India, provincialism and casteism, because they weaken India. No state in India is going to progress if India does not progress. The fate of every state whether it is Andhra or Uttar Pradesh or Orissa or Bombay, is bound up with the fate of India as a whole; if India goes down, Andhra goes down. Therefore, you must always remember that we have to work, build up this unity of India and also that our work will only prosper if it is peaceful work.

You know that we have had a Five Year Plan programme and out of the five years more than three years are over and we are thinking now of having a Second Five Year Plan. The First Five Year Plan has already succeeded remarkably well and many of the things that we wanted to do in five years have already been accomplished in three years. Now we have to go ahead at a faster pace and so all of us have to think what the Second Five Year Plan must do for the relief of unemployment in India and to raise the standards of people in India.

We are trying to plan so that in ten years' time we can put an end, broadly speaking, to unemployment in India and at the same time raise the standards of all the people. Now this is a tremendous thing. Think of it—to put an end to unemployment in this vast country where at present millions and millions are unemployed. And yet, we are daring to think on these lines. Naturally, this cannot be done by some decree, by some slogan, it will mean hard work for all of us, for all the people of India, and cooperative effort on their part. This is the big job before us.

Having achieved a measure of success on the agricultural and food front, we hope now to go ahead much more in regard to industry—big and heavy industry, light industry and village and cottage industry. We have to advance along all those fronts and balance them so that we may have employment for the ever growing number of people and production also should go up because ultimately our standards will depend on the amount we produce in this country. But that is not enough, mere production, although that is most important. The other important aspect is proper distribution. That is, the wealth that we produce should not go to make a few people rich but, should be spread out among all the people. Thus we aim and work for establishing a socialist pattern of society in India, where there will not be these great differences between the rich and

the poor, where they should have equal opportunities, where the principal means of production should be socially owned and the method of distribution controlled. Now, that is the picture we have and we want to go towards that by peaceful, cooperative means. But the socialism which we wish to establish here must be our own type of socialism, such as we evolve out of our condition, not some unrealistic thing which we try to copy from elsewhere. All this means hard thinking and hard work and I want all of you to understand, as far as possible, all this because we can only succeed with the cooperation of all of you. The Second Five Year Plan is going to be essentially a people's plan, made up after consultation with the vast numbers of people and implemented by their work. Therefore, it is for you to understand all this. We are not going to achieve anything by reciting some mantras or by magic. It is only by hard work that we are going to achieve.

People all over the world who have followed what has happened in India during the last seven years, have admired it and have praised it. I want you to realise also that what India has done during these years has been very creditable, creditable to the people of India. I am not talking of the Government. I want you to be proud of what the people of India have done during these last seven years and I want you to be proud of our country and above all, I want you to look forward to take India to another big stage of our journey towards this socialist society that we have set up as our aim. We achieved our independence, we are quite friendly with the British people. We put an end in India to great Princely States, also peacefully. We have brought about great measures of land reforms putting an end nearly all over India to vast zamindaris, *talukdaris*, *jagirdaris* and the like. Much more remains to be done in land reforms. But I want you to think of what great revolutionary changes have been brought in India through peaceful and cooperative and friendly methods. That is India's way.

We have got to bring about more revolutions in India, more revolutionary changes in our society, social and economic revolutions. But revolution does not mean bloodshed. It does not necessarily mean violence as some people think. I am sure just as we have succeeded in bringing about great political and other revolutionary changes in India, we shall succeed in bringing about other social and economic revolutions also peacefully and largely by cooperation. The path of violence today, both internationally and nationally, is out of date.

In this atomic age, war and international violence means utmost destruction of the world and of our civilization and in the same way, if we think of violence in the domestic sphere, we may not wholly destroy ourselves but we put a stop to all the great efforts at progress because then disruptive forces come into play and we waste our energy in fighting each other.

I invite you, therefore, to this great and tremendous task of building the new India. It is a magnificent task for all of us and I am convinced that just as

we have realized many of our old objectives and many of the dreams that we dreamt, so also we will realize our new objectives that we have put before us. It is because I think that the most effective way, in fact, at present the only way, of going ahead for us in India is through the Congress organization and its allies, that is why I am interested in elections and the like; otherwise, it is of no concern to me who gets elected and who does not. But I am interested in this big thing called India, I am interested in India going ahead and making good. I am interested in the 360 million people of India making good. These are big things and I realize that this can only be done at the present juncture. I do not know what will happen fifty years later. It can only be done through this great powerful organization, the Congress, which has already done so much for India.

Therefore, I would invite you to vote in these coming elections for the candidates put up by the Congress or its allies, like the Praja Party and ensure that you have a strong, progressive government here which will take Andhra and India forward.

And now thank you, and will you say three times, *Jai Hind* with me.

#### 4. Reply to A.K. Gopalan's Complaints<sup>1</sup>

Please write to Shri A.K. Gopalan, MP as follows:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received a letter from you without date with which is attached a letter addressed to the Governor of Andhra State.

Whenever any complaints have been received by him about the elections in Andhra, he has forwarded them to the Governor of Andhra, who, he understands, has enquired into every single complaint. Just as you have sent complaints, so also complaints have been received against communists during the election campaign. Both have been enquired into. The Prime Minister has made it perfectly clear to all concerned, and so has the Governor, that there must be free and fair elections and nothing improper should be done.

1. Note to the Private Secretary, 27 January 1955. JN Collection.

You refer to a speech by the Prime Minister at Vishakhapatnam. An answer has already been sent to you which you have sent to the press. That answer represents correctly what the Prime Minister said at Vishakhapatnam.<sup>2</sup> What he said was based on a report of the speech and not on hearsay. He has no reason to believe that the report he received was incorrect. The press report, however, to which you referred was incorrect.

Please send a copy of this letter to Governor of Andhra.

2. Nehru had said on 14 January at Vishakhapatnam: "I have read a report where a communist leader has described me as a 'traitor.' I want the people to consider it. I have also read a report that a communist candidate seeking election in Andhra has spoken with loudspeaker in one hand and a gun in the other at a public meeting."

### III. ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 October 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, I shall be going to China soon. I am leaving Delhi on the 15th morning and, after a short stay in Calcutta, I proceed to Rangoon, from there to Hanoi and then to Canton. I expect to return to Calcutta on the 2nd or 3rd November. I shall thus be away for a little over two weeks.

2. Some statements of mine have attracted much attention and comment.<sup>2</sup> These statements related to the possibility of my resigning from my present office. It struck me that it would not be right for me to leave India without an attempt to clarify my position in the eyes, more specially, of my comrades in the Congress. I have, therefore, addressed a letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees. I want to share this letter with you and so I am enclosing a copy of it.<sup>3</sup>

1. JN Collection. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 63-64.
2. In reply to a question by a journalist, Nehru said on board INS *Delhi*, on 3 October 1954, "if you want to know about the possibility of my relinquishing the Prime Ministership. I can tell you that I am really tired of this office."
3. See the next item.

3. I hope that you will give thought to what I have written. I have been thinking over this matter for the last two or three months. This thinking of mine came to a head some weeks ago and I felt rather strongly then that I should follow my urge and take some definite step. I restrained myself because I did not think it quite fair to my colleagues either in the Central Government or the States for any such step to be taken without the fullest thought and consultation.

4. The more I have thought about this, the stronger I have felt this urge to be. I have, therefore, decided to put these thoughts of mine before you and other colleagues.

5. I have valued, more than I can say, the friendship and comradeship of innumerable colleagues. Whatever I may have succeeded in doing has been due to the strength that I derived from that friendship and comradeship. It would be grossly unfair of me to take any such step as I intended without previous reference to them. Hence this letter to you and my letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees.

6. I want to function as effectively as possible. Sometimes I have had a feeling of inadequacy for the great tasks before us. That feeling is not good. I want to get rid of it, and the course I have suggested is meant to do that. I am sure you will appreciate what I have written.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 October 1954

Dear Comrade,

You must have read in the newspapers about some statements I have made recently suggesting that I should unburden myself of the high offices I hold. These statements have naturally led to much comment in the press and I have received a number of letters from friends and colleagues expressing some apprehension in regard to them.

2. I owe it to you and to other friends and colleagues to explain this

1. File No. P-27(a)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 65-68.

matter a little more fully than I have so far done. I have occasionally referred to my feeling tired. That is correct, but it has no great significance. For many months past, the strain on me has been considerable and it is not surprising that I should feel somewhat tired. But that tiredness does not last and disappears with a little rest. I can assure you that I am in good health and as fit as any person at my age is expected to be.

3. Physical health is intimately connected with mental health. I think that both in body and mind I am healthy. I have a tendency to overdo things and sometimes overstrain myself, which, of course, is undesirable and should be avoided. But I am not careless of my health and I recover rapidly. That resilience itself, I suppose, is a good sign. Naturally, because of the heavy burdens I carry, I can hardly function in a carefree manner. That kind of existence is denied to me as it is to most other people. But I am convinced that hard work does not interfere with mental or bodily health, provided certain elementary precautions are taken. Indeed, on the whole, work is helpful even in maintaining flexibility of mind and body, which is an important element of health.

4. You will forgive me for discussing myself in this way. But, in view of some apprehension in the minds of people, I have ventured to do so. I can assure you that I am fit and that I propose to remain fit for many years to come. I do not believe in any kind of valetudinarianism and have a dislike of ill health. I feel that I have many tasks still to perform in our country and I am determined to keep myself fit for the purpose.

5. Why then did I talk about tiredness and the like? Partly that represented my reactions at the time and my mood at the moment, partly it was something deeper. This was a feeling of staleness, which, I suppose, is almost inevitable, if one has to function like a machine. I can function effectively even as a machine, but it does come in the way of freshness of thought and outlook. I do not like this staleness and I feel it comes in the way of really effective work and creative thought which are so necessary for one who has to function in a highly responsible position. It was somehow to regain that freshness and creativeness that I wanted to leave the present routines that take up all my time.

6. I have no intention of running away from work or from responsibility. I have absolutely no idea of going into the wilderness or retiring to the mountains. I feel that I have a function to perform and so long as a person feels that way, the urge to work and activity is there. I have that strong urge in me. It is only the functionless who bemoan their lot and are full of complaints and ailments.

7. We have passed through, during these last seven years or more of independence, a difficult time and we have faced heavy tasks. We may not have come up to the mark always, but I have no feeling of disappointment at

the record of these years. Indeed, I have a sense of fulfilment, not for myself only but for the nation. I think that we have progressively made good and are well on our way to more rapid advance. While fully conscious of our many problems and difficulties and even of our failings, I do not understand the habitual critic who sees little good in our country today. I think that reaction is misplaced and is often due to a kind of frustration resulting from a feeling of lack of function.

8. Indeed, it is because I think that our country has done well and that good and stout foundations for its progress have been made, that I think of some change in the nature of my activities. I want to work hard, but at the same time I want some leisure to read and think. One of the grave disadvantages from which those of us who are heavily engaged in governmental and like duties suffer is the lack of time to read and think and to confer with each other on basic matters.

9. Because of all this, the thought came to me that it would be better for me not to function as Prime Minister at least for some time. I do not wish to tie myself to any course of action for an indefinite period. Nor do I wish to take any step in a hurry because the last thing I would like is to create an upset. This thought has been with me for some time. Various occurrences took place which disturbed me and led me even more to think of this. But at the back of my mind was not that particular occurrence, but something deeper.

10. Sometimes people ask and newspapers write about a question, which I find somewhat irritating: "After Nehru, What?" "Who will succeed Nehru?" This question itself becomes a challenge to me and of course to the nation. It is absurd to think that a great nation depends upon an odd individual or two. My reaction to this question is to accept the challenge. I am sure that all will be well in any event.

11. As I have stated above, I do not propose to act in a hurry and I do not think in terms of final and irrevocable decisions. For the present I am sharing my thoughts with you, because I feel that I owe this to you and to our other comrades. I feel that we have, in a sense, completed an important stage in our journey and the next stage now looms ahead. I want to keep myself fit for that stage even more in mind than in body and I want to function with vigour and speed.

12. I need hardly say that the fact of my not being Prime Minister will not put an end to my close association with government, development, and like activities. I am bound up with this work and it is not mere office that ties me to it. I wish people would realize that important work is not inevitably connected with the holding of office.

13. Soon we shall have the election for the Congress Presidentship. I am quite clear in my mind that I should not stand again for election for this high office. It is time that someone else was head of this great organization under

whose sheltering care all of us have grown up and functioned. It is not right for the same person to continue to function in that office. I shall of course work for the Congress with all my strength and energy. I think it will be better both for me and for the Congress as well as for the country if someone else is chosen President.<sup>2</sup>

14. I have ventured to write to you frankly and to share my thoughts with you on the eve of my going to China, as I did not wish these vague rumours to continue and create doubts in the minds of our people. You will, I hope, forgive me for this rather personal letter. Circumstances have placed me in a position which has an impersonal aspect also. I try to consider myself and my work as objectively as possible. I know that is difficult, but an attempt has to be made.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. U.N. Dhebar succeeded Nehru as Congress President.
3. The CWC met at New Delhi on 8 November 1954 and passed the following resolution: "With reference to the President's letter to the PCCs, the Working Committee feels that from every point of view, national and international, the idea of any change in the Prime Ministership is inconceivable and most earnestly appeals to Jawaharlalji to abandon this idea completely."

### 3. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 October 1954

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

You will have read my letter to the Chief Ministers with which I enclosed a letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees.<sup>3</sup> About the larger question I have raised, I need not go into now. But I am quite sure that I should not continue to be Congress President. This is a fairly urgent matter, as elections will take place in December.

I have thought a good deal about a suitable candidate for this important office. Many persons who are undoubtedly suitable, like you for instance, cannot

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of UP.
3. See *ante*, pp. 312-316.

be spared from their present work. After much thought, I have felt that U.N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurashtra, would be suitable. He is a good and conscientious man and clear thinking. I have no doubt that he would do credit. There are, however, two difficulties. One is that he is probably not known well enough in Congress circles all over India. The second is that he might himself hesitate to accept this. I might mention, however, that he is not keen on continuing as Chief Minister.

I mentioned this to Morarji Desai in Bombay. He agreed that Dhebar would be a suitable President. But he pointed out the two difficulties I have mentioned above. He promised to speak to Dhebar on my behalf and his own.

I should like you to think about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Rajasthan Congress Affairs<sup>1</sup>

Shri Jai Narain Vyas<sup>2</sup> came to see me this morning. He was accompanied by Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal, General Secretary, AICC. He gave me some information about recent developments in Rajasthan<sup>3</sup> and, more particularly, about a meeting that was held there some days ago when Shri Balvantray Mehta visited Jaipur.<sup>4</sup>

2. Accounts had appeared in the press also about this meeting<sup>5</sup> which was apparently held almost in public or, at any rate, where representatives of the press had access.

1. Note, 12 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.
3. Vyas, wanted to reshuffle his ministry in order to stop the growing opposition against him among several members of his ministry.
4. Mehta, the Congress General Secretary, was sent to Jaipur on 4 October 1954 by the Congress High Command to prevent an open breach in the Party and to find a way out.
5. *The Hindustan Times* of 6 October reported that Mehta, addressing a joint meeting of the PCC and the MLAs on 4 October, told the Congressmen to maintain solidarity and abide by the High Command's general policy of not disturbing the existing set up in the State. But, he confessed, "if the leaders of the State cannot pull on together and their differences are allowed to reflect in the administration of the Government, a way has to be found."

3. Shri Balvantray Mehta had gone to Jaipur at the request of the Congress Working Committee to convey the advice of the Working Committee to the Chief Minister, Ministers and leading members of the Congress organization that it was essential for them all to work harmoniously both in the interests of the State and the Congress organization. The Working Committee had further advised that the Chief Minister should be free to refashion or reshuffle his Cabinet in the manner he chose. Naturally, in such matters, Chief Minister has ultimate discretion and right to decide for himself and he has to carry the responsibility for that decision. If the Party does not approve of the action taken by the Chief Minister, this is a matter for an expression of confidence or no-confidence in the Chief Minister. Opportunity should, therefore, be given to the Party, at the appropriate time to express its opinion. That is the democratic procedure which we must follow both in our Party and the organization as well as in the country at large. Democratic procedures, however, entail a certain discipline of the Party and the organization. Without this discipline and a spirit of accommodation, democracy breaks down.

4. Our parliamentary system places the Chief Minister in a key position in government. The Chief Minister is the leader of the party chosen by the party. Having chosen him and expressed their confidence in him, they should give him full opportunity to exercise his own discretion in the choice of his colleagues. No Cabinet can be formed by the intervention of the organization, though in some matters informal consultations might take place. The final responsibility of the Chief Minister must remain with him.

5. The object of the advice of the Working Committee was to point out clearly this procedure which involved a desire and an attempt to function harmoniously, the freedom of the Chief Minister to select his colleagues in the Cabinet, and the freedom of the party to select their leader who, if the party is in a majority, becomes the Chief Minister.

6. It seems unfortunate that the meeting that was held in Jaipur was semi-public. This could not possibly have a calm consideration of the difficulties and the problems that faced the Government, party or the organization. The result has been a public display, broadcasted in the press, about our internal differences. This indicates a lack of discipline which is deplorable. One of the basic rules of our organization, often repeated, is that our internal differences must not be aired in public. They should be discussed privately. Where the differences persist, they should be referred to a superior authority, namely, the Working Committee. In fact, such a reference was made. The steps that we had taken subsequently did not help in the resolution of these differences because there was no privacy and proceedings were held in public.

7. It appears that during the proceedings of this meeting, the Chief Minister was criticised on the ground that he did not consult the organization and rather ignored it. Further that he had continued to keep the Chief

Secretary,<sup>6</sup> although a demand had been made for the Chief Secretary's removal. Reference was also made to the appointment of some Deputy Minister and stress was laid on the organization, being the final authority which could issue directions to the Ministry.

8. This was an unhappy turn given to that meeting which was not meant to listen to complaints of this kind, more specially in public. The organization is obviously important, but it has been clearly laid down that the organization should not interfere in the formation of the Cabinet or in the day to day working of the government. The organization should not interfere in the appointment of officials. All these are the responsibility of the government and the organization should only deal with major matters of policy. Of course, it is always open to leading members of the organization to express their views privately about any matter. But the responsibility for running the government remains with the Chief Minister and his colleagues and not with the organization. Any other procedure would put an end both to the government and the organization. In particular, it is the Chief Minister's responsibility, and his alone, to distribute his portfolios as he considers fit. Again, in this matter he may, and should, consult others, but the decision must be his.

9. Reference is made to the organization. What is the organization? The Congress is a widespread organization with its Working Committee, All India Congress Committee, Pradesh Congress Committees, District Congress Committees and the like. They are all parts of the single organization which is divided up territorially. The final authority (apart from the annual session of the Congress) is the AICC. In between the sessions of the AICC, the Working Committee functions. Therefore, a part of the organization, even though that part is a big part, like the Pradesh Congress Committee, is not the entire organization. For this reason, it has been laid down that in case of difference of opinion, the Working Committee must be consulted and their directions carried out.

10. In regard to the appointment of senior officials, like the Chief Secretary, it will be very unfortunate if the Pradesh Congress Committee, or any other committee of the Congress, interferes. That will make the position of the government and the officials impossible. If an official does not function properly, this matter should be brought to the notice of the Chief Minister.

11. So far as the Chief Secretary of Rajasthan Government is concerned, he was a lent officer from outside and his removal could only be done after reference to the States Ministry. The Rajasthan Government cannot, or should not, suddenly remove him without the agreement of the States Ministry and till other adequate arrangements are made. The officer in question is a senior

6. B.G. Rao.

officer who has held responsible positions. I understand that in June 1954, the Chief Minister asked the States Ministry for the termination of the Chief Secretary's deputation. This matter was mentioned to me also then. The matter is pending. Obviously these matters cannot be discussed in public. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the question of the Chief Secretary was raised at all in this way. That is not fair to the Chief Minister or his Government or to the official concerned. It will be difficult for any senior official to be appointed to that position if he is to be meted out this kind of treatment in public by our own organization and its leaders. There are many ways of dealing with an official and of terminating his services. One of those ways has to be adopted and not a public agitation by responsible persons.

12. I have had occasion previously, more than once, to discuss these various matters with Rajasthan leaders and to express my opinion, more or less as stated above. It is a matter of deep regret to me that in spite of my advice and requests, the procedures adopted have not only been against my advice, but contrary to all discipline and decorum. The Congress is a democratic organization and I do not wish, as Congress President, to come in the way of the choice of a leader by a party or of the heads of the Pradesh organizations. But it is the responsibility of the Congress Working Committee and of the President to see that our work is carried on with propriety, discipline and decorum and not in any way add to conflict and public dissents.

13. The situation that has arisen and that has been accentuated by the recent meeting at Jaipur must, therefore, be dealt with according to our rules. The matter will be considered at the next meeting of the Working Committee. Meanwhile, the advice tendered by the Working Committee at their last meeting should be followed. The Chief Minister is at perfect liberty to reshuffle his Cabinet. In doing so, he may consult anyone he likes. But the responsibility of the decision will be his. After that it is for the party to express its confidence in the Chief Minister and his Cabinet. If they have no confidence in him and his government, then, naturally, he cannot remain as the leader and, therefore, cannot retain office and someone else will have to be chosen by the party. The Central Parliamentary Board will be consulted in all these matters.

14. The question arises that in the event of the Chief Minister reshuffling his Cabinet, when he should go to the party for their expression of confidence or no-confidence. It seems to me desirable that there should be a small interval before that is done to allow the new government to settle down somewhat. I would advise the interval to be about a month. This matter, as well as other connected matters, can however be considered by the Working Committee which is going to take place early in November.

15. It is, of course, always open to the leader, Chief Minister, to ask for the confidence of the party at any stage, with or without reshuffling his Cabinet. Therefore, if he so chooses, he can fix a date for this purpose without or

before reshuffling his Cabinet. In view of all the circumstances that have arisen, it will be desirable to a senior representative of the AICC to be present whenever the party meets for this purpose. Adequate notice of such a meeting should therefore be sent to the AICC Office. I am nominating Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal, General Secretary, AICC, for this purpose.<sup>7</sup>

16. Whenever such a meeting is held, the proper procedure would be for members to vote by secret ballot in favour of the person they wish to be the leader. That is to say, the form should not be confidence or no-confidence, but of electing or reelecting a leader. The person who is so elected necessarily has the confidence of the Party. Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal will explain this position to the Party and help in organizing a secret ballot for the purpose.

17. I have suggested two courses of action to the Chief Minister. Both end in a reference to the Party. It is open to him to choose either of these and to fix any time he likes for the purpose. He should inform his colleagues (Ministers) of this as well as Shri Manekyalal Verma<sup>8</sup> and the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.<sup>9</sup> A suitable date should be fixed convenient to all concerned.

18. I have referred to a meeting of the Working Committee on November 8. It is not necessary for the party meeting to be held after that meeting. If the Chief Minister so desires, it can be held earlier. As enough notice should be given, it would be desirable not to have such a meeting before the Diwali holidays. But I leave the fixing of the date entirely to the Chief Minister.

7. The entry of twenty-two Rajput MLAs in early 1954 into the Congress, with the support and encouragement of Jai Narain Vyas, antagonized the Jat group led by Kumbharam Arya. This group requisitioned a meeting of the Congress Legislative Party and asked Vyas to seek a vote of confidence. Despite the support from the Congress High Command, Vyas thought it was his moral duty to face the party. A meeting of the Legislative Party was summoned on 13 November 1954, when Jai Narain Vyas lost by eight votes to Mohanlal Sukhadia, his Revenue Minister.
8. Congress MP and member CWC.
9. Adityendra, Congress member of Rajya Sabha.

## 5. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

12 November 1954

My dear SK,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 11 November.<sup>3</sup>

I do not think it is quite correct to say that the Working Committee has passed a resolution about Dhebar. What the Working Committee did certainly was to let it be known that they favoured his nomination and election. I might inform you that the Working Committee did this at my request. It was I who suggested his name. In fact, I had suggested his name even before I went to China. We would all have liked Balasaheb Kher<sup>4</sup>; but, since he refused, I thought that Dhebarbhai would be a good choice.

In past years, i.e., before Independence, the Working Committee repeatedly let it be known whom they wanted to be elected, so this is no novel procedure. It would be rather unfair to Congressmen not to let them know. Of course, it would be highly improper for the Working Committee to do so by some majority.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. G-12/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. S.K. Patil was President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

3. Referring to newspaper reports of the Working Committee recommendations that Dhebar be elected the next President of the Congress, Patil wrote that never before a Congress President was recommended to the nation by a Congress Working Committee resolution, which was irregular and undemocratic. This could have been achieved if Nehru had indicated his choice at the appropriate time "in the usual manner". He also wrote that he had nothing against Dhebar.

4. B.G. Kher.

## 6. Delhi Municipal Committee Presidentship<sup>1</sup>

I enclose a letter from twenty-two Municipal Commissioners. I have seen the letter that Lala Sham Nath<sup>2</sup> wrote to you.

All this puts us in difficulty. It seems to me that for us to say that Sham Nath should stand for election even though the great majority of Congress members are opposed to this, would be improper. On the other hand, it does not seem desirable at all for us to encourage Shiv Charan Gupta<sup>3</sup> to stand after what we have said.<sup>4</sup>

The Congress Party in the Municipality will have a very small majority and any attempt to push a man who is not largely supported may well lead to grave difficulties. Malliah is dealing with this matter and we should have his advice. He seems to think that we should give freedom to the party to elect whom they choose, which means that we remove the ban on Shiv Charan Gupta.

I think this is an important enough matter to be considered by Maulana Saheb and other close colleagues of ours here.

1. Note to Balvantray Mehta, 12 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. Sham Nath (1909-1968); participated in Civil Disobedience Movement and suffered imprisonment, 1930-32; President, Delhi Municipal Committee, 1951-54; Mayor, Delhi Municipal Corporation, 1960-62; Central Deputy Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1962-1967.
3. Shiv Charan Gupta (b. 1922); member, Delhi Assembly, 1952-56; Municipal Corporation, 1958-62; Lok Sabha, 1962-67; Delhi Metropolitan Council, 1967-72 (leader of Opposition); 1977-80; President, DPCC, 1958-60; Deputy Minister, Delhi State Government, 1953-54; Senior Vice President, Delhi Municipal Committee, 1956-1957.
4. Congress Parliamentary Board had banned the MLAs from holding office in the civic bodies and nomination of S.C. Gupta was disapproved by the Congress Working Committee.

## 7. Election of Congress Nominee for DMC Presidentship<sup>1</sup>

Please telephone to Shri Sham Nath that I have just received his letter. The letter does not disclose any valid ground for upsetting the election.<sup>2</sup> At the most it might be said that some arrangements might have been different but that is of little importance. Apart from this letter, I have met Shri Malliah and Shri Satya Narayan Sinha and had a report from them and this further confirms me in this feeling that it would be improper to accede to Shri Sham Nath's request to upset the election decision.

There has been no question of my imposing any name. At my request, Shri Malliah interested himself in this matter and he took the help of Shri S.N. Sinha, who was also appointed for this purpose by prominent members of the Delhi Congress. The decision has been taken by this Party itself and every member should abide by it. It would be highly improper to upset it at this last moment.

Therefore, Shri Sham Nath should abide by this decision.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note, 25 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. On 24 November at an informal meeting of Municipal Congress members at the residence of Satya Narayan Sinha, Congress Chief Whip in the Lok Sabha, the Congress nominee for the Presidentship of the Delhi Municipal Committee was elected through secret ballots. Ram Niwas Aggarwal, senior Vice President of the outgoing DMC got twenty votes against eleven votes polled by Sham Nath. Sham Nath objected to the irregularities of procedure in the election and presence of the Chief Minister and his group influencing members' decision and requested for a re-election.
3. On 25 November 1954, Sham Nath proposed the name of R.N. Aggarwal as the Congress nominee, who was formally elected President of DMC defeating a joint candidate of the opposition parties, Ram Charan Aggarwal, by thirty-seven to twenty-nine votes.

## 8. To K. Hanumanthaiya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5 December 1954

My dear Hanumanthaiya,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of December 3 in which you refer to A.G. Bandi Gowda and K. Puttaswamy.<sup>3</sup> In connection with Bandi Gowda, you mention a case in which Rupees one and a half lakhs is involved. I shall certainly enquire into this matter, but you will appreciate that the enquiry will take some little time. I am writing to the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee about it.<sup>4</sup>

The second case, that of Shri K. Puttaswamy, is one of criticism of the Government about the supply of water. This may not be proper or desirable, but such criticisms are daily occurrences in Parliament here by Congress members. We cannot make this a charge.

I realise that the object behind this criticism is wholly improper, but one has to have a bigger handle to it than the speech you have sent me before we can take any action. I am, however, writing to Puttaswamy about it.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the General Secretary, AICC.
2. Chief Minister of Mysore.
3. K. Puttaswamy (b. 1917); Mysore Congressman, member, Constituent Assembly, 1948; member, State Legislative Assembly, 1950-1977; served as Minister of various departments of the State Government.
4. Bandi Gowda, the Organising Secretary of Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, as Chairman of Mysore Sugar Company had sold a large quantity of sugar to his friend at a price less than the market rate, making the Company suffer a heavy loss. Nehru on 5 December wrote to the President Mysore PCC, M.K. Veeranna Gowdh, asking for a full enquiry.
5. A report of a speech delivered by K. Puttaswamy, criticising the Mysore Government on 27 November appeared in local press. On 5 December, Nehru called for his explanation commenting that Congress government should not be run down by Congressmen and criticism against Congress government by Congressmen should be made in the Party itself.

## 9. To K.V. Ranga Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
19 December 1954

My dear Ranga Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I have only today learnt about the contest for the Presidentship of the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee. Bindu,<sup>3</sup> who saw me this evening, mentioned this to me briefly. Subsequently I saw press telegrams giving some details. In these press telegrams, it is mentioned that some Ministers including Ramakrishna Rao<sup>4</sup> and Bindu and Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar were supporting Mallappa,<sup>5</sup> the present President and that you and Chenna Reddy<sup>6</sup> were supporting Narsing Rao<sup>7</sup> in this contest. Normally one can have no objection for a contest in Congress elections. But, with the past history of Hyderabad Congress affairs and the present situation there, this is not a course to be recommended. Apart from this, it does appear unfortunate that Ministers in the Cabinet are split up into two groups in regard to this election. It is true that there is no bar to this. But we have to consider all these things from the point of view of future work and future cohesion. It was after some considerable difficulty that some of the old disputes were resolved and the old Party groupings toned down. It is obvious that if this kind of contest takes place now in the manner that is indicated, all those old troubles will rise again and not only come in the way of the Congress functioning but even weaken the joint and cooperative functioning of the Hyderabad Cabinet.

1. File No. P-9, AICC Papers, NMML. Copies of the letter were sent to D.G. Bindu and General Secretary, AICC.
2. Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy, (1891-1970); Advocate; President, Telengana PCC, 1950-52; Member of, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; President, Hyderabad PCC, January-June 1954; Minister for Revenue, Excise and Forests, Hyderabad State, 1952-56; Minister for Revenue, Andhra Pradesh, 1956-57 and for Home, 1957-60.
3. D.G. Bindu was the Home Minister of Hyderabad State.
4. Chief Minister of Hyderabad.
5. K. Mallappa.
6. M. Chenna Reddy was Minister for Planning, Hyderabad State.
7. J.V. Narsing Rao (1914-1972); President, Hyderabad State Congress, 1954-56; Minister for Power and Irrigation, Andhra Government, 1956-62; Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1967-72; Minister for Communications, July 1967-July 1969; Deputy Chief Minister in the Brahmanand Reddy Cabinet, July 1969-September 1971; Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, March 1972-September 1972.

I am, therefore, distressed to learn of all these developments in Hyderabad. I have nothing against Narsing Rao who is apparently standing for election. I do not know him adequately. But I have seen and followed the work of Mallappa and have been impressed by it. He has only been President for six months<sup>8</sup> and normally he should have continued, more especially when he has done good work. To push him out at this stage does not appear to be in the interests of Congress work in Hyderabad and will inevitably lead people to think that all this is due to group manoeuvrings and interests. That will be unfortunate. In any event, a full time worker is more desirable for this office than a person who is a practising lawyer.<sup>9</sup>

It is clear that there are these apprehensions in the public mind, as the newspapers state. Therefore, we have to be particularly careful about this matter. I am particularly sorry to see that your name should have been publicly mentioned in this connection.

Normally, I do not interfere in any way in such elections and indeed, it is not with the intention of interfering that I am writing to you. But I am very anxious about the future of the Congress in Hyderabad and hence, I felt that I should write to you and draw your attention to these aspects. I hope you will pay full attention to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Mallappa succeeded K.V. Ranga Reddy as PCC President in June 1954 as Ranga Reddy, the Revenue Minister, was instructed by the Congress High Command to resign from one of the posts.
9. On 29 December 1954, Mallappa lost the election to the PCC Presidentship to J.V. Narsing Rao by five votes. In a memorandum to the Congress President of 4 January 1955, some Hyderabad Congressmen had alleged that Ranga Reddy had resorted to bribery, coercion etc., and had even promised Congress tickets for the next General Elections to the delegates who voted for Rao. The memorialists alleged that Rao's election was a victory for the feudal elements of Telengana over the liberal, progressive cadre of the Congress.

## 10. To Atulya Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Santiniketan  
24 December 1954

My dear Atulya Babu,<sup>2</sup>

I had a glimpse of you here in Santiniketan and then presumably you went back to Calcutta. I wanted to talk to you generally about Congress matters in Bengal. I do not know if I shall have a chance in Calcutta tomorrow. Hence, I am writing these few lines to you.

Now that new elections have taken place for delegates to the Congress and the formation of our executives etc., will take place soon, it would be desirable to create an impression that we want to base ourselves as broadly as possible. More specially, an opportunity might be given to old Congressmen who have rather been out of the picture for some time. The work they might do may or may not be important. But the mere fact of creating an impression that we include others will undoubtedly create a good impression in the public mind. I hope, therefore, that it will be possible for such old Congressmen to be included in the new executive of the PCC that will be chosen.

There is another aspect also apart from what I have written above. Obviously, the executive will have to be chosen from the delegates. There must be many others who are not delegates. Is it possible to bring them into our organizational working in some way or other? They cannot come in, of course, as members of any committee, but there should be no difficulty in joining them in an advisory capacity in districts or elsewhere. The whole point is that they should feel that they are not left out and that we should give them the feeling of being associated with the Congress. That would also give them a function.

My whole attempt has been, during the past few years, to keep the Congress door open even to dissidents if they choose to come back. That does not mean, of course, that we should take in people who are obvious opponents or who are in some other party. But there appear to be a good number of people, old Congressmen, who have no opportunity of working in the Congress, even though they might want to. To give them this opportunity will, undoubtedly, create a good impression on the public.

My third point relates to the city of Calcutta. I have nothing to suggest, but I do feel that we must make an organized effort to influence people in Calcutta, more specially the young people. This cannot be done directly in connection with the Congress but there are many indirect ways of dealing with this question. No doubt, you must yourself be thinking about these.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copy of this letter was sent to B.C. Roy.
2. President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

## 11. Delhi Congress Delegates' Elections<sup>1</sup>

You will remember that a Committee was appointed to enquire into the Delhi Congress Delegates' elections.<sup>2</sup> This enquiry was necessitated by the report of Shri Abid Ali who had been requested by the AICC to supervise these elections.<sup>3</sup> Shri Abid Ali had stated in his report that gross irregularities had occurred in the course of some of these elections.

The Committee consisted of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri V.B. Gandhi and Shri G.H. Deshpande.<sup>4</sup> They have now sent me a report in the shape of a letter dated January 3. With this is attached an annexure giving some further details. I find that this letter is signed by only Shri V.B. Gandhi and Shri G.H. Deshpande. As a matter of fact, however, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was with them when this report was presented to me and he associated himself fully with it.

It seems to me that the findings of the Committee are correct and it is a matter of deep regret that Congress candidates for election of delegates should function in the manner reported.<sup>5</sup>

The final view taken by the Committee is, in the circumstances, a very lenient one. All that they have suggested is that the two elections should be set

1. Note to the General Secretary, AICC, 3 January 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. G-33 (Delhi) 1954. AICC.
2. The DPCC elections for thirty delegates to the Avadi session of the Congress were held from 1 to 5 December 1954.
3. Under the revised Constitution of the Indian National Congress, elections of the delegates to its annual session was in the nature of a miniature general election, for each pradesh was entitled to return one delegate for every lakh of population, provided the minimum number of primary members had been enrolled in each constituency.
4. Govind Hari Deshpande (1902-1963); Agriculturist; participated in freedom movement and was sent to jail several times; President, Nasik DCC, 1938, 1950-52 and 1954-58; Member, AICC; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-39 and 1946-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57, 1962-1963.
5. Shiv Charan Gupta, Manmohini Sehgal and Pushpa Devi were suspended by Congress Central Parliamentary Board on 16 December 1954 on receipt of Abid Ali's report alleging serious malpractices during the Congress delegates' election in Delhi. The Committee appointed by the CCPB to enquire into alleged irregularities in the delegates' elections, after talking to various people, were convinced "that some money was distributed, that conveyance on a large scale was provided for voters, that a certain amount of impersonation and also an unusual campaign of mutual vilification by the candidates was conducted." Their report was submitted on 3 January 1955.

aside.<sup>6</sup> They have not suggested any disciplinary action against the candidates who were guilty of improper conduct, although they have recommended that any person seeking election to the PCC and succeeding in those elections should not seek any office in the Congress for one year at least.

From the annexure to the report, it appears that Shri Shiv Charan Gupta was more responsible than anyone else for these malpractices. It is a matter of the deepest regret to me that an old Congressman, who has held responsible positions, should have functioned in this way and brought discredit to the Congress name. It would have been entirely proper for the Committee to recommend disciplinary action, more especially against Shri Shiv Charan Gupta, in view of their own findings. However, I do not wish to go beyond their recommendations at this stage.

For the present, these two delegates' elections referred to should be set aside and fresh elections should be held. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee, the persons concerned in this enquiry may, if they so choose, stand for election.

As to whether any of them should be allowed to accept any office or not, in case they succeed in the elections, is a matter that can be considered later.

I think that you can give publicity to the letter dated January 3, which the Committee has written to me. You might ask Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri if his name could also be added as a signatory to this letter. The annexure should not be published. Nor should my present note be published. In addition to the letter, it should be stated that these two elections have been set aside and further elections will take place.

You can show the letter, the annexure and my note to the President of the Delhi PCC.<sup>7</sup> Copies should not be given.

At the next meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board, a report should be made about this case.

6. Shiv Charan Gupta and Manmohini Sehgal.

7. Subhadra Joshi.

## 12. Delhi Congress Affairs<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board this evening, Delhi affairs in relation to the present Government and the Congress Party were considered.<sup>2</sup> The Board considered the situation most distressing. They were of opinion that, if no other way out was found, a meeting of the Congress Party should be held for the purpose of deciding on the leadership. It should be clearly understood that the decision they take will have to be accepted by all and will not be liable to change later.

2. Before any such step is taken, however, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was requested to deal with this matter, and, if necessary, see the parties concerned. It will be for Shri Govind Ballabh Pant to decide what step should be taken and when. Please, therefore, keep in touch with him in this matter.

3. I am sending you a letter I received from Shri Brahm Perkash and a copy of my reply to him....<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to General Secretary, AICC, 9 January 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Govind Ballabh Pant. Extracts.
2. The dissident group in the Delhi Congress Legislative Party led by Sushila Nayyar submitted a memorandum, signed by eighteen MLAs, to the Central Parliamentary Board on 24 November 1954, stating that Brahm Perkash, the Chief Minister, had lost confidence of the CLP and demanded the election of a new leader.
3. Referring to Brahm Perkash's letter of 5 January complaining against the activities of dissident members, Nehru wrote to him on 9 January (not printed) that he had received complaints against Brahm Perkash and others also and Govind Ballabh Pant had been asked by the Central Parliamentary Board to look into the working of the Delhi Congress Legislative Party.

## 13. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 January 1955

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

The Maharani of Patiala<sup>3</sup> came to see me this evening. She had specially come

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India.
3. Mohinder Kaur, Chairman, State Social Welfare Advisory Board. Pepsu.

from Patiala for a day or two just to see me and talk to me about the situation that had arisen owing to Colonel Raghbir Singh's death.<sup>4</sup> Presumably what she told me represented also the Rajpramukh's<sup>5</sup> views, though this need not necessarily be so. She is a stronger personality than her husband.

She said that a difficult situation had been created by Colonel Raghbir Singh's death and some people were rather panicky and apprehensive of future developments. She reminded me that there had been two groups there in the Congress Party—one Colonel Raghbir Singh's and the other Brish Bhan's.<sup>6</sup> They pulled on together fairly well, but nevertheless, there were two groups, and Raghbir Singh's group consisted principally of Sikhs. So far as the Chief Ministership was concerned, she said that there was no alternative to Brish Bhan and so he should be Chief Minister. But everything should be done to hold Colonel Raghbir Singh's Sikhs together. Otherwise they would drift away. Much pressure was being exercised on them by the Akali Party and the recent SGPC elections had also rather shaken them. What she was driving at was that a new Minister should be appointed and he should be chosen from among the Sikhs of Colonel Raghbir Singh's group. Appointing a person who was already in Brish Bhan's group, that is, Prem Singh Prem,<sup>7</sup> would not please the Sikhs of the other group. Also she said that there should not be much delay in taking some action.

I think what she said was largely correct, though she painted rather an exaggerated picture of the situation. I am passing this on to you for your information as you are dealing with this matter.

I have just spoken to Borooah<sup>8</sup> on the telephone and told him about this conversation. Borooah felt that the appointment of a new Minister should be delayed till he can go to Patiala after the Congress. He knows all these people and can talk to them.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Raghbir Singh, the Chief Minister of Pepsu, died on 7 January 1955.
5. Yadavendra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala.
6. Brish Bhan's seven-member Cabinet was sworn in on 12 January 1955.
7. Prem Singh Prem (b. 1914); Congressman from Punjab imprisoned several times during freedom movement; Deputy Minister, Pepsu Government, 1954-56; Member, AICC.
8. Dev Kanta Borooah, General Secretary, AICC.

## 14. Organizational Improvement<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

If our organisation is to work satisfactorily, there are some things that are quite essential. Purely organizationally, one has to have a certain unity of conception and discipline in the organization. Now, it is very difficult to lay down hard and fast rules about these matters, because we do not want any narrowness.

What I meant by unity of conception is that we must not, merely for the sake of large membership, put up candidates for the simple reason that they are prepared to sign our creed. There must be some test, however, of their capacity, of their accepting our creed, and of their being true representatives of the Congress.

There is far too much looseness about this matter, which really weakens the organization. People's notions are judged ultimately by their actions and that should count.

Again, I am not laying down even a rule that a person who has held a certain opinion, however undesirable it may be, if he changed, should be kept out on that account. People change and must be asked to change, of course. But, what I mean is that we must not merely select candidates or members of the committees etc., on extraneous grounds just because we think that they can win a seat or because they have money or some other things.

Congress organization, as you all know, has a certain prestige attached to it. You know, in the past, at no time was the Congress membership as high as we wanted it to be. Even in the twenties, we aimed at the membership of one crore. You remember our slogan then. We fixed a target for the swaraj fund, membership, and charkha. We never attained them. At the time, when the Congress prestige was at its height, that is in the twenties, our membership was about half a crore. But, our influence was tremendous. Numbers do not necessarily mean influence. When you address a crowd of ten thousand people, actual Congress members might be about five hundred. But there are nine thousand five hundred men, who can be called Congressmen in the sense that they are friendly to the Congress and act up to the Congress and its directions....<sup>2</sup>

But they had no opportunity to join the organization or may be, they did not join due to other worries. Therefore, it is important that an organization

1. Speech at the meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the PCCs, Avadi, Madras, 22 January 1955. *Congress Bulletin*, January, 1955, pp. 57-65.
2. Omission in the source.

like the Congress, should not lose its distinctive character and appeal, and must not become flabby and amorphous. It should not, on the other hand, be a sectarian organization. You have to steer clear between two things.

If the organization was to have an individuality and distinctiveness, it had to think every day. We must also think about the ideal. We should consider the changing conditions. It was no good repeating what others said. We should not accept a thing because it was new, without thinking about it ourselves. It appeared to me that we were giving up the habit of thinking.

It is bad if an organization does not keep in touch with modern thought. There are plenty of books coming out which are full of thought-provoking things. We might not accept them but there are things which are thought-provoking. The problems of today are really unique in many ways.

I am not at all frightened of communism or even consider it evil. I am referring to communism and not to the Communist Party. The way in which they want to bring about their ideal is evil. The socialists have developed into a narrow sectarian people—sectarian in the economic sense and they argue academically about matters, which really have no particular relevance today. The same criticism applies to Congressmen. We also—I am not referring to individuals but to large groups—are out of date. We accept the lead of great men like Gandhiji. We place our reliance on him and his colleagues, but when it comes to the question of our thinking, there is not any. We must think under the new conditions and apply our mind. It is one reason why the younger generation, in schools and colleges, are not greatly attracted to the Congress today. Congressmen find it somewhat difficult to argue with them at their own level. We can do so if we once start thinking about problems. There is the need for building up “cadres-to-be behind the party”. That was the word used in authoritarian countries of communism and Nazism. We do not believe in these lines. But, what I mean is that we should have students and others, solidly behind our organization. We cannot proceed simply on the past prestige. We have to work hard now. But when we compare ourselves with other countries, we are backward in that way. They have these cadres there, particularly in the British Labour Party, which greatly help to strengthen the organization. When I was in China, I was asked a question there: “Have you got strong cadres to support your organization?” and I could not answer them satisfactorily. Of course, our way here is different from what they do in China. Still, it is necessary to have such strong cadres because conditions change entirely and you can no longer bank on the old prestige of the Congress, the old sentiments, etc. Things have all changed and we have to devise something new that will strengthen our organization.

Our organization is not in good health. This may not be the case in all places but there is this tendency in local areas, that is, local political bosses developing and maintaining their hold through undesirable means. Political

leaders there might be, but the qualities of political leadership are entirely different from those of a political boss. Of course, it is rather difficult to draw the line between the political boss and the political leader although the two are distinctive. A political leader is a leader by virtue of so many things, but a political boss is a person who captures the leadership by ways and methods not desirable and once he gets there, he holds on to it. That tendency is growing in local areas in the Congress. It is not a good thing and, of course, it is completely opposed to any idealistic approach to the problem, which has been the strength of the Congress.

Often we have found it difficult to enforce discipline in the Congress although we talk about discipline. Discipline must be there in any organization but even the superior Pradesh bodies have not got a clean slate in this matter. If it is to try to enforce discipline on others, and for us in the AICC, to help it do so, it becomes rather difficult because we (in the AICC) think that the intervening body (namely the PCC) is much more to be blamed.

It is one of their proud claims in the UP Congress that during the thirties, there was nothing like an appeal being taken to the AICC against the decision of the Executive Council of the PCC because it was a recognized convention amongst themselves that whatever the decision of the Executive Council might be, it should be accepted as final and that no Congressman in UP should challenge it. There was another convention whereby they did not encourage any individual leadership in UP. Of course, there were prominent leaders there, but they never encouraged them officially. Their convention was that there should be a new president every year, who should vacate the next year and thus the Presidentship was occupied by a group of a dozen persons who were all equally prominent. On account of all this, the effective power was always in the hands of the Executive Council and any order, that came out of the Council, was obeyed without the slightest dispute. It was accepted as the official word on the subject, although technically there was an appeal above, to the AICC. The first appeal, that was preferred to the AICC from UP, was by Shri M.N. Roy, who was not in the strict sense a "disciplined Congressman". Things have very much changed since then in UPCC and there have been now hundreds of appeals from UP.

The mere fact that such appeals to the AICC have now become too numerous from almost all the PCCs, show that there is no sound health in the organization. In the final analysis, of course, an organization, like ours, depends entirely on its contacts with the people and the continuity with which we maintain such contacts. At present, we wake up during elections. Look at it from the money point of view. What a tremendous waste of money and energy all this involves. If we work properly so as to have an effective organizational set-up, we will achieve much greater results in the elections and other work.

In the forthcoming elections in Andhra, the strength of the Congress organization there and the popular sentiment there vis-a-vis the party are important. There is need for maintaining continuous contacts with the people, but I regret that the Congress does not seem to persevere in this field.

Two things count in general elections—one is the organization and the other is contact with the people. They are two separate things, but one helps the other. They may have first class organizational set-up without maintaining contacts. Or, they may have contacts without deriving organizational benefit from it. Contact means some work with the people and not merely gossiping with them. There is also another thing—which depend on the Government—the success of the Five Year Plan will have a powerful effect on the people.

A question was asked whether the elections to the Congress Committees should be held by ballot or by raising of hands.

JN: I will prefer elections by raising of hands, which are simple and, at the same time, there are less chances to bring about all kinds of pressure on the voters. I am convinced that the present elaborate procedure of election should be simplified.

C.C. Shah of Bombay suggested that it would be better to have some more polling booths for each election.

K.P. Madhavan Nair said that the option had been left to the Congress Committees to adopt the procedure of election, either by ballot or by raising of hands and it had been experimented in different forms in different areas.

JN: Some committee may be appointed to go into this matter rather more completely.

With regard to the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, I have already, through my letters to the PCCs, given directions that minorities should be brought closer to the Congress by instilling confidence in their minds. It has been noticed that there is a feeling of uneasiness growing up in the minds of the minorities and Congressmen should take special measures to dispel this feeling. In UP and Bihar, the Congress lost in some elections because the Muslims solidly voted against the Congress, deliberately, just to show their anger. The Congress is the only organization that can really help these minorities and bring them together and persuade them to join the noble adventure of nation building. If the Congress fails to do so, it is no wonder that they will be driven to other parties. In Andhra, for the forthcoming elections, four Muslims have been put up by the Congress though the Muslim population comes nearly to ten per cent of the total population. It is quite likely that the Muslims are scattered all over the State and are not concentrated in particular areas and one cannot guarantee the success of Muslim candidates put up by the Congress. But it is not realized that it is far more important to get the support of ten per cent

of the votes and create widespread support even at the risk of losing a seat here and there. It is always the duty of the majority to win over the minority.

There are many communal elements even in the Congress. They have crept in. They need not be members of the Hindu Mahasabha or the Jana Sangh, but they are mentally so. They represent political and social reactionaries. They represent everything that made India fall in the past and I am certain that India will collapse again if it went their way. There should be no quarter given to that kind of loose thinking.

Unfortunately, because of these elections, we are afraid of saying things which might displease this group or that caste. We even make alliances with somebody, for example, Jana Sangh, saying, "You help our candidate and we will tone down our opposition." And this kind of thing, apart from its immorality—on the practical side—cuts our own throat. There is no doubt that for the sake of some wretched seats, which you may or may not get, you are undermining your position.

It is necessary to have a good organization and you must create a feeling among the people that you stand four square in certain matters.

All Congressmen should realize the fact that they should work amongst the women, organize them and mobilize their opinion. Women are no longer expected to be docile supporters of the Congress. In the elections also their support count a lot. They form half the number of voters in India. It makes all the differences in general elections where women vote. In Delhi, it has been found that the Jana Sangh worked through women, specially in the electioneering work and gained success.

I insisted during the last general elections on putting up more women candidates and emphasized it in all my circulars and in speeches. And, yet very few of them were put up. It was sometimes argued that no woman would come forward. This is completely wrong and biased judgement of the men concerned. We are an organization controlled by men representing men's viewpoint and where the other viewpoint has not prevailed, with the result that we get a wrong assessment. We can make a beginning at least in our Congress Committees towards associating more and more women and Muslims. There is nothing in the Congress Constitution to prevent us from inviting women, Muslims or others to our meetings. Now, in the Working Committee, we invite people who are not even delegates to the Congress. But, nonetheless they are Congressmen. Every Congress Committee should make an effort to associate more and more women and Muslims in their work and to invite them to their meetings.

Congressmen should keep in touch with the progress of various developmental programmes. They should understand the new line of thought that is applied at the top level and the general approach, which is more than a mere technical understanding. They should follow the technique of operation and progress of the Plans and explain them to the people.



## NATIONAL ISSUES



## I. ECONOMY

### (i) Economic Policy

#### 1. Principles Underlying Industrial Policy<sup>1</sup>

The Cabinet considered the principles which should underlie the industrial policy of Government. In this connection the Government of India Resolution on Industrial Policy, dated the 6th April 1948,<sup>2</sup> was referred to. It was pointed out that in several instances this Resolution had been very liberally interpreted and not strictly adhered to. In the opinion of the Cabinet, this Resolution on Industrial Policy laid down a procedure for progressive socialisation of industry. Certain industries were stated to be the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government. In regard to certain other industries, it was stated that the state would be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new industries. Among this second category of industries for which the state was to be exclusively responsible were coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture and ship-building.

2. Certain other basic industries of importance were also specified in the Resolution and it was stated that their planning and regulation must be under the control of the Central Government in the national interest. The remaining industries were, for the time being, left wholly to the private sector, except in such cases as the state might consider necessary to own or control them.

3. Special importance was attached to cottage and small scale industries. In regard to these it was stated that, as far as possible, they should be organized on a cooperative basis.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 24 November 1954. JN Collection.
2. The main objectives of the Industrial Policy Resolution were, maximum utilization of indigenous resources, equitable distribution of goods and services, and achievement of a higher standard of living for which state and private enterprise must work side by side. For this purpose the industries were classified in three categories: i) arms and ammunition, atomic energy, river valley projects and railways were to be state monopolies; 2) privately owned existing coal, iron and steel, aircraft, telephone, telegraph & wireless, ship-building and mineral oil industries were to continue in private ownership, but initiative for their future development would lie with the state; 3) eighteen industries, such as textiles, jute, woollens, automobiles, engineering goods etc., were to be the responsibility of private enterprise subject to central regulation and control. For Nehru's speech on this resolution in the Constituent Assembly on 7 April 1948, see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 6, pp. 297-304.

4. The entire approach of the Resolution of 1948 on Industrial Policy was not only to increase the public sector, but also to develop a socialist pattern of industry. It was stated in this Resolution that at the end of a period of ten years the question of existing industrial undertakings being acquired by the state would be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at the time. Six and a half years have passed since the date of that Resolution.

5. The Cabinet was of opinion that the Resolution of 1948 should be more strictly adhered to, in particular in regard to the industries mentioned as being the exclusive responsibility of the state. Any new industries of this kind should be owned by the state. Where necessary, however, the cooperation of private enterprise may be invited in regard to such industries provided, that the state had the majority share in them and could control and regulate them as it chose.

6. In regard to other basic industries also, a progressive policy should be pursued to bring them under state ownership or control.

7. Particular attention should be paid to the development of cottage and small scale industries, more specially in regard to certain types of essential consumer goods, including agricultural implements and products needed in rural areas.

## 2. Review of Industrial Policy<sup>1</sup>

I would like to say a few words on a subject which has been in our minds during the last few weeks—that is about the economic policy of our country, more specially the industrial policy. First of all, let me warn you not to give too much credence to what appears in the newspapers about these matters because there are so many surmises and guesses and they are entitled to guess. But there is no reason why you should be taken in by the guesses and surmises. There has been much talk about our industrial policy as to whether it has been altered, changed, varied, etc., or it is going to be varied. Well, I would like you in your leisure moments to read the Industrial Policy Statement which our Government issued in April 1948, six and a half years ago. That Policy Statement broadly laid down our approach and outlook in these matters and

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 2 December 1954. *AICC Economic Review*, Vol. VI, No. 16, 15 December 1954. Also available in J.C. Kumarappa Papers, NMML.

recently we considered it afresh to see if we should abide by it or whether we should vary it.

It is open to us to vary it or change it. Whenever a change or variation is necessary, it has to be done after careful thought. In 1948, I might say, that Statement represented our general approach, our general theoretical approach, for practical purposes. I say theoretical in the sense that we were not involved at the time in all kinds of things like the Five Year Plan. We have gained a good deal of experience during these six years and, therefore, we might be justified in looking at it afresh. After all, our policy is not governed, and I think should not be governed, by some preconceived notions, or dogmas. Naturally, our broad approach is present in our minds—the broad picture of the society we are aiming at. The other day I said in the meeting of the National Development Council<sup>2</sup> that my mind was clear and I thought the Congress mind was clear as a whole that we aimed at a socialist pattern of society, I added that, that did not mean that we stick to any fixed dogma about it, but broadly speaking, we were aiming at this.

Now, if I may venture to refer to some rather side issues, I am bringing a personal element in it. And this may apply to all of you. I think, that I have a certain function in life. I will define that function. That function is not being the Prime Minister; that function is not being the Congress President, or holding any office. That function is to do something, to go towards a certain goal. It does not matter what office one occupies or does not occupy. It is that sense of function that keeps one going, that gives the drive, the energy and the power and the push. Once a person loses his sense of function, then he is automatically a routine machine. He may go on working adequately, competently, but it is, more or less, in a routine way.

Persons who took part—as you and I have—in great movements, did not occupy any office or anything. But we had a sense of function, a sense, an urge, which drove us. We wanted to achieve something. It is true that this sense of function comes powerfully at certain periods in our existence. We do not live at a high pitch all the time. It comes and goes. It is true that as a whole, after attaining swaraj, we toned down and we became a little soft. And that urgent sense of function became less. That is inevitable and nothing to complain about. But the fact remains that it is this sense of function, in doing something, in going towards a goal that keeps up human beings. If I cease to have that function, then it does not matter what I do and what I don't do. If I have that function, it just does not matter whether I am Prime Minister or Congress President or nothing at all. I function and function very adequately, and with a great deal of drive and energy. My training, my conditioning, is to

2. See *post*, pp. 371-379.

try to see things in some perspective, historical perspective, world perspective. I look at India from outside, not merely from inside—that I usually do, but from outside too—and I look at India in terms of historical perspective, and if I may say so, now I begin to look at India and the rest of the world in terms of the perspective that the atomic energy age gives us. The world is on the eve of very major changes because of this discovery, let us say, of atomic power just like the Industrial Revolution changed the world. I do not mean to say the change will be in the next year, or in the next decade.

I go to China, or wherever I go, to America or China, my mind is receptive. I want to learn, and understand and compare. Many people ask me about China. I am impressed by China. I have no doubt China is going to play a very big part in world affairs. Having said that I may also tell you that having been to China, I am very much impressed by my own country. I am not comparing the two, because there are many points of comparison and many things cannot be compared. But I say I did not suffer, when we were in China, any sense of inferiority complex about my own country. I have none at all. I don't say I am satisfied with my country. But I am satisfied with many things in my country and I am proud of my country. I am proud of our achievements in our country. I am not talking about the distant past, but present day achievements in our country, realizing fully the difficulties and the dangers ahead. All this gives me a sense of excitement. As I was leaving China, my last words were that in the world today the two most exciting countries were India and China. I do not know exactly what the picture five or ten years later will be in China or here. I want to be friendly with China. I think we will be friendly with China because it is of the utmost importance that we should be friendly with China, in historical perspective as well as in the present day. That does not mean in the slightest that we change our policy because of any other country, China or other. That is for us to determine. I have often said that in India the very big thing remains, above everything else—building up of unity of India. We have never been a united nation in the real sense of the word, in the past. We have had united urges. The way we tend to disrupt is amazing—whether it is provincialism, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh. We have not yet developed the outlook of a united nation. We felt that we have reached our goal and we can allow disruptive tendencies to exist. But you can never allow a wrong tendency to exist. You have always to fight it, whether it is communalism or provincialism or casteism, I will lay special emphasis on casteism because it is a most dangerous tendency. We talk about casteism and we condemn it, as we should. But the fact remains that half a dozen or may be the ten so called superior castes dominate the Indian scene among the Hindus. There is no doubt about it. And if I talk about the removal of casteism don't understand by that, that I want to perpetuate the present classification—some people at the top and other people at the bottom. If you don't equalize or tend to equalize, undoubtedly

casteism will flourish in a most dangerous way. It won't be really casteism of the old type, but it will be of a new type. Now, here are these dangers and here is this achievement of ours which does not satisfy but, nevertheless, gives me a sense of exhilaration that we are achieving things. Well, what shall I say about many of our friends who go abroad to Russia, China or elsewhere and have no idea of what their country has done or is doing. Somebody said the other day, before anybody went abroad, he should be made to make a tour of India and see what India is.

Now, coming back to our industrial policy, in that document on Industrial Policy, there are certain categories of industries laid down. The first was defence industries, more or less, arms, ammunition, etc., which was said to be the sole, exclusive monopoly of the state. Then came another category of small number, six I think or seven industries, which were said to be the exclusive responsibility of the state. Among these six or seven, there is coal, iron and steel, minerals, two or three others—the exclusive responsibility of the state, which means, of course, that the state should control them fully. But this need not prevent us from seeking the cooperation of private enterprise. It said, then, that the state will be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings except where in the national interest, the state itself finds it necessary to secure cooperation of the private enterprise, subject to such control and regulation as the Central Government may prescribe. These industries were coal, iron and steel, aircraft, ship-building, manufacture of telephones, wireless apparatus, radios, etc., and mineral oils. Then, it refers to existing industries and goes on to say that the state has always the right to acquire any existing industry, of course, but there is some kind of assurance that existing industries under these six heads will not be touched for at least ten years and at the end of the ten years' period the matter can be considered. Then it refers to certain basic industries of importance, apart from those mentioned previously, where planning and regulation by the Central Government is necessary in the national interest. This is rather a long list.

There is a vast field completely open to private enterprises. There is another field which is open to private enterprise subject to state control and regulation and there is another field where the state normally will take it up. Of course, it is difficult to have a very rigid division between the two categories. The real outlook of this document was to evolve a certain pattern which is, I should say, a socialized pattern. The conception was a dynamic conception, not a rigid one, towards a certain objective having regard to all the other factors. The Statement still governs us and there has been, so far as I am concerned, no change at all in it. It may be that in working that we may emphasize some aspect of it occasionally, this aspect or that. We have as a matter of fact been interpreting it, rather loosely enough—I do not say wrongly—but rather loosely because of circumstances. For instance, we have got these big oil refineries

which come in the first or the second—exclusive responsibility. Yet we have come to terms with foreign oil companies to erect them,<sup>3</sup> to run them for a period of years. It is not one hundred per cent in keeping with this. Well, for a variety of reasons, which I think were good, we came to these conclusions, because we wanted it, we could not do it otherwise. This is just a question of our need.

Now, I should like, if you permit me, to philosophise on this. Sometimes, our friends in the Praja Socialist Party object very stoutly to my using the word socialism or socialist. They think that it is some kind of copyright of theirs. It is absurd. Well, I should like to say that any kind of an idea whatever it may be, if you take it rigidly in a dynamic and changing world, is apt to lead you astray, that is, make you rigid when the world changes. I was at one time a student of Marx. I was much influenced by him, although when I read him, he did not impress me enough to accept him as the guide for action here in India. He impressed me as a guide to understanding social processes and the rest. But it always seemed to me that we have to understand the conditions in our own country, our own people and their background. No doubt, we have a certain picture to evolve. I cannot understand how books written eighty years ago by Marx, with a European background, need necessarily apply to a background in India eighty years after, although I might tell you that what Marx wrote about India eighty years ago was probably more relevant than what the communists write today. So also take that what our Praja Socialist friends say. They seem to think that if we could suddenly nationalize everything in India, then it will solve most of our problems. That I think does not show much, if I may say so with due respect to their maturity of thought or judgment. After all, what are our problems? There are many problems, but our problem is, after all, of producing more wealth in this country and distributing it properly. Our problem is to put an end to unemployment by making our unemployed productive workers. It is a tremendous problem, to make this number of unemployed or semi-employed or under-employed people wealth producing productive units and then distributing this wealth. How is it to be distributed by just nationalizing the existing concerns with the money we have? That money

3. The Government of India entered into an agreement with three foreign companies for refining oil in India—Burmah-Shell of England and Standard-Vacuum and Caltex of America—and extended certain privileges to them such as, exemption from nationalization for twenty-five years, freedom from certain provisions of the Industrial Development and Regulations Act, duty-free import of crude oil. The companies agreed to use Indian crude oil whenever available, train Indian personnel and make the by-products of the refineries available for subsidiary manufacturing of cosmetics, fertilizers, fumigants, plastics etc. The Standard-Vacuum refinery started production in July 1954. The Burmah-Shell was to start production in early 1955 and work on Caltex refinery was to start in the same year.

gets locked up there. We have no money left for new projects or concerns to start. Suppose we want more steel, as we do, instead of acquiring the Tata concern, it is far better for us to put our money in a new plant, for second, third or fourth, whatever it is. We can get any amount of steel. The more you think of it, the more you realize that all our future development—industrial development—depends upon steel. We have a production of a million and a half tonnes. It is going to become two million. Maybe double, that is not good enough. We are thinking now in terms of at least trebling that. It takes time to do these things. You hear of a German factory being put up,<sup>4</sup> and with Russian experts we are discussing matters. So, we are thinking in big terms. And if we stop thinking of these and start paying compensation for that, well, we remain where we are. If you are thinking in terms of expropriating them without compensation, that, of course, is against our Constitution, against our policy; that raises questions of practical politics. This kind of expropriation on a big scale is done after big upheavals which upset a country's economy, politics and everything. You cannot do it without creating that upheaval. If you create that upheaval, that upheaval may be justified or not, but you stop the progress you are going to make because you are engaged in the upheaval. It is all very well if after a huge upheaval in Russia forty years ago—war, civil war—certain things were done in certain conditions arising in the country where it became inevitable to do those things; or in China, where it was the result of a historical process. All kinds of things you cannot produce out of nothing. It has no meaning logically. You may say that we want India to be, let us say, like the Soviet Union. Therefore, we must have some kind of war preceding that revolution, as it occurred in Russia. We are going to produce a war first and then civil war and all that in order to bring about a state of affairs which may enable us to go ahead. It is absurd. I am not comparing or criticising them. I am pointing out how exceedingly illogical it is to talk in terms of copying what happened in this country or in that country. Take China, forty years of civil war, Japanese invasion, destruction—it made the history of forty years. Now something happened in China, a new centralized power Government. That is the outcome, the result of forty years of Chinese history. Now, how are we to produce forty years of Indian history of civil war before we get there? But the communists don't realize it. They seem to think that things come out of nothing. If we try to go along the communist way how are we to get it, by going through a process of destruction for a generation or two? Something else might come out. It is far more profitable for our country and far better for us to progress along peaceful methods, because if you adopt violent and disruptive

4. The Government of India had decided in February 1954 to set up Rupees seventeen crore steel plant at Rourkela in Orissa, with German collaboration.

methods they bring down your level even lower than what it is. Afterwards you start from a scratch. That is not worthwhile. This means producing new problems, terrific problems of mutual hatred and all that and then we work for generations to create the new psychology of unity. Why should I do that? Therefore, first of all, we have to base ourselves on a peaceful approach. It has to be a democratic approach. By democracy I do not mean every old-fangled institution which has been tied up with democracy. If it comes in your way, you can change some structure here and there. But essentially, we want a peaceful democratic approach. I do not see how you escape from that line of reasoning, if you really want to do something. Therefore, I reject the communist approach as being totally impracticable. I am not talking about the economic conditions in society that they aim at. I am prepared to accept that.

I have talked to you about copying China or Russia. Now let us consider another aspect, copying America. America is a very wealthy country. I like many things in America; there are many things in America which I heartily dislike. The point is that America has taken, roughly let us say one hundred and fifty years to build herself up. Europe has also taken one hundred to two hundred years—Western Europe specially, to build herself up, their present systems. We just have not got that time. Building up is not a question of money only although money is important. We may get money from abroad or from somewhere and dump it down. We have to produce deeper qualities in nation; qualities are never produced by money. Qualities come, often to persons who do not have money because they have to struggle, because they have to build themselves up. Nations and individuals build themselves up because they have to fight hard for something. The people who are soft, generally, are not much good. The only example of rapid industrialization, apart from Russia and China, is Manchuria by Japan in the twenties or thirties. It is an amazing example of how in the course of ten or fifteen years they converted Manchuria into a highly industrialized area. But remember that it was a dominant imperial power, sitting on them and compelling them, forcing them and exploiting them. So quite new problems arise. I am quite clear in my mind that if we adopt the American capitalist system in India now, you will not progress, you will not go far ahead. It is an odd thing, but worthwhile remembering that countries in the world, some countries at least in the world, which have been the recipients of money from abroad, a great deal of it, have not prospered very much. Take our neighbour, Pakistan. It is not prospering politically or economically. They will get much more money, if they like. There is something else that is wanted. It is the spirit of self-reliance, taking help from others but never relying on that. So as a result of all this, I come to the conclusion that American methods as a whole, American outlook, is not applicable to India. It will be harmful to India. The communist outlook is also harmful to India, applied as a whole. I can fit in just something from America, something from China and something

from Russia. That is a different matter. On the whole our problems are similar to those of China. Naturally, we are great and huge countries, industrially under-developed, backward countries striving at industrialization. Even the question of huge floods is similar. There is much in common between us and it is interesting, fascinating and exciting for me to see how they deal with them. I am sure we can learn a great deal from them. I think they can learn something from us too. But we have to find our remedy by our own thinking.

I would say that we are on the threshold of the atomic age; much of our school and college economics is completely out of date—it does not fit in and it will fit in still less in the economic age that is coming. Most of these economic problems are dealt with from the point of view of Europe and America. Well, we have a different, naturally different approach here because our conditions are different. But apart from that most people realize that this business of making private enterprise the God of society has just no meaning today. One has to go in a socialised direction. There is no help for it. More specially the underdeveloped countries like India have to go that way. I am not speaking of the future of America or the future of Western Europe. That is for them to decide. But so far as we are concerned, we have to go in that direction. In going in that direction we should like to have the help and cooperation of all elements in our society—certainly, so far as I am concerned, the element that I call industrialists, capitalists and the rest. The word capitalists has become some kind of *gali*; well, it is absurd. It has no meaning. Systems—economic and political systems—have their day and do good in their day and then become rather out of date. The feudal system, undoubtedly, was good in its time and served the purpose of society. It ceased to be good, later. Society outgrew it and went on to some other system. So the capitalist system, with all its vices and virtues, fulfilled a certain purpose at a time in the history of the world. But the point is that, that period is over—almost over, and one has to go to the next step. But it is just absurd and wrong to go about cursing people because they are capitalists or praising people because they are poor. I am not prepared to praise anybody just because he is poor. Poverty is nothing to be praised about, just as in more riches there is nothing to be praised about. We may see that a poor man is a victim of circumstances and we should help him, but to praise poverty is to praise a wrong thing.

Our essential problem in India is to provide fuller employment to the people. This has to be the main objective of our economic planning. But this problem has to be studied from a scientific point of view. The Statistical Institute of Calcutta is studying this problem in all its aspects in a scientific manner. The report of the Institute will surely help us in the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan.

### 3. Socialisation of Economic Structure<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Sir, speaking on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government, I should like to say that we have welcomed this debate.<sup>3</sup> I hope that such debates might take place from time to time in Parliament, not only because they are necessary but also because they are helpful to Government. They show, they demonstrate, the social awakening that has come all over the country. They are the signs of our moving more and more rapidly, I hope, from the purely political plane to the social plane. I welcome, therefore, even the criticisms that have been made, though I must confess that some of the criticisms left me rather aghast, because they seemed to have no relation, so far as I am aware, with the facts.

An eminent Member on the other side, who used to be a great scientist, Prof Meghnad Saha, but who drifted from the fields of science and has found no foothold elsewhere yet, told us many things, most of which, I think are completely wrong. I have seldom come across a less scientific approach to a problem than that of Prof Meghnad Saha, in fact, a less factual approach. I can only express my deep regret that such an eminent scientist should have fallen into such evil ways of thinking.<sup>4</sup>

I do not mind Prof Saha, or any other hon. Member in this House criticising our Government. We are no doubt open to criticism in many matters and we do not mind it. But I do mind, Sir, criticisms which amount to criticisms of the Indian people. And if any man in this House or elsewhere blames or criticises what the Indian people have done in the last six years, I say it is not proper, certainly for any of us, I would say—even for any outsider to do it—much more so for any national of India to do it. Because, in spite of the grave and great problems that we have had to face, in spite of this Government's deficiencies—I admit it—in spite of the errors that we have made, the Indian people have done a fine job during the last six years. Let that be clear now. And I include in the Indian people almost every group—I do not include

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 21 December 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*. Vol. IX, Part II, 1954, cols. 3587-3609.
2. Thakurdas Bhargava was in the Chair.
3. The discussion was on a motion moved by the Finance Minister, C.D. Deshmukh, on the existing economic situation.
4. While stressing the need for complete reorientation of the Government's industrial policy, Meghnad Saha compared it with that of Chiang Kai-shek and alleged that the Government was trying to make over all the means of production to private capitalists through the "Deshmukh-Krishnamachari Corporation."

individuals—the vast numbers, the masses of the Indian people, the intellectuals, the peasants, the workers and others. They have done a fine job, of which I for one am proud and I am prepared to shout out my pride anywhere in the world.

Now, I find all this carping criticism—partly as I said, I do not object to it—is based, not, as it should be, if I may say so, with all respect, on a balanced view of the case. I can very well understand a criticism here, acceptance of a good thing there, but I cannot understand just criticism, just denunciation alone. Our friends opposite seem to have forgotten to appreciate anything, to say “Yes” to anything. That I say, whether it is on this side or that side of the House, is an unbalanced, unscientific, unfair and unhelpful attitude.

What are we after? All of us, whether we may sit here or not, are after doing something which is tremendous, changing the face of this ancient country, with its vast population, also, let us remember, tied up in many ways with ancient customs, ancient habits, ancient economic systems. We want to break through many of these things. If you travel all over India you see an enormous variety of population—all kinds of people—various degrees of development, cultural, political, social, economic, call it what you like; disparities, sometimes vast disparities. We do not like it. Nobody in this House likes that. We want to put an end to disparities, inequalities. We want, naturally, to raise the standard of living, have a new structure of society and all that. It may be that we may differ, in regard to any particular item, the particular method of doing it. It may be that even in the final picture, there might be some difference of opinion, but I rather doubt if there is any great difference of opinion in regard to the final picture that most of us envisage. But anyhow we can only think about our plan of progress, whatever it is, on what I venture to say, a scientific assessment of the facts of the situation. We can hardly consider it in the manner of an academic debate.

Here is a terrific problem, not merely in numbers, but in the complexity of it. People talk about the public sector and the private sector. Does the House realize that the private sector, the biggest and the overwhelming private sector, is the private sector of the peasants in India, the small holder of land? That is the tremendous private sector in this country, not those odd factories and odd things that exist. Now we want to change all that. And remember this that there is a limit to the amount of compulsion that you can exercise, apart from the desirability of compulsion. You have, ultimately, in a vast society, to go by consent, not everybody's consent, but consent of the community as a whole. Apart from this ineluctable factor, so far as our country is concerned, we have followed a policy in our political field which was rather unique. In our political struggle, we, by and large, adopted peaceful methods. In our economic approach there are conflicts and there is no doubt about it. In the economic field there are classes. We want to do away with the classes. Our approach has been, by and large, trying to win over people. We put an end to the princely order in

this country. We paid for it.<sup>5</sup> But remember this that what we paid for it, however heavy, was very little, compared to the cost of conflict. Nowadays in the world, whether it is in the international sphere or the national sphere, people are always talking in terms of conflict. It is war or cold war, or conflict or class struggle. I admit class struggle; I admit it, but I do not want to aggravate it. I do not want to obsess my mind with it. I want to get rid of it as far as possible without aggravating that struggle, by other means. I do submit that the results of our political and other approaches have led to good things. They are good in many ways and apart from reaching a person's goal or a particular goal and get going towards it, we create an atmosphere, a mentality of cooperation or, at any rate, we do not have strains of bitterness and conflict pursuing us. We have taken examples from other countries, of big, social, political upheavals. We may have differing opinions about them, and we may like some part and do not like some other part, but it is not a question of liking or not liking. They are great historical upheavals like a tempest, but it is no good my saying or any hon. Member saying that he does not want the cold wind or the tempest outside. But this is happening, and they become the conditioning factors in a country, and one conditions oneself to these factors. One makes mistake and then recovers from that mistake.

I dislike comparing my country with others to our advantage or disadvantage, because I do not want or like to criticise other countries. I want to be friendly with them, because I like some things in them and I do not like some other things in them, but I venture to point out to this House that where those upheavals occur, they are products of history, violence and all that kind of things—defeat and civil war. They govern subsequent things. Now, one does not, in order to reach something, organize an upheaval and destruction deliberately. If it comes one's way, it is a different matter and one has to face it. Now, some hon. Members seem to think that in order to make progress, we must destroy, we must increase the conflict, bitterness and then we shall have a cleaner slate to write upon. As I said, no country has ever had a cleaner slate to write upon not even after the biggest of revolutions. We cannot get rid of many factors which govern the situation and the growth of a people. But no one, as I am aware, would willingly destroy something which is worth while in order to build something which may be good in certain circumstances. Now, I am prepared to compare what has been done in India in the last few years with what was achieved in any other country. It may be that we may not have achieved much. We may have achieved less; I am prepared to admit that. But at the present moment, behind that we must see this peaceful cooperative method

5. The total annual privy purse commitment, amounting to Rs 5.8 crores at the time, was guaranteed under Article 291 of the Constitution and was charged on the Consolidated Fund of India.

of approach. You may say that taking this peaceful cooperative method of approach we might have gone faster; we can go faster, and let us admit it, or let us start about it and increase our pace. But this House must be clear as to whether we accept that peaceful, cooperative and democratic method or whether we accept some other method. When I use the word democracy, I know it can mean many things, but I am talking in terms of what is called parliamentary democracy. There are other methods which may equally be democratic but which are different. It is in that context that one has to see. Why do we have parliamentary democracy and the like? Because presumably, we think that in the long run, that produces the best results. If we get to the conclusion that it does not produce best results, well, we change it, obviously because we want results. What results are we aiming at? National well being, human happiness of the millions and millions of our people. Let us not, for the moment, use terms which have a very specific connotation. We aim at human happiness in this country—national well being, national strength. How do we achieve it? We have got, at the present moment, a country which is industrially not developed, although remember that India is more industrially developed than any country in Asia, apart from Japan. I am not for the moment taking into consideration the Soviet part. But apart from these two exceptions, India is more industrially developed than any country, certainly more than China. What will happen in the future is a different matter. I am talking about the present. Nevertheless, we are an underdeveloped country. Our standard of living is low. We have got to raise that, and in raising that we have got to find employment for all our people.

What are our objectives? Well, we may define them in many ways, but perhaps one way which is more important than others is to find progressively fuller employment till we reach full employment by increased production and all that. You may also say greater production, better distribution. All that we can say and all these things are part of the main objective. Essentially, the problem should be viewed, I hope, from the point of view of attaining fuller employment and greater production and better distribution.

Now, if that is our approach, how are we to do it in this very complicated situation that we are in, with an underdeveloped economy and with very little surplus to invest and all that? We cannot compare our problems with those of the industrialized West, because they have had centuries, or at any rate, generations of growth. Even with Soviet Russia we cannot compare. We can learn from them in some matters. There, conditions were completely different—with war, civil war. I am prepared to compare India with Soviet Russia after seven years of freedom certainly, but not after thirty or forty years of their freedom. The only country which is in a sense comparable is China, comparable in the sense that it has a vast population, tremendous unemployment, very low standards of living and underdevelopment, and is not industrialized. That is a

comparable case. Therefore, possibly, it is conceivable that as they make their progress according to their ways, we may be able to learn something from them. But again, take the background of China; as they are today, after forty years of civil war, international war, national war, till the country was absolutely at the rock-bottom level. We had, fortunately or unfortunately—for ourselves fortunately, so far as I am concerned, and possibly hon. Members opposite may think it is unfortunate—a peaceful transfer of power in this country with a running machine. A running machine has its advantages and disadvantages. I prefer the advantages. The disadvantage may be that you are tied up with certain processes which take a little time to change. The advantages are obvious: that you do not destroy and start from scratch, but we started at a higher level, as I said, compared to most countries in Asia. I dislike comparisons; they are odious; but, nevertheless, I beg the House to consider the state of affairs, political, social or economic, in India today with those of any other country in Asia. Again, for the moment, I leave out China, because China deserves a separate treatment in regard to many matters. Although at present, conditions in India are better, that is to say, industrial and general conditions, I think if the standards here are better than in China it does not mean that China may not make greater progress. That is a different matter. It is a different matter to compare all these countries of the West with those of the South and South East Asia. Is there any comparison between the stability—political, economic and social—that we have achieved in this country and the progress we are making, with others? It may be slow, according to our thinking, but there is no doubt about the progress that we have made. There is no doubt at all about the impression that has been made in the wide world about India today.

It is an extraordinary thing that our critics largely come from, well, some of our own countrymen, or—it is an odd thing to put in the same level—or from certain very reactionary parties in the West, who do not like India's progress. But I would beg this House to consider that let us have criticism galore, but let us always remember that in this matter if India is going to go ahead, it is not because the Government of India is very bright—that helps no doubt if it is so—but it is because the people of India function. And it is not right for us always to be running down what the people of India are doing. We take up something in a big way. Take the Community Projects or the National Extension Service.<sup>6</sup> I think it is one of the biggest things that any country has undertaken, and I think that—I won't say that it has succeeded hundred per

6. To promote all round rural development covering education, healthcare, communication etc., the Community Development Programme was launched on 2 October 1952. National Extension Service scheme, launched on 2 October 1953, provided for a village-based organisation with ten villages forming a unit. Each unit would have a doctor, teaching supervisor, veterinary surgeon, an agricultural expert who would train village workers.

cent—but it is succeeding in a very large measure. And it is an amazing thing how from the grass roots we are building up something, not imposing something from above as normally governments have done.

And what has been the reaction of many of our friends on the opposite benches? They not only run it down, they refuse to cooperate with it. It is not a governmental effort, it is a people's effort. They keep away, they keep others away; in fact they obstruct in the progress that might be made there. Is that, I would like to suggest to hon. Members, is that a proper way of dealing with these vast national questions? So I do submit that some difference might be made in the criticism of any Government policy or something, which should always be welcome to us, and the way this great country of ours and these great people of ours are functioning today and building up a new India. I have no doubt they are building it. I see all over the place and I have no doubt at all that the atmosphere, the air of India is invigorating and exhilarating today.

Professor Meghnad Saha said that all the figures that the Finance Minister has given were completely wrong, about the industrial and other progress that we have made. It is rather difficult for me in a short space of time to go into these detailed figures. Most of them, hon. Members know, have been given in the Planning Commission's progress report and other papers. But I really am surprised at Professor Saha challenging obviously right figures. He challenged the whole question of greater production.

The index of industrial production (in 1946 being 100) from 105 in 1950 rose to 117 in 1951, to 129 in 1952 and to 135 in 1953. In July this year it was 149. It is a big jump from 105 to 149. There has thus been an increase of over 33 per cent since 1950. It is a very good increase. Mr Asoka Mehta said about its being lopsided. It may very well be lopsided. But let us remove the lopsidedness. Then again, it is also true, of course, that judging of these in terms of our needs and what we should do, it is not enough. We admit that. But the point is that there has been a marked increase in industrial production, whether it is output of cloth by 25 per cent or cement by 50 per cent; and Sindri has reached capacity production, and we are now on the verge of starting one or two more Sindries; electric energy, and so many other things. I agree, of course, there is no question of Government or anybody feeling complacent. The problem is terrific. All I can say is, not that we are complacent, but that (how shall I put it) that we are not frightened by this problem, we are going to face it and solve it, however difficult it may be. Not we; for the moment I am talking of all of us together and the country. Because the slightest weakening, the slightest element of complacency will come in our way, and we will have to work hard and think hard. I say, how do you solve it? You find these vast social problems in a country like India. We talk about classes, but something infinitely worse than classes exists in India: that is, castes, castes petrified. Can anybody deny, on this or that side, that it is a curse in this country, this caste

business which come in the way, and is bound to come in the way of any kind of progress—political, social, economic? There it is. You have to deal with the situation. We have to fight that menace of caste which comes in our way. How are we to do this? Not by some resolution here. We are not going to change the caste structure of India by some resolution or by some law. We can help if we pass laws about untouchability and all that; they are good, they help in bringing about a gradual change. My point is, you cannot change this vast fabric of India with its caste and other divisions, enormous divisions, provincialism and all that, by some magic wand.

Also, if you think on economic lines alone you cannot, of course; but let us suppose we think on economic lines, the question of production, of balanced production, of employment, how do we proceed about it? People argue about public sector and private sector, and it is important enough to argue about it, talk about it, discuss it. But the question is not solved by either talking about public sector or private sector or both. After all, there must be so many factors in the problem and we have to make progress. There is something left, and unless you think of the consequences of one step and prepare for the second step from today, there will be bottlenecks and stoppages. Therefore, it becomes necessary to think out these problems, not academically, but scientifically—not like Professor Saha, but scientifically, I say.

S.S. More: What is your science?

JN: My science, if I may say so, is essentially based on social statistics; not wishful thinking—except wishful thinking in the sense of the objective—but essentially based on social statistics; how we can gain something and how we can have a balanced economy, heavy industry, medium industry, light industry, cottage industry; how we can provide employment within the short space of time; and how we can generally raise the level of human happiness in the country and national strength.

It is quite possible, and I think Mr Asoka Mehta was perfectly right in pointing out, that there has been lopsided development. There has been. And, if I may say so, there has been lopsided development in most other countries too, even in trying to plan.

Now, I think that this country—I am not comparing it with any other—but taking the background in this country as it is, all these separatist backgrounds, class and caste and all that, and provincialism, it has done, I think, a pretty good job of work, through its Planning Commission in making the people conscious of the problem. It is very important that people should generally become conscious of the intricacy of the problem and begin to think in terms of planning for India as a whole. They have done a very fine job. I am not referring to any individuals, but generally. We started planning, as the House

will remember, three years or four years ago, with practically very little data. It is very difficult to plan without data. One can pass resolutions in Parliament and elsewhere as to what the objective is. Gradually, we have collected data. Gradually, we have made the states and the people in the states plan conscious. All the time, we had to face the terrific problem of food shortage in the country. We came to the conclusion rightly or wrongly that in the First Five Year Plan, the most important thing was the agricultural front. Of course, we are carrying on the river valley schemes, we have put up the Sindri and Chittaranjan factories and all kinds of other things. But, essentially, we said that food shortage was a big problem and we concentrated on that. Opinions may differ as to whether we have done something about heavy industries or not. It is a matter of opinion. But, we did that because we felt that unless we have a strong basis in the food front our industrial efforts may, well, if not fail, be bogged or checked. Hon. Members who have studied the history of other countries, probably know that too much stress on heavy industries have produced difficult problems in those countries, the socialist and the like countries. In fact, the cost paid for rapid industrialization has been terrific in some countries. I doubt if any country deliberately would pay that cost. It came their way; they paid it. I am certain that no country with any kind of parliamentary democracy can possibly pay it. May be, where they have dictatorship with an army behind it they may perhaps do it. Even there, I doubt it because, no dictator can go on too far without the consent of the people. You have to consider this. I am quite sure in my mind that real progress must ultimately depend on industrialization. That industrialization ultimately depends on heavy industries. Other things are good but heavy industries are more important. Of course, other things are important too; I am not saying that if we want to raise our standard of living, heavy industries are essential. It is admitted. But, if I go in for heavy industries alone and not think of the other factors, it is quite possible that our problems may become much more difficult. It is quite possible that unemployment might grow. We have to face the problems which China has to face. Of course, we have many kinds of reports about China. There are good accounts and true accounts. There is terrific unemployment in China. Their leader says so. They are trying to face it; may be in a different way. The problem comes up before us. We want higher techniques. We cannot progress without higher techniques. The moment we think of higher techniques, we will cause unemployment. We do not want unemployment; we want more employment. We talk of rationalization and the rest. These difficulties come up. One has to balance them. We have to see how we can go ahead on all fronts.

Shri Meghnad Saha has, fortunately, returned to the House. May I repeat something about his reference to our national laboratories as having done nothing worthwhile in the industrial field?

Meghnad Saha: May I interrupt? I have not said anything like that.

Some hon. Members: Shri Asoka Mehta said so.

Mr Chairman: Yesterday it was said.

Some hon. Members: By Shri Asoka Mehta.

JN: It does not matter really. I am glad that Shri Meghnad Saha is of the opinion that the national laboratories are worthwhile and that they have done good work.

S.S. More: He has not said that.

Meghnad Saha: I have not said that also.

JN: Well, Shri Meghnad Saha is neutral on that subject.

Having had something to do with these national laboratories and having met scores and scores of young scientists, men and women, who are working there, I can say that there is no finer set of young men and women in India than our young scientists. The other day, we had a small conference on atomic energy.<sup>7</sup> There were senior men present there. We heard their discourses with the respect that is always due to senior scientists. There were some young men present there too. If I may say so again with all respect to the seniors, the juniors outshone the seniors.

Meghnad Saha: May I interrupt? The particular junior scientist was my own student and I am very proud of that. The saying is:

“सर्वतो जयमन्विष्येत् पुत्राद्  
शिष्यादिच्छद् पराजयम्”

Men seek victory everywhere but seek defeat from their own sons and students.

JN: Of course, Shri Meghnad Saha is completely right. The House may remember the saying in Urdu:

“गुरु जी गुड़ ही रहे, चेले शक्कर हो गये”

7. See *post*, pp. 416-423.

I was talking about statistics. We are now engaged in trying to work out these problems as far as possible on a statistical basis. In this matter, naturally, we have asked for the help of our senior statisticians in the Statistical Institute. Such of the hon. Members as have seen the Statistical Institute in Calcutta will know what fine work they are doing and on a big scale. There are hundreds and hundreds of young people being trained there. In fact, it has become a centre of international training. There are, I think, men of twenty nationalities being trained there. Very eminent professors have come from abroad. At the present moment there are expert statisticians of world repute from a number of countries including America, England, France, Belgium, Norway, the Soviet Union, Japan, and may be one or two other countries. I am glad to say that there is peaceful coexistence among them. As I said, the problem is, we have set out for us to work out statistically as far as possible, how in ten years' time—the Finance Minister yesterday said about unemployment being ended in ten years—we can end unemployment and of course, increase production all round, how to do it in a balanced way and how much investment is necessary in heavy industries and cottage industries. It is obvious to us that we cannot do without any industries. We cannot do without cottage industries in a big way. It is not a question of conflict between them. All this has to be balanced in order to bring about this production. Of course, this requires very heavy investments. My point is this. I beg of the House and the country to consider these problems on this basis, excluding words and terms which provoke perhaps passions, excluding the sloganlike approach, but in a practical way. We have got to do this and that. We have got to produce certain things. If we have got to produce certain things, we have got to have a factory or whatever it is to produce them. If we want a factory, we have got to make the machines for a factory in India, and look ahead as to what we want five years later. We want a plan for it today. It is Professor Saha or Shri Asoka Mehta who pointed out that we have been very slow about our steel production. I accept that indictment. We might have gone faster, certainly; but, anyhow, we have woken up to this fact some time back, and we intend to go as fast as we can. For the moment we have in view at least two additional plants and we are thinking also of a third. That is, we want to quadruple our steel production in the next few years. So that, in these matters one can only approach them from this point of view of how we can bring about the greatest amount of production and the greatest employment, and the purchasing power etc., will flow from employment.

There is much discussion about the public sector and the private sector. I said the other day—said it more than once—that I attach great importance to the public sector and that the pattern of a society that we look forward to is a pattern which, broadly speaking, can only be described as a socialistic pattern of society which is classless, casteless. So far as the Congress is concerned, for a long time past it has laid down its objective as a casteless, classless society—

which can only be attained obviously in a socialistic pattern. That is agreed. But, again, I would beg of you to think of the problem not, let us say, in this way that because socialism imagines or conceives of all nationalized industry, therefore you must have all nationalized industry; I think that progressively as the socialist pattern grows, there is bound to be more and more nationalized industry, but what is important is not that there should be an attempt to nationalize everything, but the results of that. That is, what you are aiming at is production and employment. If by taking any step you actually stop the production process from growing, the employment process from growing, then that does not lead you to that socialistic pattern, although that little step might be called socialistic. What one has to do is, in a country like India, where being underdeveloped in many ways, money is lacking, where trained personnel is lacking, where experience is lacking, we have to take advantage of such experience, training, money etc., as we have got everywhere. We want to make this business of building up India a tremendous cooperative enterprise of all the people, and try to avoid mere conflicts and try to avoid taking steps, which, by themselves may be agreeable, but which really have a chilling effect on this pattern. We want to go ahead in regard to production and employment. That is the vital thing. And in order to do that, we have to create an atmosphere and encourage the initiative for that purpose.

Now, in regard to the public and the private sector, it is obvious that with all the resources that we may have in the country in the hands of the State—they are limited—we cannot do all that we want to do at the present moment. We will try to do as much as we can and perhaps we might do a good deal. But some people suggest: "You must prevent the private sector from functioning in regard to industries." I think any such idea comes from confused thinking. I do not understand this business. I want a socialist society in India, but I am not going to get it by merely passing resolutions and slogans. I want India to move in that direction carrying a large number of people with it. I want to get rid of this framework of an acquisitive society.

S.S. More: Do you want the consent of the capitalists?

JN: I might even seek the consent of Mr More occasionally.

S.S. More: But Mr More is not a capitalist.

JN: It is obvious there is no question of asking for people's consent, and especially we do not go and seek the consent of the landlords before we have land legislation. It is absurd. But, nevertheless, we have land legislation in a way so as not to throw the landlords to the wolves. That is, we try to fit them into our future structure. As a matter of fact, hon. Members might know that

the landlords, say of UP, apart from a few, have been terribly hard hit by the land legislation; vast numbers, hundreds of thousands—I am not talking about small numbers—have been hit very hard indeed.<sup>8</sup> Well, that is a consequence of a social change. One cannot help it, and many of them, realise it and accept it. We have not made them enemies. The other process is to make other people your enemies, call them enemies, and instead of getting some help from them, actually get obstruction from them. That I say is a wrong process either logically or from any point of view.

There is no question of our asking the permission of any capitalist or anything. But the point is, we have got this policy; whatever policy we lay down, we go ahead with it, but we always try to win over even those who suffer from that policy. One cannot win over everybody, but we will create an atmosphere of cooperation with us. I am too humble a person to talk big, but that at least is some little lesson we learnt from Gandhiji. He was a hard man in regard to the policies he considered vital, but he was always trying to win over even his opponent and his enemy—whether it was, politically—the British, or whoever it was. Therefore, I submit that I would be glad if we made it perfectly clear what our objective is, what the socialist pattern of society means for us. But, having made that clear, let us not get lost in language, let us not think that we have done everything.

It is far better to think in objective terms, than be involved in this, that and the other. We want fuller employment. How are we to get it? We want industry. In order to get a socialist pattern of society, we have to break through, it is true, a certain crust of structure, call it an economic structure or a social structure. In the social structure, I would include caste and everything which inhibits progress, which comes in the way, which prevents the full growth, the full initiative being exercised by masses of people. I want to release that energy of the people. It is true that energy is released, may be, by a violent revolution, but then you pay for that revolution heavily, and it takes a generation or half a generation at least, before you get over that, and there is a tremendous hiatus, and therefore, one has gradually to get out of that old crust. The old feudal crust was broken by the capitalist order when it came—the new capitalist order. We have to get out of this capitalist crust, and go in a socialist direction. As a matter of fact, all over the world this process is continuing, because of the nature of things. Some individuals might talk somewhere in a distant country about private enterprise and *laissez faire*, but nobody, practically nobody, believes in *laissez faire*. There is regulation and control all over the place in

8. The zamindars had made representations to the Government that they were not receiving rents from their tenants because of the proposals for abolition of intermediary interests and hence were unable to pay their tax-arrears. They wanted the Government to realize their tax-arrears from their compensations which were to be paid by the Government.

regard to industry and imports and exports. The State everywhere, even in the most highly developed countries of the capitalist economy, functions in a way which possibly a socialist fifty years ago did not dream of. That has happened. But I am not saying that we should follow that slow course. I say let us go swifter and faster in that direction, definitely of a socialistic economy, but let us go in a balanced way. Let us get as much help as we can; and I do not see any harm at all, in fact I see a lot of good, in the private sector functioning.

I just reminded the House of a fact which perhaps it has not kept in mind, that our biggest private sector is the peasant, and the peasant, by the nature of things, is a conservative person, is far more conservative than the industrial worker or other. I am not going into the land problem now, but obviously by the abolition of the landlord system, we have not solved the land problem. Obviously, many other steps have to be taken. But here is this economy—of which whatever the percentage may be, I do not know, seventy, eighty or ninety per cent or whatever it may be—which is an agrarian economy based on a private sector. What are you going to do with it? Well, we change it gradually.

The Finance Minister said something about rural credit and rural banking.<sup>9</sup> I think that it is a tremendous thing to release the energies of this vast countryside, if we do it rapidly and thoroughly. These are the things which you can discuss, and I am sure hon. Members of the Opposition could put forward many ideas which should be helpful. Merely to denounce it or repudiate it does not help at all.

Therefore, one has to think in terms of our objectives, keeping them over in mind, the objectives being, I say, to put it in that way, a socialized pattern of society. We want to attain that, the real objectives being happiness of all our people. To put it in a more restricted way, we want full employment, and much greater production to raise our levels. To put it yet in a different way, we want to attain these things in a peaceful democratic way. We think that is the best way to attain them, because that prevents conflict, or lessens conflict; and therefore, ultimately, it is the speedier way, and it does not leave these trails of bitterness behind, which are very harmful both to the State and to the individual. And within the State, we have to proceed as cooperatively as possible.

Now that might be good enough for any country, but for India, more specially, I think, it is even more necessary that we pursue that path, because

9. On 20 December 1954, C.D. Deshmukh informed the Lok Sabha that the Government had accepted the recommendations of the Committee for conducting All-India Rural Credit Survey appointed by the RBI in 1951. This was meant to create a commercial banking institution with a countrywide-spread of branches to facilitate development of rural banking in order to increase flow of adequate rural credit for purposes of agriculture and small scale industries.

of the great diversity of India, because, unfortunately, of the fissiparous tendencies, whether they are provincial, state, caste, communal, religious or whatever they are. We have got so many things to fight against in this country, and if we lose sight of this broad picture and merely go in one direction, well, we might upset the whole applecart.

I now come to the public sector. From this larger point of view, it is obvious, in a country as undeveloped as we are, quite apart from the objectives, we cannot progress except by State initiative, except by enlarging the public sector, and except also by controlling the private sector in a measure, i.e., the important points of the private sector. I cannot obviously go into the question where the line should be drawn. But the line will ever be a changing one because the public sector will be a growing one, and the point is that the strategic points must be controlled by the State. The strategic industries, and the strategic points in the private sector must be controlled by the State. Having said that, I should also like to say this. If I am right, Shri Asoka Mehta said something yesterday about the harassment or something caused to the private sector. I agree with him that we should control the private sector, the strategic points in the private sector. Having said that, if you leave something to the private sector, give them freedom to function within those strategic controls; it is absurd to ask them to function, denying them room to function there, denying them the initiative. We have them because presumably we think they will add to our common good in production. And if we deny them, in that sphere demarcated for them also, any initiative, then they are useless and helpless; it is better to take the whole thing then into the public sector.

If I may repeat, our policy must be, inevitably, one of raising production and increasing employment as rapidly as possible. In doing that, we can devise means. In doing that, it is essential that the public sector should grow as rapidly as possible. I think under circumstances in India today, it is quite necessary that the private sector should function under certain broad strategic controls, but otherwise with freedom, with initiative, etc., within those limits. But the controls are there, because we have to think of the public sector, and the private sector is part of the Plan, is a coordinated part of the Plan; this is where the strategic part of the Plan; this is where the strategic controls come in. That is to say, you have to think of the whole purpose, the business of building up India as one large-scale enterprise, cooperative enterprise, in which every group and every part of India shares. That is the only way I can conceive of it. There are people, naturally, in India, who are selfish, who are bad, who are corrupt, and who are everything, I do not say, everybody in India. But you have to create an atmosphere, so as to bring in as many people as possible to help in their own way. And we have to be wide awake all the time, so as to change our line of demarcation, for there is no limit to the public sector, and it can take anything it can. I do not wish to limit the public sector at all anywhere.

Whatever we can, we take. But our resources are limited, the state's resources are limited. It is no good my preventing somebody else doing something which I cannot do myself; that is just folly, because thereby we lose something which might be done.

The Finance Minister calls this pragmatic approach. It is pragmatic in the sense that the pragmatic approach itself look in a certain direction, has certain objectives and definite ideas about it. But otherwise, it is based on an objective consideration of things as they are, and we can constantly vary any line to that extent.

Reference has been made to the Industrial Policy statement of 1948. It is a broad statement. It does not go into any details. Shri Asoka Mehta referred to it as something moth-eaten. I really do not know what he meant by it, unless he said that he wants to go a little further. I think basically that statement is a very good statement. One can add to it. One can implement it. One can give more emphasis. But I see absolutely nothing in it which is wrong from our present point of view, and I think it is a good indication of how we should proceed.

May be, in the course of the next few months, we shall have to consider the Second Five Year Plan, and in that Second Five Year plan, it is obvious that we shall have to lay much greater stress on industry. It is obvious that we shall have to lay much greater stress on the public sector of the industry in that Five Year Plan;<sup>10</sup> also, the private sector, of course, will be there. I hope in fact that this House will have full opportunity to consider that even in its draft stage. The idea apparently is that a draft Plan should be prepared for discussion, i.e., the draft Second Five Year Plan, and after full discussion, not only in Parliament but outside in the country, later, i.e., some months later, it should be finalized. That will be the time for us to consider many of these details and lay down not only broad policies, but even more definite policies in regard to particular sectors.<sup>11</sup>

10. On 11 November 1954, C.D. Deshmukh stated that out of a total outlay of Rs. 5,500 crores for the Second Five Year Plan, approximately Rs. 3,000 crores were to be spent on developing the public sector industries.

11. At the end of the debate, the following motion was adopted: "i) the policy of the Government is in harmony with the policy statement of the 6 April 1948; ii) the objective of our economic policy should be a socialistic pattern of society; iii) towards this and the tempo of economic activity in general and industrial development in particular should be stepped up to the maximum possible extent."

#### 4. Towards a Socialist Economy<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

There is a slight conflict at the present moment in our country, and in other countries that are situated like us, between raising the level of living of people and more employment. And you must remember that, there is all the time a conflict between living standards and more employment. If you lay greater stress on employment, the result is possibly lowering the level of living. If you lay greater stress on raising the level of living, you may have more unemployment. You have to balance the two. You cannot do too much of either. You cannot raise the level of many at the cost of great unemployment, because that will be socially bad. On the other hand, if you put an end to unemployment in such a way that you never raise the level, then you have missed the bus, you are not getting anywhere at all. You remain poor. So the problem becomes one of very delicate balancing, and the basis of it is more wealth production. If you don't produce more wealth, all your schemes of distribution fail, because there is nothing much to distribute. So, how to combine more production and more employment is the problem.

In a country like India—an underdeveloped country—socialism, a real socialist basis of society, can only come gradually. There is no help for it. Take the instance of China. They are very keen on changing their economy, and there are no such difficulties as we have, i.e., parliamentary institutions and all kinds of three readings and select committees, all of which take a long time. They can pass a law overnight, if they want to. Nevertheless, they go on saying that it will take them twenty years to lay the socialist basis of their society, to have a socialist economy, in spite of all the speed with which they may work. They go on saying they are not opposed to compulsion. We may say we are opposed to compulsion. They are not. Nevertheless, no country, however strong it may be, can ultimately compel large numbers of people. As here, they have got vast number of peasants. They can press them, they can carry on propaganda amongst them and they can do everything. In the final analysis, they have to win them over; and they cannot go against widespread wishes of the peasantry there. And the peasantry there at the present moment is carrying on as small owners and there is no proposal to change that there. All that they propose to do is to have cooperatives. They have got one or two Collectives, just one or two. There is no escape from this either for China or for us. There is no escape from the fact that they have to build up wealth in

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 22 December 1954. *AICC Economic Review*, Vol. VI, No. 17, 1 January 1955.

order to distribute, in order to have a basis for socialism and, therefore, they in spite of everything, tolerate a great deal of private enterprise, although it is regulated and controlled—of course, in every way more controlled, more regulated than we do.

If by adopting some method, which in theory appeals to us, we reduce our production, then we are really, in effect, undermining the growth towards socialism, although that particular step may well be called a socialistic step. For instance, I am quite clear in my mind, if we start nationalizing existing institutions, industries, etc., by giving compensation, we reduce our capacity to go ahead. Here you have to be clear about one thing in your minds. Are we going in for possible seizure, expropriation without compensation or are we not? Generally speaking, if we go in for possible seizure, then we think out the consequences of that, the consequences of conflict, the consequences of suffering of large numbers. Now, so far as our Constitution is concerned, that is ruled out. But, apart from the Constitution, our general policy has been opposed to it. You know that only yesterday I introduced the Amendment of the Constitution Bill.<sup>2</sup> It is a fairly lengthy thing and we have given an enormous amount of thought to that. I don't say it is perfect. It may be that after discussion we change it here and there. But I may tell you that we discussed it a number of times, in the Cabinet, in Cabinet Committees, in a Special Committee, with the Chief Ministers whom we summoned here; then we referred the matter to the state governments, got their opinions, and there was a great deal of difference of opinion, not on principles, but on the approach to this question. And you will see that we decided ultimately to lay down specifically certain items where a particular part of the Constitution need not apply. That does not mean that we are not going to give compensation. The need for all this has arisen from the decisions of some courts, Supreme Court and High Courts, which have compelled us to take this step. If you read the speeches delivered in the Constituent Assembly, at the time when these matters were brought up, I spoke on that occasion and made it absolutely clear what our view was. The Supreme Court has completely differed from those views and we have to accept their interpretation.<sup>3</sup> And so the only way now is to change the Constitution. We can't help it.

But this change, first of all, applies only to specific things, and even there it does not say that in regard to those things there is not going to be any compensation. It merely says that the compensation will be decided by the

2. On 20 December 1954 Nehru introduced the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill in the Lok Sabha. The amendment proposed that when the State compulsorily acquired private property for public purpose, the scale of compensation prescribed by the authorizing legislation could not be challenged in a court.

3. See *post*, p. 487.

legislature. Supreme Court has, in fact practically speaking, denied the right of the legislature to do it. They have taken, I think, a very extreme view of private rights. We acknowledge private rights, of course, but there is such a thing as a private right coming in the way of a public right, or social reforms in a large way. If I take a house from somebody, I pay him full compensation. If a government takes a house or a factory or anything from a person, it gives him normally full compensation. But if we have certain types of legislations, like our land legislations, where you have to deal with a large number of houses, there you cannot give full compensation; it is physically impossible. No country can do so. So we brought this amendment. The Socialist Party, and more so, the communists, get rid of this difficulty by saying: "Seize all these properties, whether it is foreign property or Indian property, without paying any compensation." Now, if you reject that, and I think we should, then other consequences follow. You must follow them up. You cannot mix up the two lines of reasoning and thinking. I might tell you that morals apart—so far as I am concerned, there is no question of morals attached to private property at all—there are certain practical considerations. We have got examples of expropriation in Russia, and China—may be elsewhere too. But if you examine them, they were all done at the moment of civil wars, revolutions, etc. It is not done in times of normal peaceful government. In fact, in Russia, in the course of the civil war, most of the big landlords ran away leaving the land behind. There was nobody to take it. The peasants took possession of the land. Among the landowning interests that remained behind, some adapted themselves to changed conditions, some fought against them, became traitors—according to their thinking. In short, the conditions were different. In China also the same thing happened.

Some Russian Communists told me seventeen years ago that they were perfectly prepared to give full compensation to the foreigners who owned property in Russia. For them there was no morality involved; it was worthwhile for them to do so, because they would get some goods in exchange for that. They were prepared to pay ten million pounds or fifteen million pounds, and, throughout this period of Russian Revolution, the Soviet Union has consistently fulfilled its obligations; and money it has borrowed, it has repaid promptly and consistently, just to create a feeling of confidence in other people who deal with them. Therefore, to instil that feeling of confidence, they were prepared to pay compensation even to the foreigners. These are, therefore, not questions of high morals. They involve practical considerations. We pay, I do not exactly recollect, about five crores a year to the princes. Now, it hurts me to think that we pay all this sum to them, to three hundred to four hundred persons. And yet, remember that that settlement which Sardar Patel brought about in about a month's time was of enormous advantage to us, politically, in every way. Suddenly, this problem which was supposed to be the most difficult of all was

settled, and nobody was more surprised than the British people who expected big trouble here. And the world was surprised and our prestige rose high because of the way we settled it. These things you can't weigh in cost. If that had not happened, we might have had all kinds of conflicts.

People do not generally realize how many years it took the Soviet Union to get the machines running. We see Russia today, forty years after the Revolution. It took them years to get machines moving. Take one simple instance. In their Constitution they said, in a sense as we say, compulsory free primary education for everybody. As far as I remember, it took them fifteen years to do that, inspite of all the power of the State. These things do take time, you cannot help it, because it is not only the money factor but numerous other factors.

I think it is advantageous for the public sector to have a competitive private sector to keep them up to the mark. The public sector will grow. But I feel that if the private sector is not there, it is abolished completely, there is a risk of the public sector becoming slow—not having that urge and push behind it. It depends on men, of course. On the whole, it is a good thing to have a private sector, something where the surplus energies of people who are not employed in the public sector may have some play, provided, of course, that you control that private sector in the interest of your national plan. You can control it in a hundred ways. Control it by all means. But where you do not control, give them room to exercise initiative and bring results. That is only a sort of a broad approach to this problem. I can understand, of course, that a government may gradually take steps which might be said to be in a wrong direction. It may strengthen the existing structure of society rather than weaken it. But in the final analysis, we want to break through the existing structure, the economic as well as the social, because it restricts progress. That is why we have broken the zamindari structure, not because zamindars were good or bad, but because the system restricted progress. A country cannot grow if it allows rigid structures. And we have to break through them still more. Similarly, we have to break through what might be called a capitalist structure and have something else. But breaking through it has to be in a way so as to replace it all the time, and to begin with, while even it exists, to control it.

The first question that comes now after all this experience of the last three or four years of planning is that we want that our next step should be much more based on social statistics. We are pursuing that. Secondly, the time has come now for us to lay a greater stress on heavy industry. When we made the last Plan, we were overwhelmed by the food situation, by the agricultural situation and by the desire to have a strong agrarian base for our economy. In a country like ours, it does not matter how many big industries we may start, if the agrarian base collapses, everything is affected by it. Therefore, we have to have a strong agrarian base. I do not say we have got a very firm agrarian

base, but it is fairly satisfactory now. It may create difficulties and we shall make it stronger and stronger in the course of the next few years.

Now, we can turn to big industries also in a big way. Again, when you turn to big industry, we have to avoid, let us say, what Russia did. They turned to big industries so much that it created tremendous upsets and tremendous miseries there. They may say that they were forced to do so because they were anxious to strengthen their defence forces. This was their main objective, because they were surrounded by what they considered were their enemies. They said that they must have the biggest defence force, biggest industries, tanks, aeroplanes, armies and all that. So they did that at the cost of enormous misery to their people. One may say, and perhaps with justification, that if they had not done that, they might have lost the last War. But the fact is that they were compelled by very special circumstances to act in the way they did. They did it for their survival, though at great cost. It did upset their economy.

The Chinese are a wise people. The Chinese had this Russian example before them. They have not followed it wholly. They are building up their heavy industries, of course, but laying great stress on other factors too. Keeping their agricultural goal as it is, except for the cooperatives, they are deliberately going slow, because there is a danger and risk of upsetting the whole business if they went too fast on the agricultural base. In short, one has to consider all these questions in the light of the situation in each country.

Again, we talk about war in this country; we talk about peace. The fact of the matter is that there is no conflict or fear in our minds about war. I do not want any fear in our minds. But the atmosphere in India in this respect and in some other countries, is very different from the atmosphere of Europe where war is a terrible danger overhanging all the time and where there is much greater realization of what war is than we have. We talk a great deal about war. Really, it has no significance for us except as a slogan. But in Europe there is an emotional feeling of this danger all the time. So the whole context is different. Fortunately, we have not got to face that type of danger. It is a good thing. We have really no danger of war or anything in this country. Analyze the situation. There is, except for two or three exceptions that I will name to you, absolutely no chance of our coming into conflict with any other country on war basis. What are the exceptions? Three, if you like—Pakistan, Goa, and on the international level, South Africa. With all other countries we are completely friendly, whether they like our policies or not, whether it is the East Bloc or the West Bloc. Pakistan stands on a separate footing. In spite of everything, however, our relations with Pakistan are not under any great strain at present. Of course, the basic problems remain. But, generally speaking, there is no acute passion on that side. There has never been on this side. And there the press and everything has toned down very much. But, of course, their political and economic conditions are very bad and changes occur there all the time.

Well, Goa is important in a way, but not important in a national sense. When I talk of Goa, people get excited. Why don't you do this, why don't you march an army? I asked Premier Chou En-lai about Macao, that is a small Portuguese possession in China, just like Goa, of about the same size. He laughed, and said: "Like Goa". He is not doing anything to Macao. He tolerates it. He said: "Why should I needlessly bother myself about Macao? Macao is bound to come to me". So in short, our international position is a good one. Why should we in our country drift away from our normal peaceful progress and think in terms of big conflicts, etc., which were imposed by circumstances on Russia and China? Nobody invites those conflicts, civil wars—they were all imposed. Some people talk here as if there is no way out except to go through that mill, which is absurd. So we have to think along these lines of peaceful change. But that does not mean that it has to be a slow thing; and it is a question for history to answer how far we can, how fast we can progress without losing our bearing. I want you to think on completely different lines.

If you look at the world today, with all these conflicts and danger of wars, you will see that all this is, perhaps, an inevitable development of the growth of the Industrial Revolution which started one hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago. As it has grown it has produced problems. Those problems would have been produced much earlier, but for the fact that the industrialized countries of the West had the whole of Asia and Africa to play about and to profit by it. So, they rose in prosperity without any internal conflicts. But gradually those conflicts came. They came to conflict with each other—the German War, and the other wars. The internal conflicts of the Industrial Revolution, as it functions under the capitalist structure, come up more and more. The East and Africa get industrialized, and it is difficult to see, logically, how this can go on as it is under the capitalist structure. There must be some other structure. Apart from that, this tremendous process of industrialization has brought enormous changes in human beings. You see this most of all in America. You will probably see them as much in Russia. Quite apart from capitalism and communism, both Russia and America are the two countries which worship the machine, although their policies may be different. America is the most highly industrialized country, and, therefore, the most wealthy country. Russia aims at that, and is going pretty fast in that direction. Other countries of Europe, however industrialized they might be, are behind them in a sense.

But all this Industrial Civilisation has created terrific problems in society and in the individual. Of course, the final picture of that problem is the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb—the result of the Industrial Revolution. It is important that in any industrial policy that we may have, we should keep in view, call it if you like the moral factor—I would prefer to call it the cultural aspect—which includes morality in a broad sense. A man must remain a man, not become a machine even though he might have much money afterwards. He

must have human qualities, human growth and all that which the machine is gradually putting an end to. I am all for the machine, but I am not afraid of the machine. I am pointing out that unless you balance this growth, the machine might as well kill the man through atom bomb or something else. Now, do you realise what the present position is in regard to the hydrogen bomb? It is difficult to say, of course, but very eminent scientists, physicists, Nobel Prize winners are of opinion that even the five or six hydrogen bomb experiments that have occurred have affected the atmosphere of the world for the worse; and if another five or six experiments are made, they may affect so badly as to gradually, slowly, kill life, generally affecting lungs, heart, skin and everything. Maybe, it takes five or ten years for a person to die off, but he will gradually wither away. This is merely if the experiments go on. But if a war occurs and ten to twenty hydrogen bombs are dropped, it is a terrific prospect. All your other ideas—socialism, communism, capitalism, Gandhism, become rather out of place, when this is the thing that faces one. One cannot do anything about it, not much, any way. But the only thing one can do is to build up one's own country; build it up as strong as possible and build it up also on some strong basis of character and discipline.

## I. ECONOMY

### (ii) Planning

#### 1. Towards a Socialist Society<sup>1</sup>

Friends, I welcome you all here but I must say that I feel somewhat overwhelmed by looking at these ranks of big planners. It almost seems to me that the first object of a plan should be to plan for our own meetings, when perhaps we are in a better position to discuss matters, than to have large public meetings with a huge crowd, where it is impossible to discuss anything except, to deliver speeches to each other or at each other. I am very happy to see all of you here; we met more than a year ago.

Now, I do not know what your own feelings are about this past year and about the present and the future that we are planning for, because I do feel that

1. Address at the two-day meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 9 November 1954. File No. 17(17)/56-PMS.

we have arrived at a very definite stage in planning and in our work. Planning, of course, is a continuous process, it has to be; there is no end to planning. We have a Five Year Plan, there will be a Second Five Year Plan, third, fourth and the fifth as far as can be conceived. Now, when we started this planning, it resulted after a little while, in the First Five Year Plan and now we have been working on the First Five Year Plan for three years. I think our achievements have been very considerable and very creditable. And they can well bear comparison with achievement elsewhere. Naturally, those achievements have to be seen in a particular background in which we are functioning. It is no good, obviously, comparing our productive capacity with that of the United States of America or the United Kingdom or Soviet Russia, because conditions are different; they had a long run. But taking all these matters into consideration, I think that our achievements have been considerable. We have passed the food crisis; we have got a sounder economy; we have laid certain foundations on which we can build, and we have put up and have gone much further with a large number of big enterprises, the larger river valley schemes and others. At the same time, of course, we are at the beginning of the problem, and we must remember that. If I may say so, thus far we have considerable achievements to our credit—thus far, we have been preparing for planning. These are the initial stages, when we have been grouping in the direction of planning. That was inevitable because we did not have and we could not have all the information, data, statistics, which are essential for planning. Planning is not putting down just as you want; planning is not merely giving priority to all things which you wish to do. Planning is something wider and deeper. We could not do that in the earlier stages because we just did not have enough data etc. Not that we have got it all now, but we have got much more; at any rate, we are in the process of getting much more. So in this sense I said that we are at a stage, a definite stage. Now, the first thing I should imagine about planning is to have a definite picture of where you are going to; one cannot frame vaguely, just doing good deeds from day to day like the Boy Scouts, or putting up good enterprises which are good, of course, but we have to have some definite picture. I do not mean to say it should be a rigid picture; it may be a changing picture as we gather experience, information, etc. Nevertheless, we have to plan for something. Of course, we may lay down criteria as we have done, in terms of human welfare, in terms of the welfare of the Indian people. That is a very good way to do it. That, too, involves ultimately some specific and definite views about the structure of society that you are aiming at. Are we thinking of continuing the present structure as it is more or less, or of changing it considerably? Now, we happen to live at the present juncture of events at an all exciting period in world history from every point of view—political, economic and social. Vast changes have taken place and are taking place, not merely because of the activities of planners—more or less they are

regarded as limbs—but because of other basic factors. Everybody knows of the vast changes that came into operation in the world in the train of the Industrial Revolution, a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, gradually, but still it changed the face of the world. That change continues, of course. Call it the Industrial Revolution, its continuance or anything else you like. But it is a continuing process and the pace is ever faster.

We talk now about being on the threshold of the atomic age and people get mixed up with the atom bomb and wars. That is important, no doubt—the bomb is important anyhow—we cannot ignore the bomb if it hits us on the head or our city, but the real importance of this is the release of enormous force which atomic energy envisages for use—good or evil use. So, if you like, this is a new phase or a continuation of the old phase of tremendous changes. I say this because we in India, as in many other countries, are excessively conservative in our thinking—not political, not even economic, but generally social thinking—we are a conservative people. We seem to imagine that the basic things—basic social or economic or other structures are, well, something fundamental, something belonging to the eternities. Criticisms are made about our Government or our Planning Commission being too revolutionary, or trying to change too much the economic or social structure of society. I have not seen these tremendous revolutionary changes other than, if I may say so, being made either by our Government or the Planning Commission—still, because of this conservative way of looking at things or being afraid of change. It is not a question of our liking or disliking change. It is a problem of our being wide awake and realizing that which is hitting us on the head all the time, our structures and everything else, and sometimes it comes with a rush. Because of these developments—I am not talking so much of political developments now, but released by new forces which come, which are used by humanity for good or evil purposes. And, then, there are, of course, political and other things. So, the world is an exciting place.

I said the other day as I was leaving for China that the two most exciting countries to my thinking were India and China. They are different, of course, in their approach, in the way they are doing things, but they are similar also in dealing with similar problems. It is odd as I flew over China, I thought I might have been flying over the flood areas of Bihar—almost the same thing, the same picture came before me—vast floods as in Bihar, Assam and north Bengal. It was the same picture in Central China, exactly the same problems as we had to face. Now, we are different in other matters, but we are underdeveloped countries, poverty-stricken people more or less, chiefly agricultural, trying to industrialize ourselves. Two tremendous countries, tremendous populations, tremendous problems. The way they deal with them will inevitably be partly the same—as we deal with them or they deal with them, they are undoubtedly different too—but the point is that the mere fact of dealing with these vast

populations in changing the face is an exacting operation—vast countries and peoples—changing them not at the top, not by law passed by Parliament here—but changing the human will, bettering, and all that, and taking him out of that static condition of mind and social habit which has been his lot for a long time.

I wish to lay stress on that. The Planning Commission is of no use at all if it has a static outlook. That way, we sit, we sleep, we rest. One must have that dynamic outlook of change, change of every kind—political, of course, economic and social. There are all kinds of arguments, sometimes about socialism, communism, capitalism, Gandhism, private enterprise and so on and so forth. I am not going into those arguments, but it seems that even those arguments have taken a shape which is normally associated with a rigid, dogmatic, semi-religious outlook, i.e., holding fast to a set idea, some slogan, and trying to fit in your thought to that slogan rather than fitting yourself and understanding the changing conditions. Take private enterprise. Undoubtedly, it is useful so far as our country is concerned; we wish to encourage it, but the dominance which private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period is no more. It is out of date in that sense of the word, completely out of date. For a planner, it has a very secondary place. Anyhow, a system based on what is called the acquisitiveness of society is absolutely out of date; in modern thinking it is also considered immoral. I consider it immoral, that is basing your society purely on the acquisitive instinct. That does not mean that we are doing away with private enterprise. I think there is much scope for it, and where you allow private enterprise, you should give scope, freedom and encouragement to it to develop, but we must realize that the day of the acquisitive element in society has not passed but, is passing. Other factors are coming in—social and other factors. Other countries which are highly capitalistic in their structure, even there the social element is increasing at a tremendous pace. In other countries it is deliberately increased. Here, other forces increase it. Therefore, we have to think on these lines and get out of the static habit of thinking, and I think we should be clear, broadly speaking, about the picture we are aiming at. The picture I have in mind is definitely and absolutely a socialistic picture of society. I am not using the word in a dogmatic sense at all, but in the sense of meaning largely that the means of production should be socially-owned and controlled for the benefit of society as a whole. There is plenty of room for private enterprise there, provided the main aim is kept clear. Then, again, speaking of conditions in India and the way we have been working, we have in the political sphere and more so in the same way in the economic sphere, brought about changes democratically and peacefully, even though that change might appear to take a little more time than the other. I do not think it takes more time, i.e., if people are capable and keen on doing it. I think that in the long run the democratic and peaceful method is more successful even from the point of

view of time and much more so from the point of view, I think, of final results. Therefore, we have to proceed along with some kind of work applying that method of approach to that. We have to realize that we are not functioning in a vacuum in the world. All kinds of forces are at play—political, economic and the rest and there is a very great element of urgency, not only because we want to better our country, but because other forces are compelling us to think of these problems in that urgent manner. In a sense, we, as a Government or as a country, like other countries at the present stage, are on trial. Every country is on trial in the world—every country big or small, rich or poor. Certainly we are, and we shall be judged in the ultimate analysis by what we achieve—there is no other test—just like, if there is a war, the only test is whether you win the war or get defeated and not by the arguments and excuses that might be put forward later. That is the only test. So the test will be achievement. Now what are we wanting? We want progress—that involves various things. For instance, our rate of investment should go up, our production and employment should go up. These are the various obvious things. How are we to do it? All this, in a sense, is connected with our rate of investment. We as an underdeveloped country, industrially underdeveloped, have continually to fight trying to cross that barrier of underdevelopment, so that we may be able to go a little faster. I think that we have laid sound foundations and we are capable of going a little faster ahead and the more rapidly we go, of course, the more rapid the pace of our advance will be. Now the rate of investment depends, I suppose, on many factors. But it does involve industrialization and industrial growth at a fairly rapid pace. Industrial growth will help employment no doubt. But statisticians tell us how much it costs to employ one man say, in a heavy industry, it comes to a big sum, Rs. 10,000 or something like that. If you work out the problem of employing all the unemployed in India at that rate, it is some astronomical figure. Yet, it is quite essential for industrial growth and for industrialization, in order to produce more and ultimately build up a better economy and be independent of other countries more or less. It involves many things of course. Industrialization requires all kinds of ancillary industries in which the services etc., will grow up. In India as it is today, we have laid stress, sometimes perhaps rather casually, sometimes because we believe in it, on small industries and cottage industries. I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that the employment problem can only be dealt with by that. I mean to say that it will be dealt with by other ways too, but we will not solve the unemployment problem, until we lay the greatest stress on small and cottage and village industries, and also by attaching the greatest importance to heavy industries. It is not a question of giving a secondary place to either of them. Both have to be tackled. In that way only I think we can go ahead fairly fast, both in regard to production and in regard to employment and they act and react on each other.

Now, if we think in terms of building up our industry, we must give up the idea of continually getting machines from abroad. We must build them here. I see it is just obvious and yet, I find our thinking is different. Our departments, government departments and others try to get things from abroad and have a peculiar way of calculating to show how it is cheaper to get things from abroad. That I call a perverted mind, absolutely perverted. Anything that comes from abroad is more expensive than anything produced by Indian labour even though it may cost ten times as much. I do not say you should always do that. We must think in a different way of this business of getting things from abroad, because they happen to be slightly cheaper and forgetting that there is a human problem in India, of employment, production and building up our economy. I cannot understand it. We must aim at producing machines, the basic things here. We have to get them from abroad to begin with, but we should not go on getting them, we should build them here. And those basic industries, therefore, are quite essential for our development, more essential than all your river valley schemes, if I may say so, except for the power element. Power is essential. The two things most essential perhaps are power and speed among other things. So, one has to see, one has to balance of course, how far you can concentrate on making things at the cost of, say, the consumer goods. You cannot go on putting burdens on your people. Nevertheless, you must always realize what you are aiming at.

Now, in all these matters the question of personnel comes up. I do not think money really is the major difficulty. The major difficulty is trained personnel and every underdeveloped country has to face that grave difficulty. What are we to do? We want trained personnel in hundreds of thousands. This is odd. We talk about unemployment. I get cases of trained engineers seeking employment and yet we want thousands of engineers. It shows an utter lack of the planning apparatus; competent men seeking employment and our lacking competent men at the same time, of the same type almost, is very odd. But that is getting less and less, of course. This lack of trained personnel is a tremendous problem. We are of course thinking about it; and thinking about it more and more in an organized way, if I may say so, in a statistical way how many do we want on this job, not vaguely. We have at the Planning Commission's request, set up a statistical cell for planning, in Statistical Institute in Calcutta, which is not only considering this question of the personnel required, but also working out what we can do in ten years' time or whatever period you lay down to increase employment, increase production, and so on.<sup>2</sup> You can, at

2. Union Planning Commission had asked the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, to conduct studies relating to planning for national development in collaboration with the Central Statistical Organisation. Twelve research units were set up in the Institute for this purpose. Nehru inaugurated the Units on 3 November 1954.

least on paper now, see how problems are solving themselves and will be solved in the course of the next ten or fifteen years. As I said, planning is a continuous process. It means also that you have to think of what you want to happen at the end of, say fifteen years, not merely what is to happen now. You have to be aiming at what is to happen in, say ten, fifteen or even twenty years.

I was referring to personnel. We have got this great difficulty that training takes time. Apart from the apparatus of training, institutions etc., that have to be built up, the training itself takes time. If you want a doctor, quite apart from his normal education it takes time, five years at least. The same is the case with engineers or men for any kind of specialized activity, it requires training. The only specialized activity which does not require training is that of a politician, for that no training whatever is required. It only requires a certain aptitude, a certain amount of gumption. I don't mean that it applies to every politician, otherwise we cannot get on. I mean to say there is no standard of training there, obviously there is none. You will find highly qualified and highly trained people and totally untrained people also, because there is no standard laid down whatsoever.

Now, what are we to do if training requires five years, for competent training? We want the men. Are we to tell the Planning Commission, "Well, wait for five years for working your plans. We will then give you doctors, engineers and others." That means, stop all your work. That is not good enough. On the other hand, it is said that it is dangerous to lower your standards whether it be for medical or engineering or teaching or whatever it be. That is how we have to consider these problems. But it is quite essential that we should do something. It is no good telling me that it will take a few years. That is not good enough, depriving millions of people of these services because you are keeping up your standards. What are you keeping your standard up for? For a limited number of people sitting in a few cities or towns or selected parts, when you may get very highly qualified people, when millions are lacking even the very elementary services? I would even be willing to send half qualified or quarter-qualified hands, so that these people may get something, during this transitional period. By all means keep up your standards, but meanwhile you have to deal with this particular situation. After all when there is a fire everybody applies his hands to it. I say this, because, otherwise the whole of your planning will collapse completely, because of this bottleneck of not having enough trained men.

Fortunately, we have probably more trained men in India than in any Asian country, apart from Japan. I don't know, probably they have it in Japan. I am not talking for the moment of the Soviet part of Asia. I think probably we have more trained people than in any Asian country. But it is a small number still, from the point of view of what we are aiming at. Therefore, it becomes highly important from now, to have training institutes of all grades and types

for these people whom we require for our particular purposes. Then, of course, we have to focus our educational policy with regard to that matter too. But that has to be done, not in a vague way of saying, let us train this kind of person here and that kind of person in another place and so on. It has to be in relation to the things you are going to put in your plan. Take China. Every person in the university at present is trained for a particular kind of job, and the moment he gets out, he goes and does the job. There are large numbers of people in the institutes of training there, and they go straight to their jobs after their training. Just the reverse is our case; we have large numbers coming out of the universities and they find no scope for employment. So, one has to deal with this problem and to some extent learn from how other countries have dealt with it. This identical problem of lack of trained personnel and the necessity for it, has been faced by other countries and they have had to pass through this transition period.

Take another basic thing—surveys. The other day we celebrated, I think, the centenary of our Geological Survey of India.<sup>3</sup> We celebrated it in good style and all that, but the hundred years' accumulated result of the work of the Geological Survey was remarkably little, I thought. We have very good geologists, they have done good work, but I am talking about the quantity not about the quality so much. The quantity I would say was remarkably little, and the number of geologists we had was also very little considering this country. We have got some maps and surveys, but we have not got an adequate survey, say, of our mineral resources, etc., in every part of our country. Now, you start industrializing, you have to decide where to put a steel factory or something else or a fertilizer factory or some chemical factory. Now, unless you know fully what the resources of the various parts of the country are, you may very well put that factory in the wrong place and repent for it later. Therefore, the very first thing is a full knowledge of your own country, minerals, etc. We have got a fair knowledge but not a full knowledge. In China the same thing was put to me. They were pointing out their difficulties. We did not know them before, they said, and we are trying to know it. They put up an institute of geology and they are producing a thousand geologists a year, just to do this work, just to make them acquire that much knowledge with which to do this work and not to make them to be degree-holders in any manner after a long period of training. Therefore, you see how it is not a question of your deciding to do this here or that there. That is only part of the show, but the basic surveys, the basic data which the Planning Commission has collected and is collecting, is in a better position to deal with this matter. The technical personnel which is to be thought of from now on, not when you find that we want the personnel and we have not got it, because it takes three years to train him.

3. In fact, the centenary of Geological Survey of India was celebrated in Calcutta from 1 to 14 January 1951.

That is a bottleneck. Everything stops, You think of going to some other country to get their experts, and in this way we are not making much progress for ourselves.

So, I venture to put these ideas before you. But in the main what my mind is struggling with is that we have arrived at a new stage in our planning, in our preparation for our Second Five Year Plan more specially. We have to look at this entire picture in a dynamic way looking at every aspect of it, and developing every sector, not only your economy but your planning apparatus, like the technical personnel, and the rest accordingly.

I would now refer to one thing to which I attach the greatest importance, and that is these Community Projects and National Extension Services. That, I think, is something which is basically revolutionary if worked well. I cannot say that it is working hundred per cent well, but I do believe that, by and large, it has been working well and producing or going to produce a very big change in our rural areas. That, I think, is probably the most hopeful sign in our planned approach to these problems, because that balances to a large extent the other big individual enterprises. We have not paid enough attention to those rural areas in the past and unless we bring them up to a certain level, we shall always be weighed down by them.

You have been good enough to listen to me patiently and now I hope to listen patiently to what you say.

## 2. Approach to the Second Plan<sup>1</sup>

I have been to the Indian Statistical Institute today and spent about two and a half hours there. I met all the foreign experts and statisticians who had gathered there in considerable numbers.<sup>2</sup> Professor Frisch<sup>3</sup> was unfortunately unwell and in bed. However, I met him in his bedroom. So far as the others were concerned, we met in a group.

2. In the course of our talks various points were made. I am mentioning some here.

1. Note, Camp Calcutta, 25 December 1954. File No: 17(45)/56-PMS.
2. For example, D.D. Degtavar and M.I. Rubinstein from USSR, Charles Bettelheim from France and Richard Godwin from UK.
3. Ragnar Anton Kittil Frisch (1895-1973); Norwegian economist; Director of Research, Economic Institute, Oslo University and Professor of Economics, Oslo University, 1931-71, received Nobel Prize in Economics in 1969.

3. The principal point on which emphasis was laid was that it would not be possible for these statistical labours concerning the Second Five Year Plan<sup>4</sup> to bear fruit during the next few months. They would require from twelve to eighteen months to produce any satisfactory result. Of course, some kind of very preliminary note could be prepared in the course of the next three months and they propose to do so. But this note would only be a general indication of the lines of approach.

4. Therefore, it was suggested that the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan, as a whole, should be delayed. For the present, an interim plan should be aimed at. This would be for the first year of the second five year period. Meanwhile, the fuller plan should be worked up.

5. It was important that the Second Five Year Plan should not be given any final shape till these social and statistical studies were completed. Also, it was important that this Second Five Year Plan should not start off on the wrong foot. If it takes a wrong direction, then it will be difficult to reverse it. It was also bad to proceed on some ad hoc basis or on guess work. Therefore, the direction should be right. The interim plan for a year would give that direction and work would proceed while the fuller plan was in course of preparation.

6. This preparation of what might be called the real plan would require a great deal of help and cooperation from engineers, technical experts, the Reserve Bank, industries and national laboratories. The statistical group added, what was obvious, that it would be essential for them to have the closest cooperation with the Planning Commission.

7. Everyone who spoke laid stress on planning being primarily on the physical level<sup>5</sup> and not merely to be an allocation on the financial basis. Finance, of course, counted. But it should come in at a later stage when the physical objectives were defined. In fact, planning at all levels should be on the physical plane to begin with. Planning, of course, would include all aspects, including special planning for manpower.

8. Great importance was attached to a full geological survey of resources and sub-soil riches. It was stated by one person there that so far as his knowledge went, only five per cent of the area of India had thus far been fully investigated from the geological point of view. This investigation should be undertaken by

4. The Second Plan aimed at: 1) a sizeable increase in national income to raise the level of living in the country; 2) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; 3) a large expansion of employment opportunities; 4) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth through equitable distribution.
5. An objective estimate of demands at different income levels, and investments in requisite sectors to meet them through a network of complementary industries, formed the basis of planning on physical level. It laid emphasis on actual and projected requirements rather than available resources to meet them.

the State as foreign investigators or private persons might not like to reveal everything they found.

9. While the full plan for the second period would be for five years, there should be annual plans for each of those five years and there should be continuous checking of results and correction of plan from time to time from the experience gained.

10. It was stated that techniques were now available for solving almost all the problems that arose in planning. But this required time and full help from all concerned.

11. Professor Frisch welcomed the decision of the Government to nationalize the Imperial Bank and to extend its operations in the rural areas.<sup>6</sup> He said that good as this was, it should be supplemented by some organization which would be required to give practical help in the shape of advice in regard to accounting etc., to peasants, i.e., presumably that this rural banking system should have men especially to advise in a friendly way in all the rural credit and accounting problems. He attached great importance to it.

12. Professor Frisch was also of opinion that the entire system of taxation should be reviewed and varied. I cannot go into this matter because I did not fully understand all he said and I could not pursue our talk. But he seemed to think that income-tax should be reduced considerably and a number of other forms of taxation employed. This would not only bring in more money, but give incentives. He pointed out that the present system of taxation involved wastage. Business houses spent money so as to escape taxation.

13. Stress was laid on the importance of the role of science in planning. Our national laboratories were praised as fine institutions not only in their equipment but also in the type of young scientists working there. But, it was pointed out that these laboratories had nothing to do with our planning, although they ought to be intimately interested in them. They lived in a kind of ivory tower thinking of odd experiments in research. There should be full inter-connection between science and practice at all levels, and therefore, planning should be done with the closest participation of scientists and engineers at all stages.

14. It was suggested that after the Baroda Science Congress<sup>7</sup> there should be a special conference of directors of national laboratories and institutes to consider this matter and how to make systematic use for planning of research. Scientists, technicians, educationists, engineers, etc., should be given a planning orientation and should be made to think in terms of national development.

6. Announcement was made on 20 December 1954 to nationalise the Imperial Bank as a first step towards establishment of a State Bank of India which came into being on 1 July 1955 when the Imperial Bank was nationalised. See also *ante*, pp. 274 and 362.
7. Held from 4 to 10 January 1955. For Nehru's address at the Science Congress, see *post*, pp. 424-428.

15. Stress was laid on the great importance of decentralising industrial enterprises in the public sector. This is to say, these State enterprises should be given a good deal of freedom and should not be interfered with. It was pointed out by the Soviet representatives that in the USSR there was a great deal of decentralisation of this type.

16. It was mentioned that it would be necessary to have a great expansion of health and education.

17. A very brief reference was made to land policy and state trading, but there was no talk about it.

18. The main concern of these people was that no commitment should be made on the old pattern of planning and that the whole subject should be considered anew.

19. These are just some odd points among many that were mentioned. The principal proposal is about the manner of approach to the Second Five Year Plan to which I have referred above. We might consider this matter at the meeting of the Planning Committee of the National Development Council which is going to be held early in January.

### 3. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

8 January 1955

My dear VT,<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday's discussion in the Planning Commission ended rather abruptly.<sup>3</sup> I would have liked the meeting to continue this morning for further talks so as to clear the air more. However, as most of the Chief Ministers present were anxious to get away, I agreed not to have another meeting today.

I have, however, been thinking about this matter and feel somewhat unhappy to some kind of dualism in our approach to these various problems. I have

1. File No: 17(17)/56-PMS. Copies of this letter were sent to C.D. Deshmukh and G.L. Nanda.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

3. In the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, Nehru referred to visiting statisticians' interest in India's planning problems and necessity of maintaining a balance between large-scale and small-scale industries. The committee discussed the resources for the First Plan, expansion of National Extension Service, preparation of district and village plans excluding central schemes, family planning, regulation of use of funds in trusts and religious endowments, formulation of the Second Plan and preliminary consideration of its size.

been looking upon it as a joint approach and the work being done in the Indian Statistical Institute, near Calcutta, as a part of the Planning Commission's work. In fact, it was at our instance at the previous meeting that the Indian Statistical Institute was asked to undertake these various enquiries. They have been fortunate enough to get a number of very eminent planners and statisticians from abroad. All these people might well have worked here in Delhi but for certain facilities in the Indian Statistical Institute. In fact, I suggested yesterday that they should come to Delhi, not for a brief talk but for continuous discussion and exchange of ideas.

The work of the Planning Commission here and the work being done in the Indian Statistical Institute appears to me to be one joint whole and not something independent of each other. As a result of that joint work, something will emerge, that is, the Second Five Year Plan etc. If work is done in independent directions and with differing approaches, then there is no jointness and we get little advantage out of this cooperation with others.

Considerable stress was laid yesterday about our completing our Second Five Year Plan by a certain date. The real issue somehow got covered up. This real issue is whether the Second Five Year Plan is to be worked out on a physical basis or in financial terms as previously. This matter has got to be decided quite clearly by us. It is after this decision that certain conclusions flow, including those of timing etc. Obviously our approach thus far has not been the physical approach though, of course, this approach inevitably comes in any thinking. In our notes and circulars, much is said about this physical approach but in fact little is done to get the necessary data. We address state governments but they are not in a position to send that data because they have not got it. Apart from this, I rather doubt if this particular approach is made clear to them for the simple reason that we have not ourselves decided about it.

If we adopt the physical approach to planning, then inevitably all kinds of data and information are necessary which have to be collected with great speed. Time is limited. It becomes quite impossible then to produce a full-fledged Five Year Plan within a few months because the material will be lacking. The principles can be laid down and a good many details also worked out, more specially for the first year. Work will go on at an increasing speed but our thinking and approach will progressively change till we adopt a full-fledged physical plan.

I think we should have our minds perfectly clear on this issue because otherwise we shall continually be talking at cross purposes. Very soon the Congress session is going to be held near Madras and they are bound to consider this subject. I know that the Congress President is going to refer to it.<sup>4</sup> Probably

4. See *ante*, p. 287.

I shall do likewise because I feel more and more convinced that our approach must be based on physical planning.

I also feel that in order to have this physical planning, it is not merely enough for us to send circulars to state governments but that we have to develop close contacts with scientific, technical and like experts. I know we have panels. I do not quite know what they do. I should like some kind of closer association, more specially with scientists. Recently the Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research appointed a committee to give effect to certain recommendations of a Reviewing Committee which had investigated the work done by our institutes and national laboratories.<sup>5</sup> This Committee consists of Dr J.C. Ghosh,<sup>6</sup> Chairman, Dr H.J. Bhabha, Dr D.S. Kothari<sup>7</sup> and Prof Diwan Chand Sharma.<sup>8</sup> We may add one or two more to it. I want this Committee to be closely associated with the Planning Commission. You will observe that I look upon this problem of planning as some thing more than an administrative one.

It seems to me that it is absolutely essential for the Planning Commission to work in the closest cooperation with the work being done in the Indian Statistical Institute and the foreign experts there. We should give them the fullest help and not treat them as some extraneous element. Indeed, they should be treated as parts of our planning organisation. I hope it will be possible for them to spend some time in Delhi. I am sorry that I am going away to England because this is just the time when I wanted to take much greater interest in the Planning Commission's work. Anyhow as soon as I return from England, I hope to give more time.

You will remember my mentioning to you some time ago the name of Prof P.C. Mahalanobis<sup>9</sup> in connection with the membership of the Planning Commission. I think it is essential that he should be closely associated with

5. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 114-115.

6. Vice Chancellor, University of Calcutta, 1954-55; member, Planning Commission, 1955-59.

7. Daulat Singh Kothari (1906-1993); taught Physics at Allahabad University, 1928-34, Delhi University, 1934-71; Professor Emeritus, Delhi University; Scientific Adviser to Ministry of Defence, 1948-61; Chairman, University Grants Commission, 1961-73; Committee of Scientific & Technical Terminology, 1960-65; Education Committee, Government of India, 1964-66; President, Indian National Science Academy, 1973-74; Indian Science Congress, 1964.

8. Diwan Chand Sharma (1896-1969); Professor and Head of the Department of English, Punjab University, Chandigarh; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-1969; member of various Parliamentary Committees, author of *Men and Manners*; *Our Indian Heritage*; *Life of Mahatma Gandhi*; *Life of Kasturba*; *The Prophets of the East*; *Tales of Friendship*; *The Makers of Today*; *Life, More Life*.

9. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta and Hony. Statistical Adviser to the Union Cabinet.

our work, both in his individual capacity and as representing this large group of persons who are working on our behalf on statistical planning. For the present, I do not think it is necessary to formalize this appointment but I suggest that he might be considered from now onwards as a de facto member of the Planning Commission, especially in charge of the statistical and technical aspect. This will, I hope, result in much fuller coordination and be advantageous in many ways. He should have all the facilities of a member of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## I. ECONOMY

### (iii) Industry and Labour

#### 1. Cooperation between Labour and Capital for Progress<sup>1</sup>

Both labour and capital should understand that their problems can not be solved by fighting amongst themselves. Till now, these problems have been looked at from the point of view of capital or labour and while attempts have been made to settle them, they still remain. A change must be brought about, even though it may have to be done slowly. An atmosphere of confidence has to be created by which such problems can be solved in a fair manner. India is a poor country and there is lack of wealth which gives rise to conflict. But before we can

1. Inaugural speech at the Labour Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 12 November 1954. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 13 November 1954.

resolve the conflicts about division of wealth we must first create wealth. Only if there is wealth, can it be divided. The task before the country is how to increase its production and wealth. Only by increasing these, can the standard of living be raised and general improvement brought about in the general condition of the people.

Conflicts between labour and capital only hinder production. Both capital and labour have to understand it. There are many problems to be solved and the goal cannot be reached unless everyone works in a spirit of cooperation. We have enacted many laws for the solution of disputes, but it is clear that disputes can be settled only through understanding and not by lockouts or strikes.

Anyone who reads the history of the labour problems from the time of the Industrial Revolution will know through what difficulties labour have had to go through. There have been times when labour had been bled white, when formation of trade unions was banned, when workers had to join secretly to form trade unions and when people were extorted for holding meetings for forming trade unions. Times have now changed and these things have become matters of the past. But labour in the beginning have had to face great difficulties and it has learnt to value its strength through union and through the weapon of strike. When one argues with labour about strikes in the present day one must bear in mind the background and history of the past hundred years and what labour has suffered.

But just as wars do not solve any problems, internal problems too cannot be solved by internal fighting. Strikes and lockouts are not good methods of solving the problems in industry. Both labour and capital have to understand that in the India of today these weapons are wrong and should not be used. They must forge some other weapons to solve such problems. Only then can progress be made.

The state has made laws to resolve disputes and can make more laws too, but that will take time. After all, in India there are no two different opposing camps. The interests of labour, capital and consumer are the same, as every producer is also a consumer.

It is a matter for congratulation that in India in the last few years they have had fewer labour troubles. India's future depends on increase in production and its equitable distribution.

China is too big a country to be studied in ten days. But I have noticed in China an atmosphere of constructive activity. In India, on the other hand, people occasionally indulge in defeatist talk. This kind of tendency has to be fought. Everyone in the country must work harder and produce more. I deprecate the methods which smack much of the *tehsildar hakumat*. I feel that the old way of ordering about is out of place in our age. We have to create confidence and the necessary atmosphere and make all concerned understand what is proposed for partners in a common enterprise.

## 2. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

23 November 1954

My dear Bidhan,

Your long letter about Durgapur.<sup>2</sup> As I have written to you, this matter has been referred to a committee.<sup>3</sup> I thought this was decided when you were here and in your presence. I am anxious to help you in this matter, but the one lesson we have learnt during the past few years is that a project should be thoroughly worked out before it is accepted and proceeded with. As soon as the committee has reported, we shall be in a position to go ahead. I understand that your Chief Secretary is on the committee.

You refer in your letter to some report that the Durgapur area is to be given to a private firm for developing. I know of no such thing. What we have been discussing at great length in our Cabinet for the last two days is the general question of policy in regard to all iron and steel plants. This question arose because of Birla's suggestion to put up a pig iron plant near Durgapur as well as another vague proposal for a steel plant.<sup>4</sup>

These proposals have raised a question of some importance for us. The policy which we have declared as long back as 1948 in a formal statement was that all iron and steel developments should be exclusively done by the State. In special cases, we might invite the cooperation of private enterprise in them. The whole point was that iron and steel, must be in the public sector only. That, of course, does not mean that private capital should not come into it. But the entire control of any new concern was to be with the State. In fact, it was said in 1948 that, after ten years, we could even consider the question of acquiring the old iron and steel plants. This did not mean that we should necessarily acquire them then. But it indicated that iron and steel, being a basic industry, must be State controlled.

1. File No. 17(265)/52-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. B.C. Roy had written on 19 November about the unnecessary delay created by the Centre regarding clearance of his projects for a coke oven plant, a thermal power plant and a pig iron plant at Durgapur, costing approximately Rupees eighteen crores. He sought Nehru's intervention to expedite the matter since these projects held great possibilities of employment and development of the State and further, because it was to be completely financed by the West Bengal Government.
3. The Committee consisted of T.T. Krishnamachari, K.C. Reddy and Swaran Singh.
4. A proposal to set up a pig iron plant and a steel plant at Durgapur by B.M. Birla was rejected by the Government in November 1954. The proposed plant was decided to be taken up by the public sector. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25. p. 85; and *post*, p. 389.

The public and private sectors can certainly cooperate, but it all depends on what their cooperation means. In any industry definitely reserved for the State that cooperation means on the level of State control.

I am writing to you immediately although we are still discussing this matter very thoroughly on the ground of principle. I shall write to you later about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Changing Role of Trade Unions<sup>1</sup>

I am happy to learn that the nine Postal, RMS and Telegraph Employees Unions have joined together to form a National Federation of Posts and Telegraph Employees. This is a right development, both from the point of view of the employees and their employer, the Government. I should have liked to be present at their conference today. But I regret I cannot do so because of other engagements. I send them, however, my good wishes.

We are passing through a period of transition in many ways. We have had a great political change in India and now we are struggling through economic and social changes. Ultimately, no change will bring much result unless the productive capacity and the wealth of the nation increase. Only then can there be much to distribute to the people generally and raise their standard of living. We have thus to concentrate on production and at the same time on equitable distribution.

Trade unions and the like were formed in the past to protect the interests of their members. That was essential in the context of the old order. This is still necessary. But I hope that the old order will change gradually yielding place to the new when the question of any social or economic conflict will be a thing of the past and all will work together for their own advantage and the public good. This will involve a gradual development of new social structures.

The Posts and Telegraph employees serve a national purpose of vital importance. They are true servants of the nation. Because of that they have a responsibility which, I hope, they will discharge in a worthy manner.

1. Message to the Conference of National Federation of Posts and Telegraph Employees, New Delhi, 24 November 1954. JN Collection.

#### 4. Cable to B.N. Chakravarty<sup>1</sup>

Our Commerce Ministry has already replied to Swaminathan's<sup>2</sup> telegram to Bhootalingam,<sup>3</sup> no. 2257 of November 26th.<sup>4</sup> I am sending this message to you to clarify position further.

2. The Soviet offer to put up steel plant here has nothing to do with any decision that we have taken. That offer came some months ago and as it was attractive, we invited Soviet experts to come here to discuss it with us. They came a few days ago and are having conversations with our experts and inspecting sites. After that we shall discuss terms of their offer with them in detail.

3. Quite apart from Soviet offer, we are anxious to have another steel plant. Our need for steel in next Five Year Plan is going to be considerable and, therefore, we want to provide for it fully from now.

4. There was no question of rejection of Birla's proposal which was vague and without details. What we considered, independently of that proposal, was general lines of our policy in future. In our Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, we had laid down that certain basic industries, of which iron and steel was one, should be exclusive responsibility of State. We confirmed this old policy.<sup>5</sup>

5. This does not mean that private capital should not share in such proposal or that we would not welcome help from abroad. But steel plant would be essentially State undertaking with majority shares of State.

6. Any proposal from Birla or others conforming to these conditions would be favourably considered by us. You may make position clear to Birla and others concerned.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1954. JN Collection.

B.N. Chakravarty (1904-1976); joined ICS, 1929; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1949-51; Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, MEA, 1951-52; Ambassador in the Netherlands, 1952-54; Acting High Commissioner in London, August-November 1954; High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, 1955-1956; Special Secretary, MEA, 1956-60; High Commissioner in Canada, 1960-62; Permanent Representative for India in the UN, 1962-65; Governor of Haryana, 1967 to 1976.

2. V.S. Swaminathan, Deputy Secretary, MEA; posted temporarily at Indian High Commission, London.

3. S. Bhootalingam, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

4. Swaminathan had informed about a report in the *Financial Times*, London, dated 26 November 1954, that the rejection by the Government of India of B.M. Birla's proposal for a steel plant, backed by British finance, was due to a Russian offer to build a one million tonne plant in India on softer terms. He sought clarification in this regard in order to allay unfavourable conjectures in the British financial circles.

5. See *ante*, pp. 341-342.

## 5. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1 December 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, the bank employees union have decided to have a strike.<sup>2</sup> Some efforts are being made to have sympathetic strikes by other labour unions also. The Communist Party is making every effort to make these strikes a success. I think that at the most this bank strike will be a partial one. But even a partial strike is troublesome.

2. I doubt if any labour strike could have less justification than this one. Government took the unusual step of appointing a judge of the High Court, Justice Rajadhyaksha, to go into all the grievances of the bank employees and to examine this entire matter thoroughly.<sup>3</sup> This was done very soon after the decision we had made on this subject. In effect, soon after our decision, we expressed our willingness to reconsider this matter if additional facts were placed before us and we went further and appointed a Judge to gather these facts. I cannot conceive what more Government could have done.

3. Nevertheless, some of the leaders of the bank employees union have decided to have a strike<sup>4</sup> and are making every effort to make it a success. Obviously, we cannot submit to this kind of thing. No government can, and I hope no reasonable person will, sympathize with this wholly unwarranted strike

1. File No. 26(104)/51-PMS. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-64*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi 1988), pp. 94-95.
2. On 24 August 1954, the Government, while accepting the new pay scales as recommended in the Labour Appellate Tribunal award, modified the formula for dearness allowance which affected wages of fifty two per cent of the bank employees and reduced other rights and privileges. The Government also excluded banking offices in places with population of less than 30,000 from the scope of the award, which amounted to excluding 17,000 bank employees from the scope of the award. The bank employees, in protest decided to go on strike from 10 December 1954. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 147-149.
3. On 17 September 1954, the Government constituted a one-man Committee of Inquiry under Justice G.S. Rajadhyaksha to examine the situation.
4. The strike call was given by the All India Bank Employees' Association demanding: (1) withdrawal of the Government order modifying the Labour Appellate Tribunal's award; (2) implementation of the award with no cuts in the existing emoluments; (3) no curtailment of existing rights and privileges and no retrenchment; (4) recognition of the association; and (5) no exclusion of the United Bank of India or any other bank branches from the scope of the award.

which may cause much inconvenience and even loss to the public. We must, therefore, face this strike, if it occurs, with vigour.

4. There is the law and order aspect of this strike about which no doubt you will take adequate precautions. What is more important, however, is to help in making adequate arrangements for the banks to carry on their work, even though this has to be on a somewhat restricted scale. We should be prepared for this for some weeks or a month or more. It would be advisable for the banks to make some arrangements for a small staff to carry on anyhow even though others might leave. It might even be necessary for Government to help them to carry on. Bankers, though no doubt successful at their particular job, are apt to become panicky. This is absurd and there is no reason for it.

5. We shall, of course, proceed with the Rajadhyaksha enquiry in the normal way regardless of whether the strike takes place or not.<sup>5</sup>

6. I am merely drawing your attention to this matter which must already be under your consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The strike was deferred on 8 December 1954.

## 6. Industrialization and Manufacture of Machines in India<sup>1</sup>

I have already had a talk with you today on the subject. As I told you, I am exceedingly anxious that we should manufacture our own machines in India. I have been told on competent authority that the present plants and factories we have in India can make almost anything with, perhaps, some additions to them. We do not use these plants adequately and we find it much easier to order machinery from abroad. Sometimes we are told that it is cheaper also to get it from abroad.

2. I am sure that we shall never really get going unless we manufacture our own machines. There can be no industrialization based on machinery made elsewhere. It is true that, to begin with, one has to get machines from abroad.

1. Note to B.V. Keskar, the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 2 December 1954. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

But that beginning is long past and we have continued to follow the easy but injurious path of continuing to get machines and plants from outside. It is probably true also that our first attempts at making any new type of machines might not yield satisfactory results. We have to go through the teething process.

3. Therefore, I am all for making every effort to make our own machines here, unless we just can't do it. Even in that case we should only get some machines from outside and the next stage should be for us to duplicate them here....

## **7. Utilization of Surplus Skilled Labour<sup>1</sup>**

Recently, the Defence Ministry appointed a committee to examine the state of our ordnance factories and other plants belonging to the Defence Ministry. This Committee has presented a good and thorough report and pointed out many deficiencies. They have been attended to.

2. There is one matter, however, which raises a larger issue. The committee has pointed out that there is surplus of labour which comes in the way of other work. In fact, it would be advantageous to remove that surplus labour and even pay them their full wages for doing nothing. This surplus varies in numbers but at present I am told it is about 2,000 skilled workers.

3. It is an odd thing that while we talk about trained people in large numbers, we cannot use the trained personnel we have got. This may involve some difficulty in regard to removing them to some other place but that difficulty applies to individual cases. In any event, this matter is to be examined thoroughly and with some speed because it is wasteful to carry on as we are doing.

4. To retrench this surplus skilled labour appears to me to be quite wrong. This would create trouble and interfere with our relations with labour. Production will suffer. But apart from all this, we lose touch with a number of skilled personnel who have been carefully trained for some years.

1. Note to V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 13 January 1955. File No. 26(5)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to Minister of Defence, Minister of Defence Organisation, Cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and Ministry of Production.

5. I understand that this matter is being examined in various ways, that is a larger issue. But apart from this larger issue, can we not have some immediate examination of how we can remove certain skilled labour and give them some work, even though it might not be wholly suitable or profitable work from the economic point of view? At least we will remove them, we shall keep in touch with them and have them at our disposal and they will be doing something useful and would add to production.

6. I shall be grateful if you will have this matter examined. Perhaps it would be desirable to have a small committee of the concerned ministries, which are engaged in production, or some engineers to advise us on what we can do soon about this. The Indian Statistical Institute might be able to help with suggestion.

## 8. Efficient Running of Government Factories<sup>1</sup>

You will see a separate note that I have written to the Planning Commission<sup>2</sup> about utilizing surplus labour capacity in some way or other, so as to relieve our factories of surplus labour and, at the same time, keep this surplus labour engaged in productive work.

2. I am particularly concerned about our ordnance and other factories in Defence. We are anxious to increase our production in every way. I know that Defence Ministry has been thinking about this and has in fact made some progress in doing civil work in our factories. This is to be pursued further in an organised and planned way in cooperation with other ministries concerned and the Planning Commission.

3. For sometime past, I have been thinking of how best to coordinate the activities of all Government factories and plants. There is a tendency for each ministry to work as a separate entity without much attempt at coordination with other ministries.

4. There is another point to be remembered. If the work of our Government factories is to be done effectively and satisfactorily, then we must not run them as we run Government departments. They should be run on efficient business lines. There is a habit derived from long practice in Government departments of dealing with factories also in the same way. There are long notes going

1. Note to K.N. Katju, the Union Minister of Defence, Mahavir Tyagi, Minister of Defence Organization and Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 13 January 1955. File No. 26(5)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

from one department to another. No industrial concern can be run on the basis of this long noting. Where any problem arises, it is discussed immediately by the persons concerned coming together and a decision is arrived at. Therefore, this long noting should be avoided and should give place to quick consultation and decisions.

5. Also all industrial organizations can only be conducted efficiently if there are satisfactory contacts with labour and labour feels that they are in the picture also and partners in the concern. This kind of thing also is unusual in government concerns.

6. I think that special attention should be paid by the Defence Ministry to all these plants and factories. I suggest that Minister of Defence Organization should be requested to take particular charge of this matter.

7. The work of the Defence Ministry consists in looking after the efficiency and welfare of the three Defence Services. A separate part of this work at present is the running of these big industrial concerns. The two kinds of work are not related to one another. Therefore, our method of approach to the two should be different. That is why I suggest that Ministry of Defence Organization might take particular interest in plants and factories.

## 9. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

27 January 1955

My dear TT,<sup>2</sup>

I wanted very much to have a talk with you before I went to London. But these days since my return from Madras have been rather overwhelming and now there is no chance.

I have been giving a good deal of thought to the matters we have discussed previously<sup>3</sup> and to which I referred in the Cabinet. It seems to me that any

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Commerce & Industry.

3. Krishnamachari had been writing to Nehru since October 1954, regarding his difficulties in pulling along with his Cabinet colleagues. On 24 November, he conveyed to Nehru his unwillingness to continue in the Cabinet and even in the Congress, in what he called a "splendid isolation". Regarding the Government's Industrial Policy, he felt that the coordination part should be handled by the Commerce and Industry Ministry, since K.C. Reddy, the Production Minister, looking after it, was vulnerable enough to interpret the policy of maintaining a balance between private and public sectors in the latter's favour.

action that we might take to put an end to the Ministry of Production would have a bad effect. That Ministry was set up for particular reasons and was the indication of a certain policy. People will think that we are going back on that policy and will wonder what exactly we mean by the big talk in Madras and elsewhere.

I have no doubt that our decisions at Madras have had a very good effect on public opinion and have strengthened the Congress position. There is a general feeling that the Congress is a wide awake body and is getting back some dynamism. Some people continue to criticise us and say that all this is talk and nothing more. I do not wish to give them a handle.

Apart from this, any major change as suggested, while it would have some advantages, would have disadvantages also.<sup>4</sup> In regard to iron and steel, just when we are dealing with the Soviet proposals, a change would, I think, be bad.

I am quite clear, however, that these iron and steel plants, public or private, must be looked at as a whole and our policy should be an integrated one. It is for this reason that we appointed a committee consisting of you, Reddy and Swaran Singh.<sup>5</sup> I want this committee to function continuously and be in intimate contact with all developments in the iron and steel business. I am writing to Reddy accordingly and also informing Swaran Singh.

That is all I can do at present.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Krishnamachari's suggestions regarding coordination of the Industrial Policy rested on two factors. First, the climate of opinion in the investment world had changed completely and it was possible with a little Government help to channelize them into industry. Secondly, the Government's aspiration for business like efficiency in its enterprises could not be achieved since "A-I ambitions in respect of industrialization cannot be achieved with men of C-3 capacity."
5. Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

## 10. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

London

31 January 1955

My dear TT,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 28th January has reached me today.<sup>2</sup> It is evident that you wrote it almost immediately after receiving my letter and, perhaps, without giving too much thought to what I had suggested. Surely we cannot deal with such vital matters in haste.

You refer to my promise to change radically the conditions under which you were working. This is partly true, though not in any definite and specific sense. Your principal suggestion was that iron and steel should all be put together, whether in the private or public sector, so as to have coordinated policy for both. I entirely agreed with you that there must be the closest coordination of this and I started thinking from then onwards as to how best to bring this about. I considered the suggestion that the new steel plants, i.e., the Rourkela and the Soviet Plant,<sup>3</sup> as well as possibly any other that we might have, should be transferred to Commerce and Industry Ministry, in order to bring about this coordination. That was your idea, I think. While I was attracted to this idea, I felt some difficulties in giving effect to it in that way. I considered every aspect of it repeatedly. I did not discuss it as such with anybody. But I discussed the wider problems of reorganization with a number of people rather in a general way and in this discussion the question of iron and steel also casually came up. I am not referring merely to Cabinet Ministers.

I found that the public reaction to any such definite step was likely to be adverse and, in fact, it would raise doubts in people's minds about our entire policy. This has nothing to do with any person concerned. The main issue that troubled me was the practical winding up of the Production Ministry. The Ministry, regardless again of the persons concerned, gave a certain direction to people's thinking. If that Ministry was more or less wound up, there would undoubtedly have been some kind of a shock to many and all kinds of questions would have come up which would have made smooth working difficult right at the inception.

We have, I believe, developed a certain psychology in the country which is all to the good. The feeling of frustration has almost disappeared, except

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishnamachari had written that he understood from Nehru's letter that his suggestions were not acceptable to Nehru. In these circumstances, he felt that there was no point in his continuing in the Cabinet, though he would wait till Nehru's return from London to submit his resignation.
3. This plant was put up at Bhilai.

among our inveterate critics. There is self-reliance and hope of big things. I think this psychology is not only of great importance but is essential for anything that we may do in future. Nothing therefore should be done to affect it or lessen it. You will, I hope, give me the credit for judging this aspect of the situation objectively and with some knowledge of people's reactions. Apart from the general reactions, it would have been unfair to you to saddle you with this criticism right at the beginning.

Because of all this, I gradually came to the conclusion that any such specific step would not only not be helpful in the balance, but might well be harmful, even though it brought some good in its train. The problem then was to achieve the good without the probable harm. It seemed to me that the immediate step to ensure this was to have the closest coordination between the Ministries concerned, not only in broad matters but even in detailed working. This would give you perfect freedom to direct the implementation of our policy in major as well as minor matters. So far as the broad policy is concerned, it has been fairly clearly laid down and much discussed in the press and public. The implementation of it, where it raises any important point, will normally have to be considered by us in the Cabinet.

I really do not see why this should come in the way of your working in the manner you desire. You know, I hope, what great value I attach to the work you have done and that you can do. Surely, I make no unreasonable request of you and you should put some trust in me when I want to help you to the best of my ability.

In all our work the major consideration always has to be carrying our people with us—the Party, the organization and the people generally. I have always to keep this in mind. Of course, when there is a major conflict between one's own judgement and what the Party or the people generally demand, then one has to choose. But short of that one tries to mould opinion in the direction one wants. A head-on conflict on this does not help mould this and is good for no one and certainly not for the work.

Here we are on the eve. I think, of major events both in the world and in India. It has fallen to our lot to shoulder this heavy responsibility. India's prestige is higher than ever and we have created an atmosphere which will help us greatly in leading India forward. Are we to sacrifice all this because of relatively minor reasons or disagreements?<sup>4</sup> I am sure you will agree with me that we should not do this.

4. Krishnamachari's differences were mainly with Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister for Planning, and K.C. Reddy, who spearheaded the pro-public sector lobby within the Cabinet. In fact Krishnamachari alleged that Nanda had been openly proclaiming that he would not allow an ounce of steel to be produced in the private sector and that it was a matter of time before even the Tata steel works were also nationalized.

You know that our Second Five Year Plan is slowly taking shape in our minds. Within a few months that shape will become more definite and will form the basis of further working out in detail. It is quite conceivable that that might lead us to some far reaching conclusions, which might even involve a considerable reorganization. We may have to consider many matters then in order to fit it in with the idea of our new Plan. To do anything at this stage, which might come in the way of all this, surely is neither wise nor expedient.

Therefore, I would like you to give further thought to this matter and more specially to what I have written.

We are meeting here in London under the shadow of a grave crisis.<sup>5</sup> We might, and I think we probably will, get over this present difficulty, but this is by no means sure. If we do not succeed, then all kinds of mighty things are likely to happen.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 24 January 1955, Eisenhower had sought the US Congress to authorize measures to use the US Armed Forces to protect Taiwan. At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference it became the main point of discussion to find a way to avert immediate war and find a peaceful way to resolve the issue.

## II. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1. Responsibilities of Indian Writers<sup>1</sup>

I invite Indian writers to devote their attention to the enrichment of Indian languages rather than spend their energies on mutual rivalry as to the greatness of each language. There is need for cultural tolerance. Narrow cultural attitude

1. Inaugural speech at the annual Marathi Literary Conference, New Delhi, 1 October 1954. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 2 October 1954. The six-day conference was attended by about a thousand delegates.

and squabbles over the superiority of one language over another are a hindrance to a nation's progress. No amount of wealth can be conducive to the advancement of a nation if it neglects the development of literature.

Hindi has been adopted as the official language of the Indian Union but this has not been done with a view to elevating it to a special position. Actually not only Hindi but each of the twelve or fourteen main languages of the country is a national language.

Without literary activities men will tend to stagnate intellectually. Literature contributes very much to the advancement of a nation.

Language wields a strong influence on man's life. It is a means of understanding the accumulated knowledge of the past and expressing his innermost thoughts. Milton had said that given the language of a people he could tell whether they were a virile nation or a weak nation. Language is a mirror of man's actions and thoughts. History began with it. In other countries in the past, language had become a source of strife. Czarist Russia, while ruling over Poland, had banned the Polish language. But the Polish language did not die. On the other hand, it gave birth to great writers. A living language is indestructible, no matter what governments do.

There can be no question of any competition or rivalry between Hindi and other languages. It will be an unpardonable waste of time and energy if writers of one language are to try to bring down another language instead of striving to develop their own language. It is also wrong to list languages as first, second, third and so on.

In some respects, Marathi, Gujarati or Bengali may actually be greater than Hindi. The adoption of Hindi as a language for official use for the country as a whole does not mean that it is regarded as greater than other languages. No language has ever become great or small on account of constitutional provisions. A language grows because of its own strength.

The writers have a great responsibility towards society. They give a direction to the thoughts of men, and if they get a wrong direction, it will be a misfortune. A book is a thing which awakens your mind and stimulates thinking. One must also assimilate what one reads. Reading many books does not necessarily mean one becomes very wise. The great European thinker and philosopher Erasmus<sup>2</sup> had a library consisting of only fifty books. We read thousands of books and remain as wise as we were at the beginning.

While being aware of their responsibilities, writers must refrain from ordering people about. Literature is not a lathi wherewith to force people to think in a particular way. It only gives the country a direction of thought. It is in this sense that writers can help lay the foundation of a strong and prosperous India.

2. Desiderius Erasmus (c 1466-1536), Dutch philosopher and scholar.

Engineers and writers are most essential. Without them the country will not blossom physically and intellectually. Perhaps one could do without mere office goers. The country could still advance. But it will not go ahead without engineers and litterateurs. The newspapers today, are increasing in number. They are responsible for the ruin of literature. I remember the French newspapers of fifty years ago which gave prominence to literary subjects. Not only were literary subjects displayed on front pages but even the leading article was often on a literary subject. Today, if you ask a man to tell what he read in a newspaper of two days ago, I am sure he will not be able to remember, for it is passing things that find prominence in newspapers today. In case of television; the wrong use of even a good thing can be harmful.

## 2. Training in Social Work<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Mr Director<sup>3</sup> and Friends,

I feel happy and privileged to be associated in this way with this function and with this Institute.<sup>4</sup> I had heard of it for many years past but the first time I came in contact with it, or rather with its students, was seven years ago, after Independence and the Partition of India and the colossal tragedy that followed it when vast numbers of human beings migrated from Pakistan to India, and from India to Pakistan, and trouble of tremendous proportions had to be faced. I remember in those days that we asked, or somebody asked, this Institute to send us some of their workers, which they gladly did, and they worked for many months and helped us enormously. We found the difference in their work and the work of many others who were earnest and who did their best, but who did not have the training to do it well, the difference between the trained worker and the merely enthusiastic worker. Of course, both enthusiasm and training are necessary. Since then I have followed the fortunes of this School

1. Address at the opening of the new building of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 6 October 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML.
2. John Matthai was the Chairman of the governing board of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
3. A.R. Wadia.
4. The Institute was named Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Sciences at the time of its inception in 1936. The name was changed in 1944.

from a distance with much greater interest. And today I am here for the first time visiting this School, and I feel glad not only for myself but to indicate how much we value the work that the School has done and how we wish it good fortune in the future.

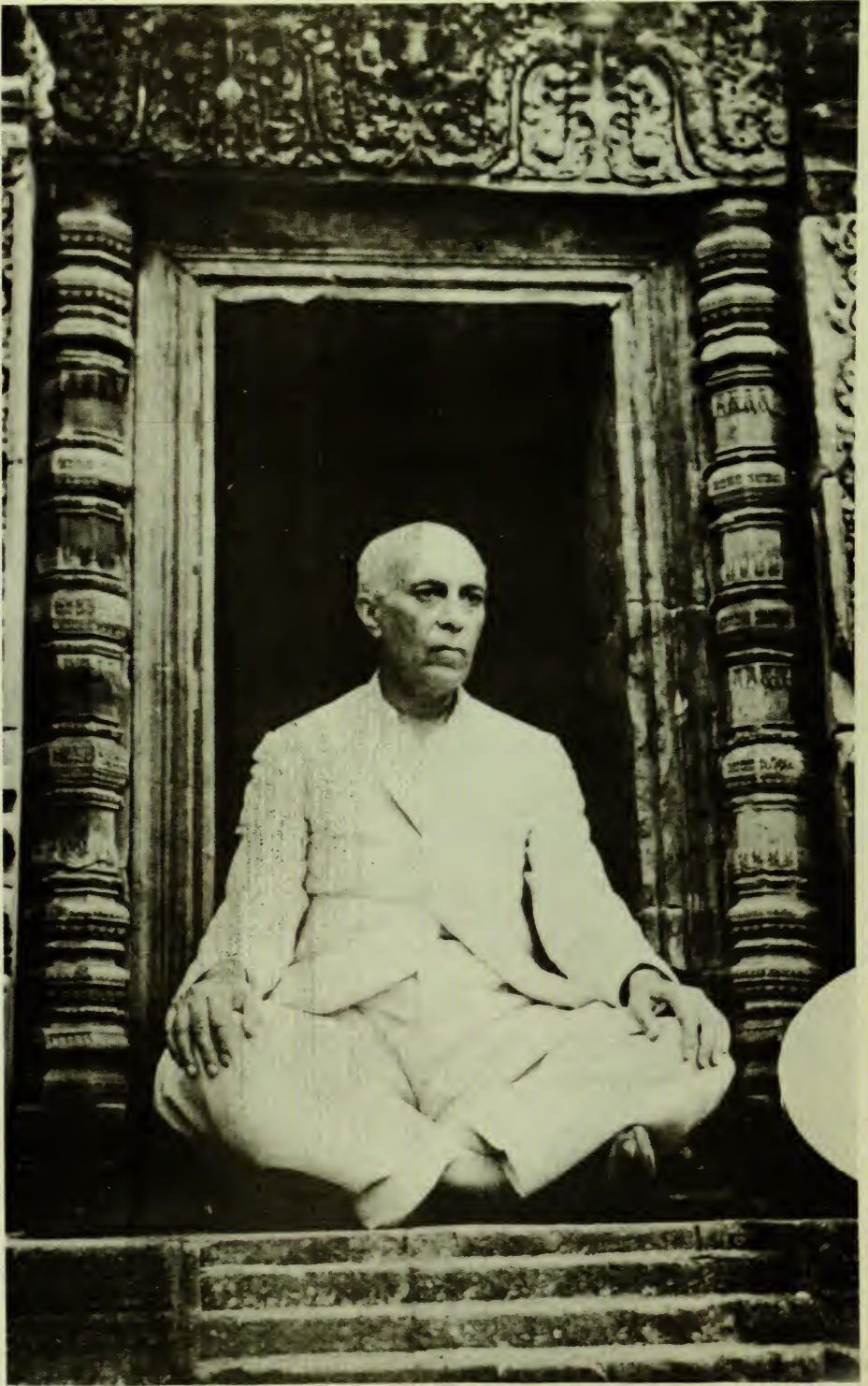
The Director said something which he qualified subsequently, which rather took me aback. He said this is the first attempt to produce social workers in India. Of course we know what he meant, and he qualified it himself, that is, this is the first attempt on scientific lines to train social workers. I should have thought that, I can't speak for every country in the world, but the tradition of social service is at least as strong, if not stronger, in India than in any country. It is true that it has not always been properly directed. Often it has taken, what shall we say, the creation, the building up of dharmashalas at all places, probably for the future merit of the person who had it built or some such other thing. But the fact is, I believe, that the idea of social service is strongly embedded in the Indian tradition and custom and one can see it almost in any village one goes to. Indeed, without that cement of social service, I doubt if any social organization can continue. So in a sense we function in a background which is favourable, although perhaps that is not so evident in these big cities as it is in smaller communities like the villages. Nevertheless, it is there. But it is not enough to have that background and that enthusiasm unless it is directed properly and people can utilize their energy and enthusiasm in the right way. Therefore, it has become more and more necessary for such institutes to flourish and train people.

I speak ignorantly because I do not know exactly what the training given here is. Vaguely, of course, I can guess the type of training that might be given. Sometimes I have seen people being sent on scholarships to Western countries to know or to learn how to do social service. That is sometimes desirable; it may be necessary to know the techniques of various things. But I have also found that these people who return are so out of tune with India afterwards that whatever they might have learnt abroad is completely useless for any kind of work they might do in India subsequently. Because the basic thing for any social work is a feeling for the community, in the sense of being in tune with it. You cannot merely impose a technique on social problems and human problems. You cannot solve even the commonest domestic problem by some imported technique. There is something imponderable, impalpable that is necessary when solving human problems. Therefore, while technique and the science of doing things properly are quite essential, and we lack it and we ought to develop it, what is equally necessary is to know the people you deal with, to be one of them, not to come as a superior person to improve others. Nothing is more hateful than to be approached by somebody who wants to improve you. There are far too many people trying to do that. My first reaction to them is to beg of them to go and improve themselves.

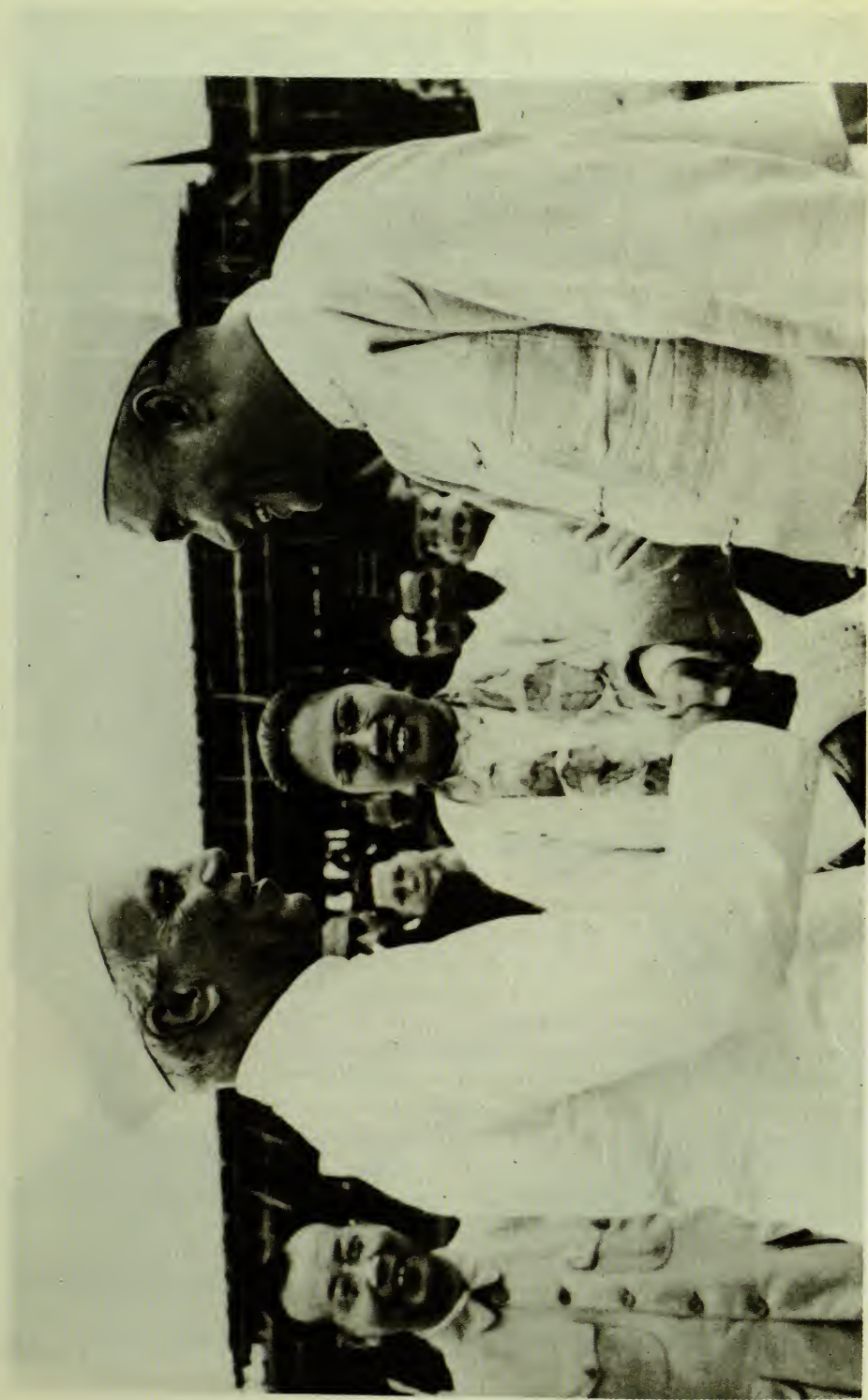
Recently I have been reading two reports,<sup>5</sup> oddly enough entirely different reports, about tribal areas. The Director mentioned something about tribal areas here and I am much interested in that. I do not know how far tribal areas come into the picture in what is taught or done in this Institute. I hope nobody will take offence at what I say. One report was about some missionary activities in the North East Frontier. Another report, that balanced it, was about certain similar activities by some of my own colleagues who have opened an ashram there.<sup>6</sup> Both these are by estimable persons, full of enthusiasm and perhaps even having a crusading spirit. But both reports agreed on one thing, the amount of injury they had done where they had gone. I do not know how many of you know these tribal people. I have been there pretty frequently and I am very fond of them. I think they are among the finest of our people in their own way. May be they do not produce professors of economics and directors of Tatas. But they are very fine people, and they are full of laughter and song and dance. In fact all this is woven into their social structure and life. Now the first thing that both the missionaries and my colleagues did was to stop that laughing and singing and dancing. They said that they must do something else, they must not be so frivolous. Surely, that is not the right approach at all. As I said, I do not know about the course here, but I wonder if in your courses there is such a thing as your students being made to go and live in a village for a while. I do think that it is quite essential, not to teach them anything at all but to learn who the people there are, what their urges are, what their habits are, what their failings are, what their virtues are, everything, and to learn the art specially of getting on with them, and getting to be in tune with them. Some people came to me who are going on a scholarship to a foreign country to learn something about social work. I suggested to them to go to Gandhiji's old ashram for a few months. I tell them: "You might learn a little more there than through these scholarships. You, no doubt, learn some new techniques, which is very necessary. I am not against techniques, have them by all means; but something more important than technique is the human quality of the individual, the human approach, the understanding, and your understanding of the environment in which you will have to work. A person may learn a lot from the point of view of a different environment, which is very useful, very good. Transplant him into a new milieu, a new environment, he is helpless. Because he meets with different types of problems, different types of people, and the tools he has learnt to use are not of any use here. He has not got them and he

5. One of the reports was submitted by Verrier Elwin in June 1954. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 257-259.

6. The reference probably is to A.V. Thakkar's Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, which was involved in social, economic, cultural and educational upliftment of the tribal people in India.



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is helpless without those tools. Therefore, it is the psychological factor that becomes very important, even more important than the other things that one might learn, important as they are. I have no doubt that this aspect is borne in mind by the people who teach and who learn in this Institute. After all, social work is not something which is confined or which should be confined to philanthropists or trained social workers. It is something which should infuse society as a whole, the whole social structure. In fact you come up against all manner of problems which are rather beyond the normal scope of a social work institute.

Dr Matthai mentioned the colour question, a highly important question, and I entirely agree with him in what he said about it.<sup>7</sup> And may I remind him, a fact which he no doubt knows. He mentioned the *Rig Veda*. The word *varna* denotes the caste system in India. We speak of *Varnashrama dharma*. *Varna* means colour. Obviously, originally this idea of the caste system was based, to some extent at least, on colour. It has ceased to have that meaning now but there is no doubt that colour played a big part in it, and so it is an important thing. This colour question, is I think one of the basic problems of the age, and unless the world solves it, I am afraid we shall have a very bad time. For the moment there are no obvious indications of its being solved. I think we in India have certain opportunities of dealing with it more effectively than elsewhere, provided of course we take advantage of these opportunities and do not ourselves fall into that trap. I certainly hope that this Institute will deal with that problem in a scientific way of research, although I do feel that problems like this do not yield much to a mere scientific research.

We might also have a department here to deal with the psychosis of war, cold war, shooting war, to deal with it scientifically, how does it occur, why do people behave in the mad way that people, including the most eminent of them, behave. It requires, if you like, a scientific and psychological investigation. I doubt if after the investigation is completed and the report is issued it will have too much effect on the people who behave in that way, because that is due to other basic causes, call them distempers, if you like. Nevertheless, one must not ignore the importance of scientific and intellectual approaches to this problem. They do help; if they do not help the masses they do help a large number of individuals to get new ideas, enabling them to look at the problem from a new perspective.

7. John Matthai had said that one of the plans for the Institute was a proper scientific investigation into the problem of race and colour, as more frequently Indians were finding themselves involved in the effects of this problem abroad. He also pointed out that even *Rig Veda* contained references to 'colour'. "a subject which lends itself to the highest level of investigation."

The fact remains that human beings are fundamentally irrational. In the nineteenth century, certainly in Europe and in the West, a belief had gradually grown on the fact that logic and reason were supreme and as education spread the light of logic and reason would conquer the darkness of the world. That belief is no longer held quite so widely as it used to be. What are we to do about it? We cannot give up logic and reason, and we cannot give up education just because it has not led to the results we had hoped for. We cannot give up sciences just because it has led to the invention of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. These are complex problems. I do not wish to go into these by-lanes of thought here.

Fundamentally, an institute of this kind deals with human relations. What indeed does the state deal with except human relations? You may, if you like, divide up most, if not all, the problems of the world in terms of various kinds of human relations—relations between individual and individual, between the individual and the group, between group and group, relations between groups and nations, and between nations and nations. It is because something has fundamentally gone wrong with these human relations, and in their adjustment, that presumably most of our problems have arisen. Anyhow the Tata Institute of Social Sciences is not dealing with these problems in this vast way of trying to convert the human race to a better way of living. But it is doing I think exceedingly important work in India, and I am glad to say that to some extent even in the international field, in the sense that it is attracting students from other countries. We should all realize that this work is important, provided always that it is not done in a way which forgets the human quality or the quality of the persons one is dealing with. How that is to be taught in a classroom I do not know. It can of course be hinted at, but it is something which either grows or does not grow.

One thing more. I had been looking forward to this visit. The moment I arrived here I was pleased by the external appearance of your building. It was attractive, it was unusual, and it seemed to fit in with the type of work it was meant to do. Now this is such a rare quality in the buildings we see, that it immediately struck me and attracted me. As Dr Matthai said, it is my painful business to see buildings grow up in Delhi which are, to put it mildly, unattractive. I do not mind of course buildings being, even appearing, like packing cases if they have to do that type of work. But just as a house is not merely a house, but has to be a home to be lived in. Not just a few walls and a roof and some stereotyped furniture. It has to have something else to give personality to it and live itself out. So also the larger buildings, of institutes, of public buildings and the like, should exude an atmosphere, a personality. I suggested the other day in Delhi that all our public buildings—they spend large sums of money on the structure—might spend a very small proportion of that money on encouraging our artists and sculptors. May be you cannot easily get

very good ones for low fees, I don't know. But that does not matter. You must encourage them, and thereby not only perhaps add to the building and the neighbourhood but do something very important, that is, encourage the growth, the spread of painting, sculpture, etc. I do not mean to suggest that this particular Institute should have statues put up all over. I do not think that will be quite suitable here. But I do suggest this for consideration both of governments and big firms who put up big buildings. They should always try to make the buildings represent somewhat the spirit of the work that one does. Even a small percentage of the total cost would be worthwhile.

I hope that, I am sure in fact, that this Institute will grow and prosper and do a lot of good work.

### 3. Approach to Education<sup>1</sup>

I send my good wishes to the tenth All India Nai Talim Conference. I have often expressed my belief in *Nai Talim* or basic education.<sup>2</sup> As our experience grows, no doubt some changes and variations might become necessary in that approach to education. But I believe that the basic idea behind it is not only sound, but is specially adapted to present day conditions in India.

Probably, there might be some advantage in some variations being introduced in different parts of the country, so that our experience might be richer and we might be able to choose better. Even apart from this, conditions in our country differ so much that any rigid pattern, which is suited to one part, might not completely fit in with another part of the country.

I travel about greatly in this vast country of ours and nothing surprises me so much as the great variety and richness of our ways of life in these different parts. There is, of course, the underlying unity which binds us together, but there is also this variety. Most of us imagine that India is after our own pattern, wherever we might live. But India is bigger, richer and more various than any particular part and we must not try to confine it and limit it by our narrow outlook. The problem before us is how to maintain and strengthen the unity of India, and yet, also maintain the variety of India, just as, in the larger field, the problem is how to preserve individual liberty and yet have that central direction and coordination which are so essential in the complicated structure of the modern state. Neither can be ignored. Sometimes well meaning people, eager

1. Message to the tenth All India Nai Talim Conference, New Delhi, 9 October 1954. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 291-295.

to impose their own ideas and ways of living on others, do more harm than good. That applies to nations as well as individuals. In the international field, we talk of coexistence. This should not be open to argument because, without coexistence, there is inevitable conflict and mutual destruction. And yet, this very idea of coexistence is challenged and repudiated by some.

Similarly, in the somewhat narrower national sphere, there has to be this coexistence, not merely a passive acceptance of others, but an active cooperation and a harmonious development of the different aspects of the nation. Education is, presumably, meant to bring this about, as well as the growth of the individual. Even that individual has to develop in an integrated and harmonious way.

Recently I have had two reports of educational activities in some of our tribal areas. One was a report of Christian missionary activities; the other was a report of some kind of ashram which had been established by some of our own colleagues. The two were in different areas of India. And yet, both the reports pointed out how the approach to the people there had resulted in depressing and stultifying them. The tribal people often have a special culture of their own which some of us, with our limited outlook, may call primitive and backward. Nevertheless, that culture leads to a way of life which in some ways is suited to those people and which particularly makes them rejoice in song and dance. Our mentors, who go to them, frown at their ways and tell them to desist from them in the name of reform. The result is that they lose somewhat that joy of life which they possess in abundant measure and gain little else in its place. They become joyless and devitalised, dull and insipid.

Surely that is a wrong approach, whether it is by a Christian missionary or by any other. In this matter an example taken from the tribal people brings out rather an extreme case, but, in some measure, that applies to others also.

Basic education, properly organized, of course, tries to avoid this kind of thing; but it is important that this aspect should be borne in mind.

#### 4. To Ravi Shanker Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

9 October 1954

My dear Shuklaji,<sup>2</sup>

I am informed that the Nagpur Corporation have decided to close all primary schools within their jurisdiction which impart instruction through the medium

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

of Urdu and that one class of these schools has already been closed. Further that other such bodies throughout the State propose to act in the same way.

I doubt very much how far this is in conformity with our Constitution. Of course, I do not know the exact facts, but our general educational policy is to provide primary education in the language and in the script of the student, provided there are adequate numbers of them. Apart from the constitutional aspect, there is the political aspect too. In fact, the matter is actually before the President in another connection.<sup>3</sup>

We are actually encouraging all kinds of tribal languages in our frontier areas because we insist on the language of the pupil being taught to him in the early stages at least. If that is so, surely we cannot ban Urdu which is one of the principal languages mentioned in the Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

I hope you will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 91-92.

4. Later Maulana Azad wrote on 23 November 1954 that it seemed that the Government and the Congress Party had joined hands in a campaign to close down Urdu schools in Madhya Pradesh affecting lakhs of people. Azad also asked if a report could be demanded from the Congress members, who had a majority in Nagpur Corporation. Nehru again wrote to Shukla on 23 November (not printed) that this policy of deliberately suppressing Urdu, as pursued by Congressmen, was "entirely against the Congress policy and the Constitution" and "is one of the chief planks of our opponents in Pakistan as well as in Kashmir."

## 5. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 November 1954

My dear Maulana,

At a meeting of the Planning Commission today, the subject of education, and more specially basic education, came up for informal discussion. It was pointed out that while a good deal of work had been done by various commissions etc., in different fields, perhaps a comprehensive, integrated approach to this

1. File No. 40(33)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to K.C. Neogy, member of Planning Commission.

question had not been thought out. Even where some thinking had been done, it had not been given effect to in the states.

Thus we have talked a great deal about basic education which means quality education of a particular type. The demand, however, everywhere is for quantity of the present type and really little is being done for proper basic schools. It is the old type of primary schools that multiplies. The only State where perhaps some attention has been paid to basic education is Bihar. In the UP and perhaps elsewhere they say that they are giving a basic bias to education which, of course, is something far from the basic school.

As a matter of fact we have very little data on the subject and, I am told, that the states have not been very cooperative even in supplying information. While some fundamental thinking is necessary about the future, it is essential to know what the position is today in regard to basic education. Thus we have to assess the present position of basic education. How many full basic schools are there in the country? How have they functioned? How many schools which are partly basic are there and what is the next stage after basic, that is, how is this education integrated with the next stage? What is post-basic and where is this being practised?

It is obvious that basic education cannot stand as an isolated island of education, unconnected with the rest of the educational structure. At present boys and girls passing through a basic school find it a little difficult to fit in to the next stage which is of the old type. Therefore, they are at a disadvantage.

It becomes essential, therefore, to think of the problem as a whole.

We discussed these and various connected matters. We felt that it would be useful if we could discuss these in an informal way with you and perhaps two or three others. The persons specially mentioned in this connection were Dr Radhakrishnan and Dr Zakir Husain.<sup>2</sup> Also perhaps Mujeeb<sup>3</sup> from the Jamia. It is proposed, therefore, to have a small informal meeting of the Planning Commission to which these three or four persons could be invited. The meeting will be fixed to suit your convenience. The Education Secretary<sup>4</sup> should also come to it. The Planning Commission will get into touch about this matter to fix a suitable date.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University.

3. Mohammad Mujeeb, Vice Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia.

4. Humayun Kabir.

## 6. Language, Literacy and Progress<sup>1</sup>

As you reminded me just now, this place is very familiar to me and full of memories. I have often stayed in this building and many meetings of our Congress Working Committee were held here at which momentous issues were discussed and important decisions taken. As you know, the seeds sown here on the banks of the Sabarmati have sprouted all over the country. You are well aware of the results. So, innumerable pictures arise in my mind's eye when I come here. An era has passed in the history of India and all of us, millions of Indians played a role in writing that chapter. It is our good fortune that we were given such an opportunity. But today, there are greater tasks before the country. But we have to go ahead and the burden will fall on today's youth. I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to come here again and perform the auspicious task of inaugurating the library. I am not making comparisons with other countries but the thought often crosses my mind as to how few libraries there are in this country.

We often have long debates about education and languages in our country. We often hear arguments against adopting Hindi as our national language for fear that it will suppress other languages. All these arguments seem very strange to me. The debates are very much unreal. As for our Hindi-speaking brethren, instead of serving the cause of their language, which they should, they seem to be more bothered about rules and regulations. Languages do not grow by laws or rules. Languages must be alive, and for any language to grow, what is spoken and written in it must be good. Languages are like flowers. You cannot make a flower bloom by force. You have to nurture them, water them, apply fertilizers, etc., if you wish flowers to bloom. They will not grow by the use of force or by making a noise. All this debate about languages has always amazed me. Hindi is a very old and a first class language of ours and in my opinion, no other language except Hindi can be our national language. That is the reason why it has been incorporated in the Constitution, that Hindi will be the national language for official purposes and it is a right decision. Otherwise, we would have to continue to depend on English for official work.

Now, it is absurd to oppose English, which is a first class language in today's world. Much of the work of the world is done in English. Its literature is vast and extremely good. It mirrors the state of art and culture in the world very effectively. If we give up learning foreign languages in India, we shall

1. Speech at the opening ceremony of the Gandhi Bhawan Library of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, 5 January 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

get left behind and become useless. You must realize this because the true state of the world is mirrored in foreign languages today, not in ours. We want that our languages too must reflect it. But the history of modern education and art and culture can be gleaned, to a very large extent, only from the foreign languages, whether it is English or German or Russian or Chinese or French or whatever it is. Therefore, it is essential to propagate them in our country. If not all of them, we must promote at least the important foreign languages, because in that way our contacts with other countries become stronger.

But we cannot use a foreign language for our official work in the country. So what are we to do? We have a number of regional languages, which are as great as the national languages of other countries. For instance, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, etc., are great languages with ancient literature. But it is obvious that none of them can be adopted as the national language. Therefore, Hindi was made the national language. It does not mean that Hindi is superior to Bengali or Gujarati or Marathi. Where is the question of competition? They are all sister languages. All the north Indian languages are the offshoots of Sanskrit. The south Indian languages have a different origin, but they have been deeply influenced by Sanskrit. So it is futile to argue that any of them is superior or inferior. A language is considered first rate if it has produced first-class writers. You cannot put an artificial stamp of superiority on any of them. For instance, there have been great writers in Bengali, but it was Rabindranath Tagore who raised its stature. Even a single writer can do this. Rabindranath Tagore's writings are excellent literature, at the same time they are of the people. They are not so obscure that they can be understood only at a high-brow literary conferences. The rural people of Bengal read his writings and sing his songs and yet, at the same time, they are high class literature. This is what really good literature is all about, something that can be understood by the common man and not so difficult that only a handful of scholars can follow it.

So we must not regard any language to be in competition with the others. We must know that the progress of any one language will contribute to the growth of other languages in the country. I am sorry to say that there is yet another debate which has been going on for a long time between Hindi and Urdu. I cannot understand what the argument is about. Urdu is a language which is hundred per cent Indian in its origins. Urdu was not born in some other part of the world. It is an Indian language and has its home largely in Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. It was born out of the soil of these places. It is absurd to say that it is a Pakistani language, though Pakistan may have adopted it. There are not many people in Pakistan who can speak good Urdu. In fact, our north Indians laugh at their Urdu just as, if you will forgive me, the Urdu spoken in Bombay State is not likely to pass muster for its purity. It is strange

that we should wish to kick away as alien a language which has been born and bred in the soil of north India. It shows that we do not know the value of our heritage. Urdu is not likely to suppress Hindi, pose any danger to it. The whole idea is absurd. Hindi is a strong and powerful language and it has been adopted by our Constitution. It is the language of the majority of the people. So who can hurt Hindi?

Now it is equally strange to think that we can grow by showing down someone else. You may not be aware that there are both Hindi and Urdu newspapers published in Delhi and all over north India and the circulation of Urdu newspapers is four times as much as that of Hindi. There is no question of religion in this, for it is mainly Hindus who publish them. It is absurd to say that Urdu is the language of Muslims. It is an Indian language. Where is the question of Hindu and Muslim in that? You will find that the biggest dailies which come out in Delhi are in Urdu and they are published by Hindus. In fact, many of them are published by the Hindu Mahasabha which is staunchly anti-Muslim. The most narrow-minded, communalist newspapers are those published by the Hindu Mahasabha, and they are brought out in Urdu because they are read and understood by the people. In the Punjab, the rivalry is between Hindi and Gurumukhi and both sides argue vociferously in Urdu, the script. It is indeed strange.

So, as you can see, all these arguments have no substance. They are artificial. It is extremely important for us to make our languages grow and I am fully convinced that all of them can grow in harmony and contribute to one another's progress. All of them are closely interlinked. If you look at the history of European literature, you will find that three or four hundred years ago, writers used to write generally in Latin and regarded the languages of their own countries as crude and not fit to be used by sophisticated people. Similarly, Sanskrit was the language of the educated elite in India and it undoubtedly inhibited the other languages in the country just as Latin had suppressed the European languages. Then gradually there was a renaissance and French, Italian, English, and other languages began to emerge and grow. There used to be heated debates against English and French as being crude languages of the yokels. Latin and Greek were regarded as the sophisticated languages. But they grew.

I am telling you all this so that you may understand that languages can grow only by helping one another, not by viewing them with hostility. English and French grew by contributing to each other's growth. Their links were close and they grew all round. I am fully convinced that all the Indian languages must grow together. If there is a great writer in Gujarati, he is bound to have an impact on Hindi and Bengali and Marathi and all the other languages.

If you open libraries I would say that books in all the main languages must be kept in them. As far as I know, in this library there are books mostly

in Gujarati, Hindi and English and perhaps in Sanskrit and Tamil. Books in other Indian languages must also be kept here.

Why do we have libraries? Are they meant only for research scholars to sit and study? That is no doubt part of a library's function. But if it is meant only for that, then it is incomplete. Libraries today are meant not merely for scholars but for the common people. They must enable them to have an easy access to books. It is said that a good library is the university of the people. There should be all kinds of books, not only scholarly tomes, so that the common people can benefit. We must keep this in mind. I feel that there should be a library in every village, not in name only but a good library, and we must ensure that the type of books which will be useful for the villagers are kept there. The villagers will then get into the habit of reading. We have all these literacy campaigns and are trying to educate the people. But we do not make any arrangements to provide books for neoliterates. We do nothing for them, with the result that they forget whatever little they have learnt. How can anyone with just a little education hope to wade through dry, heavy volumes? It is too much of a burden. Therefore, simple books for children and adults must be published. There are not enough of them now. For the neoliterates there should be plenty of simple books which they can read and understand easily. Weekly and monthly magazines should be published for them in bold print. If you want the literacy campaign to be a success all these things have to be done. I think nowadays this is known as social education. There is no doubt about it that unless there is a rapid spread of education, there can be no progress in the country. All these things are closely linked to one another.

You must always remember one thing. In modern times no language can grow very much unless it is the language of the masses. As far as I know, this weakness is not to be found in Gujarati but it is certainly there in other languages, specially Hindi and it makes them to some extent a court language. It may be beautiful and high flown and belong to the educated elite. But it will not be understood by the masses. As I said, if you go to the villages of Bengal and read out an essay by Rabindranath Tagore, the people will understand it easily. But very often you will find that the high-flown Hindi essays are not understood by the people. They are so difficult and obscure that they go above the heads of the people. This is absolutely wrong. I do not mean that essays should be written in crude language or that there should be no place for elegant literature. Yet the real strength of a language lies in its having roots among the masses. In Turkey, when it was found that there were too many Arabic words in the Turkish language, Kemal Pasha appointed a commission to go into the villages of Turkey to look for indigenous words to replace the Arabic words. The commission made a list of ten thousand words which were commonly used in the villages; these were incorporated into the Turkish language which was enriched in this way. Even the city-folk who had regarded them as crude

and unsophisticated began to use them. The impact of this on the common people was tremendous. This is how languages grow, not by artificial methods. The strength of a language lies within itself. Let me give you an example. Milton, the English poet, has written that even if he knew nothing about a race or a country, he could say what it was all about merely by a knowledge of their language. He could easily gauge whether it was a strong nation or weak, brave or cowardly, etc., from its language. In short, it is true that language is a mirror of the nation or race.

There are many ways of learning the history of India. It is a complex history. But one way of learning about the ups and downs of her history is to read Sanskrit literature. In the beginning came the Vedas, full of power, in vibrant language. We find that the people who wrote and read them were stalwarts, with great intellectual and physical strength. Then gradually came the era of Kalidasa and others, known as the era of classical Sanskrit. It shows how beautiful and at the same time powerful Sanskrit was and from that you can gauge the calibre of the people of those times. Then a few hundred years passed and by the eleventh or twelfth centuries, the short, simple effective stanzas of the Vedic and classical periods had become extremely elaborate and ornate. Each sentence ran into ten lines and when one word had sufficed, two were now used. Writers began to show great expertise in using metaphors and similies, but the language became progressively weak and lifeless. This happened because the people of India were becoming weak and artificial. They began to copy others, instead of doing any original work, whether it was in language or architecture or anything else. Our ancient architecture was superb and strong. Look at the beautiful temples with exquisite workmanship. But when the people had to fall back on copying, it showed their degeneration. They could do excellent, intricate work but were incapable of putting up a pillar. So whether it is architecture or literature, it reflects the strength and weakness of a nation. If it is creative, it shows strength and if it is mere copying, it reflects on obvious weakness. There was a time when people were so creative and produced such powerful things that they hold the viewer spellbound even to this day. Then when creativeness began to fail and in its place merely copying and learning by rote were left, the nation became lifeless. Now we have entered a new era, not merely because we are free, though that has helped. I can see the beginnings of a new era, with a wave of enthusiasm engulfing the country. A new trend of creativity is visible in our literature and music and dance. All this make me very happy because it shows an all-round development of the masses.

Well, thank you for giving me the opportunity of putting some of my thoughts before you, though they may have no special connection with this particular occasion. I am happy to be here and hope that the Gujarat Vidyapeeth and its Library will be a great centre of learning and creativity.

## 7. Protection of Historical Monuments<sup>1</sup>

My attention has been drawn to certain historical monuments in Delhi, which, I am told, are not cared for. Also some of these old monuments have inscriptions which have been put there by the old British Government, which give their own interpretation. I think it is worthwhile our examining all these and, if necessary, putting our inscriptions.

On the Ridge in Delhi, there is, I am told, an Asoka Pillar. I have not seen it, but it is reported that it is neglected and surrounded by rubbish.

I suggest that you might appoint someone to go around all these historical monuments in Delhi and present a report to you.

I am told that the Patna Museum as well as the National Museum do not have a catalogue. About Nalanda there is no proper illustrated book like we have for Sanchi or Taxila.

There is another aspect which I should like to bring to your notice. Some of our old and historical places are getting spoilt by new buildings being put up round about them. This has happened in Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, etc. I think we should do something to protect these monuments from such intrusion. We might perhaps lay down that within a certain area no building should be put up without permission.

1. Note to the Union Minister of Education, 14 January 1955. File No. 40(227)/51-PMS.

## 8. To. S.K. Belvalkar<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Rajahmundry  
14 January 1955

Dear Dr Belvalkar,<sup>2</sup>

...About the India Office Library, we are all very concerned to bring it to India. There can be no question, so far as we are concerned, to leave it in England or to divide it up between British universities. Our difficulty has been the claim of Pakistan to its share of this Library. We deferred consideration of this matter with Pakistan because our general relations with Pakistan were none too good and we thought that difficulties would arise. We have now decided to discuss this with Pakistan and with the British Government.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Minister of Education. Extracts.
2. Sripad Krishna Belvalkar, a reputed Indologist.

We would like this Library as a whole to come to India, even though we might have to pay in cash for Pakistan's share in it. If, however, Pakistan insists on its share, then some other course would have to be adopted. In any event, we shall of course have microfilmed copies.

It is too early to decide what to do with this Library in India. A suitable place will have to be found for it and, as far as possible, it should be left intact. The Library, of course, is a very mixed one and contains all kinds of available manuscripts, not only in Sanskrit, but in Arabic and Persian also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Raj Bhawan  
Madras  
18 January 1955

Indu darling,

I hope the Simla weather is suiting you and that a week's stay there will make you quite fit. If you are lucky, you might have some snow there and the children can play about.

We have today finished our Steering Committee work. Tomorrow morning we begin at Avadi, fifteen miles away from Madras, and start our public sessions, first with the Subjects Committee and then with the Open Congress....<sup>2</sup>

Tonight we had a performance here at Raj Bhawan of Bharata Natya<sup>3</sup> by Balasarasvati.<sup>4</sup> I do not know if you have seen her dance. She is supposed to be the best. Indeed, she is the person chiefly responsible for the revival of Bharata Natya in Madras and other parts of the country. Previously it had almost died and there was a movement by worthy reformers. They had started an anti-Nautch society.<sup>5</sup> Balasarasvati started dancing at an early age in the late twenties....<sup>6</sup>

I learnt today something which I did not know. Apparently all the commentaries on Bharata Natya were written by Kashmiris, in Sanskrit of course.

1. From Sonia Gandhi (ed.), *Two Alone, Two Together: Letters Between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-1964*, (London, 1992), pp. 606-607.

2. Omission in the source.

3. Bharata Natya, (also spelt Bharatanatyam): a classical dance form of India.

4. T. Balasarasvati (1918-1984); one of the foremost exponents of Bharatanatyam.

5. In the nineteenth century dancing in India was associated with decadence. Hence, various social reformers had initiated a movement against public dancing. These movements were led by anti-Nautch (anti-dance) societies.

6. Omission in the source.

Some King of Kashmir married a girl named Kamala who knew Bharata Natya and his Minister wrote a big treatise on the subject. All the earlier commentaries have been lost and only one remains. This one is also by a Kashmiri. It was found in the Malabar and was written about the tenth century.

I enclose the programme for the dance recital this evening. This might interest you.

Love,  
Papu

### III. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

#### 1. Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes<sup>1</sup>

Friends, this is as you know, the first attempt, the first occasion on which such a Conference is being limited mainly to scientists and others interested in atomic energy.<sup>2</sup> In a sense everybody is interested, but rather chiefly those who are particularly working either directly in regard to atomic energy, or with its many allied activities. Now, of course, so far as the public is concerned we are much more interested and excited about the uses of atomic energy, the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb. This Conference, or for the matter of that, the Government is not interested directly in that thing. This Conference is meant to consider how we can develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nevertheless, I should like to say a few sentences about the state of affairs that we have to face in the world, because of the development of these new weapons.

1. Speech while inaugurating a two-day Conference on the Development of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes in India, New Delhi, 26 November 1954. From the Press Information Bureau. The Conference was convened by the Department of Atomic Energy.
2. Over fifty scientists, observers from Burma, Cabinet Ministers, Planning Commission members and Secretaries to the Government of India and three service chiefs and some leading industrialists attended the Conference.

We have found during the last two years a terrific pace of development in the art of warfare, both in the quality and effectiveness of the weapon and in the speed of delivery of that weapon, that is, both if you like, the hydrogen bomb and how rapidly it can be delivered at the other end. Now, as you know, it can be delivered at a much speedier rate than the speed of sound. So that we arrive at a stage when it is possible for a country that possesses the weapon, to use it within two or three hours of the decision—within a few hours it can annihilate all the targets before it. This is a terrific prospect. Within a few hours because of both the speed of delivery and the effectiveness of the weapon, vast areas can be completely annihilated. Of course, only very very few countries possess that power and everybody knows that the two major countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Russia, are supposed to be in the possession of this weapon. But apart from this prospect, it has to be appreciated that even today it is possible, if a decision is once taken, in the course of four hours or so to destroy utterly large areas of the earth's surface. And remember also that this pace of development goes on. I do not know what tomorrow might bring but one thing is already clear—scientists may know what possible developments are likely in this thermal nuclear age in regard to the effectiveness of these weapons—in regard to speed we have gone pretty far.

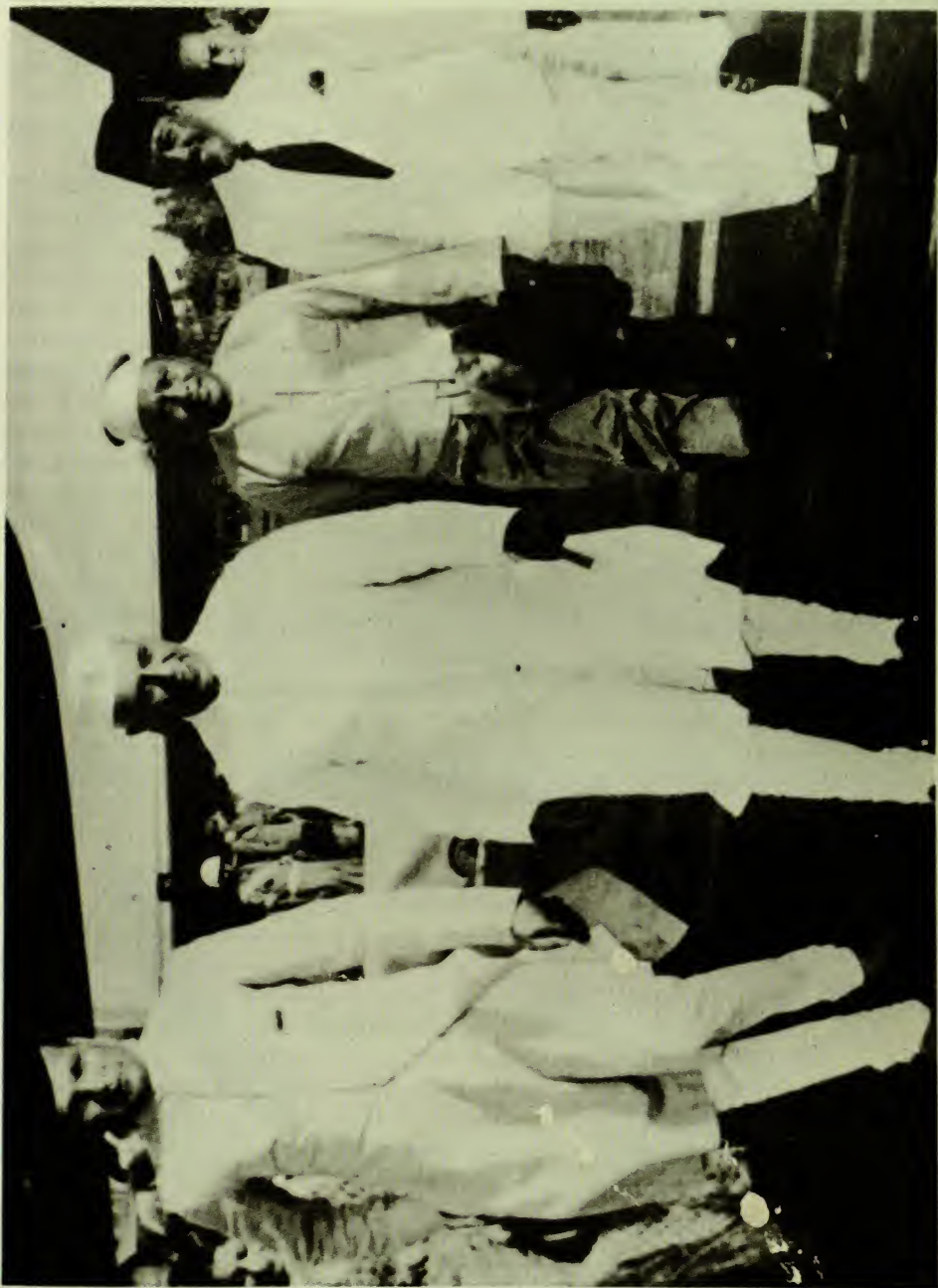
But a third prospect now comes before us—that of the aircraft which carries it being “uninhabited” as it is called, that is, it is a guided missile, no human being sits on it. That is the third state of which we are on the threshold. All this terrible annihilation and destruction takes place really by the pressing of a button on the order being given, and this uninhabited aircraft carrying these terrible weapons goes off, guided by other methods and they do their work of destruction. Now that is the prospect for humanity and it is a terrible prospect. And those persons, or that group, whoever it may be, who happens to be sitting with his finger on the trigger, has a terrible responsibility and suddenly, apart from the cold-blooded decision, may let loose the plug on others. That has always to be remembered by us, and because all our other activities and schemes may be completely ruined into pieces because of this happening. Therefore, a dominating factor in the modern world is this prospect of these terrible weapons suddenly coming into use before which all our normal weapons are completely useless. And that is the background of atomic energy so far as war is concerned.

Now, so far as peaceful purposes are concerned, obviously we want atomic energy for the generation of power. Power is the most important thing to develop a country's resources. You may judge a country's advance today merely by seeing how much power it produces or uses. You may judge it by another way, how much power plus iron and steel is produced by it. It is a very good test. It shows where the country is, in regard to the modern industrial age, but power is the basis of it. Power is normally produced, as you know, by coal or oil or hydroelectricity. These are the various normal methods. So far as

hydroelectric power is concerned, we know more or less it is increasing. So far as coal and oil are concerned, various estimates have been made from time to time. I believe, one of the recent estimates was that of a committee appointed by the President of the United States of America. According to that estimate, the world fuel reserves, if they are consumed at the present rate of consumption, will last 350 years, more or less. But then look at how their consumption is distributed. In fact, the United States itself consumes a vast percentage, a very great quantity, out of all proportion to the rest of the world. And Western Europe and other developed countries also consume large quantities. So, for us to say that the world reserve will last three and a half centuries, presumes that the rest of the world will remain static without development. If, for the sake of argument, it is assumed that the whole world was as developed as, or used its power resources at the rate of, United States of America today, if it is so presumed, then I think, the calculation will show that the world's power resources will last slightly under thirty-five years. Of course, the whole world is not going to do that, but I am sure that the present-day calculations are based on the fact that a large part of the earth's surface has remained underdeveloped and backward. Therefore, the more the vast areas of Asia or Africa are developed, the more these fuel resources are used up. In other words, if you utilize all the present resources of coal and oil, for power generation you cannot look forward to any very great development of the entire world. They are not enough.

It is in this connection that atomic energy comes into the picture as something which gives us power. Again, I do not know exactly, I have seen some figures of the possible reserves we have for the production of atomic energy—how long it would last. I am told that, on a rough estimate, it will last for eight hundred years on that bigger scale, that is with the whole world as highly developed as America. Then again, we calculate power derived from atomic energy today on the basis of fission. Now, it may well be—and it is highly likely to be—that the next stage will be the production of atom power by fusion, which again produces an enormous, fresh and vast quantity of power. The hydrogen bomb is, in fact, something which is produced by fusion but is completely uncontrolled. One of the new features that is coming in is the release of uncontrolled—for the present, uncontrollable—energy, which the hydrogen bomb possesses. There can be little doubt that the next stage will be to control it, so that you get enormous quantities of energy placed at the disposal of humanity. That is the importance of the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

It is more important, relatively speaking, for the underdeveloped countries than for the more developed countries, because the more developed countries have got more resources. The underdeveloped countries will take a mighty long time to develop. Well, as you know perhaps, we, in India, are naturally



WITH B.F.H.B. TYABJI, U NU, ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO AND DR SUNARIO, BOGOR, 27 DECEMBER 1954



WITH MRS S. AMBUJAMMAL, AVADI, JANUARY 1955

far behind the great countries, the big powers, in this matter. Nevertheless, certainly in Asia, leaving out the Soviet Union, there are few countries which are more advanced in this work than India—in some ways, even including countries outside Asia—that is, a fairly solid basis for the development of this work has been laid.

Now, as long back as 1948, you will perhaps remember, there was a Resolution on Industrial Policy by the Government of India. In that Resolution, industries were put in different categories. Some like the defence industries generally were stated to be the exclusive monopoly of the state. “Atomic Energy” is mentioned in that Resolution, as long ago as 1948 April,<sup>3</sup> as the exclusive responsibility of the state; and that was natural, because we found that no state can allow atomic energy to be developed in a private way—it is much too dangerous a thing for a private agency to develop. Apart from its possible use for war purposes, in the peaceful use itself, it can be converted into some other use which is dangerous. So that, even six years ago, we envisaged the development of atomic energy and stated that this is the exclusive responsibility of the State. Of course, apart from the major reasons I had mentioned to you, this work on atomic energy is an exceedingly costly affair, and only the State can meet that cost. So, obviously, that type of technological work has to be undertaken by the State. We have this Atomic Energy Department<sup>4</sup> of the Government which is setting up establishments and plants for this purpose. I think we are making fairly good progress, and that people in other countries have appreciated this also.

Now, again, there can be absolutely no comparison between the money spent, let us say, by the United States of America or even by the United Kingdom, and by us. The United States’ figures are astronomical. The United Kingdom spends much less, but, nevertheless, much more than we do.<sup>5</sup> It may be said that we should spend more, because it is highly important. As a matter of fact, I think, we have been spending rather liberally on it, considering our general responsibility, and I want to tell you that certainly our Finance Ministry has not at any time come in the way of development of atomic energy, because they realize its importance. But you have to remember that, with regard to every expenditure—whether it is atomic energy or anything else—it has to be balanced with other necessities, requirements, demands, etc. Atomic energy does not grow out of nothing. It grows out of the large number of other developments

3. 6 April 1948. See *ante*, p. 341.

4. The Department of Atomic Energy was created by the Government of India on 3 August 1954 for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes under direct control of the Prime Minister, with Dr H.J. Bhabha, as its Secretary, who was also the Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission.

5. For 1954-55, the US budget earmarked \$2,425,000,000 for development and research on atomic energy and the UK budget provided £53,700,000.

in the country—just as, for war-time purposes you cannot have a weapon, by itself and you have, behind that weapon, industrialization. So that it is not much good telling us that atomic energy is the most important thing in the world today and therefore, we should spend much more on it than necessary. We cannot spend anything on atomic energy if our people starve. The ultimate strength of a country comes from the people, and not from atomic energy or anything else. Therefore, one has to balance all these developments. Of course, the balancing process is not easy, but the Government does its best. The whole question of balancing means that we are to advance on all fronts and lay down a strong foundation for our growth.

Now, normally speaking, this atomic energy work, if you like, may be divided into two parts. That is a more developed technological work of it, let us say, the setting up of a reactor and the like. And the other type of work, the scientific work. Nuclear science is something that should normally be taught in the scientific section of our universities because it is an important subject which every student of science should know, and the more the better. But, inevitably, in the circumstances, you cannot have a university taking up these huge technological developments like reactors and the rest. Apart from the cost it has to be a state monopoly. And what with our universities not having at the present moment, unfortunately, even adequate equipment for normal good scientific work. It is rather fantastic for us to think of a university undertaking these technological developments in regard to atomic energy. We have to create a wide foundation and a strong basis for science in this country; all kinds of science. We have set up the National Physical Laboratory and there are, as you know, similar laboratories all over India. I think it is one of our most creditable achievements in the last few years. It is the foundation that we have laid, by these great national laboratories. But the national laboratories are not enough. All our universities essentially must be on that wide basis and foundation. But if our universities start, if I may say so, specializing too much in one thing, going too far ahead, it is possible that they will become lopsided. Therefore, it is far more important that the universities should give a general education in the whole scientific field, rather than by itself do the work which a national laboratory does. Beyond the national laboratory, you come to the next stage of specialized establishment, dealing with atomic energy work, which, in so far as the technological development is concerned, has to be a governmental monopoly.

Now, Dr Bhabha will tell you about the actual details of the work being done etc., our intentions, and how far we have gone in setting up a reactor, which is one of the preliminary things that has to be done.<sup>6</sup> But in this connection, it is our intention, perhaps as you know, to make heavy water; that

6. Dr Bhabha envisaged a three-tier programme for development of nuclear power utilizing India's vast reserves of thorium.

is a very expensive thing. We are thinking of producing heavy water in India, not by itself—it will be too expensive an operation, but in connection with fertilizer. It requires a great deal of electric power. Therefore, at present the only feasible place where we can do it is near Bhakra-Nangal where the power is available and where we have to produce the fertilizer for the surrounding area as well as heavy water.

## 2. Development of Atomic Energy<sup>1</sup>

We have arrived at the end of the Conference. We have had, I am sorry to say, rather to rush through this morning. Specially, because it is a very very interesting subject, on which it would have been better to have further discussion. But I think you will agree with me that this Conference has abundantly justified itself. It was the first effort of this kind on a subject in which we are all beginners—the world itself is a beginner and we are much more so.

Dr Krishnan referred to some of our very competent youngmen who read their papers.<sup>2</sup> I confess I did not understand much of this subject, naturally, because I am neither a mathematician nor a physicist. But I certainly understood something very well, the extreme confidence and competence with which they dealt with the subject. We have both in our senior scientists and our youngmen a very good basis for scientific work. And as Dr Krishnan said, we have, I think, a growing realization in the country of the importance of scientific work. Our resources naturally are limited, compared to those of other countries. Still we are doing much to the best of our ability for the growth of this work.

Now, I suppose, those of you—among the eminent persons who are present here—who are scientists, but are not connected with atomic energy work, will have some idea of the kind of work which is being done or has been done in regard to atomic energy here and which is growing and is likely to grow at a much faster pace.

I may tell you that we have been in fairly intimate touch with a number of other countries, with their atomic energy establishments, with some we have what we might call formal agreements, in regard to some matters.<sup>3</sup> With others

1. Speech at the closing of the Conference on the Development of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes in India, New Delhi, 27 November 1954. From the Press Information Bureau.
2. Dr K.S. Krishnan, Director, National Physical Laboratory, also stressed on the importance of continuing basic research in Indian universities and not divert their attention too much to applied research and technology.
3. India had signed agreements with France and USA and later with UK and some other countries in regard to the training of personnel.

there are no agreements formally, but we are nevertheless in intimate touch. For instance, mention was made of France, the atomic energy establishments there. We have a formal agreement with them, and I think that this agreement has yielded good results, good results is the most important thing, in our men getting trained in this work, and then coming and working here. Having got training in France or elsewhere, they work with added confidence, after seeing actual things being done and not merely reading about them. With the United States of America we have an agreement too. These are limited agreements, of course, but they are agreements under which we give them something and they give us something. With the United Kingdom and with Norway and Sweden, we have no formal agreements, but we cooperate and are likely to cooperate much more, without the necessity of an agreement. Or if it is necessary, we will have formal agreements too. We are taking advantage of all these avenues of learning. And because we have something at least to give them, material if you like, we can—if I may use a crude word—bargain with them for knowledge and experience. Secondly, human power goes ahead, and the human mind is not in control of it. Then all these terrible problems arise. The fact of the matter is that it is beginning to be realized by people all over, that something rather basic in human experience has been happening, that is, all that has developed in recent years in regard to the development of atomic energy is something really basic, something which gives you some glimpses, vague glimpses, if you like, into all kinds of secret forces of nature. It is a very vague glimpse of something enormous, an unknown subject. But you see these tremendous powers have suddenly opened out for human use. Dr Khanolkar<sup>4</sup> called it a 'tremendous tool'.<sup>5</sup> Of course it is a tool but it has a tremendous power which can be used for good or ill. It is a tremendous tool for the benefit of humanity whether it is disease or poverty. It, therefore, becomes necessary for us to try to understand it, try to train our people in it, and try not to lag behind in this process, although we may not have the great resources that some other countries have.

It is not always an advantage to have great resources. The rich man with his riches declines in intellect because nothing drives him to improve; he is living on his father's or grandfather's earnings. His intellect is associated with

4. Dr V.R. Khanolkar (1895-1978); Professor of Pathology & Bacteriology, G.S. Medical College and Pathologist, King Edward VII Memorial Hospital, Bombay, 1926-41; Director of Laboratories & Research, Tata Memorial Hospital, Bombay, 1941-51; Director, Indian Cancer Research Centre, 1952-63; Vice Chancellor, University of Bombay, 1960-63; National Research Professor in Medicine since 1963.
5. Dr Khanolkar spoke of the biological and medical application of atomic energy and its use as a research tool in medicine. He also suggested steps for the Department of Atomic Energy to set up a medical and health division to look after the health of its workers.

inherited riches. A country which is overburdened with wealth, as a Greek philosopher told us, declines. I do not mean to say that poverty is an ideal to aim at! But if one has things to waste, one gets into wasteful habits. Labour is cheap in India. It is not so cheap as it was, but still labour is cheap. So we do not resort to labour saving devices. But where labour is not cheap, people have to think hard how to save, how to economize, how to be more efficient. So that the fact that we are not overburdened with resources need not come in our way.

I never attach too much importance to money. I do not quite understand the importance of money. Of course, in theory money is useful, but I have never been a votary of money. The human being does everything and the human mind does everything, and where money is lacking or resources are lacking, well, the human mind has to replace that money. So, I do not think we should worry too much about our lack of resources with regard to the development of atomic energy. The real resources ultimately will be the bright youngmen, people with a sense of dedication to their work, to the search for truth, to the discovery of the secrets of the universe for the public good.

This Conference, the first of this kind, has yielded results which are good to you and to me, a layman. Most of you, who are connected with this subject, of course, know best how far this has helped you to understand each other, or the work which the Atomic Energy Department is doing. It is a Department of the Government, but with a large measure of autonomy. But this Department cannot probably function in isolation. As Dr Krishnan said, its basis is the widespread work in universities and institutes, and we want the Atomic Energy Department to be in close touch with our universities, with our laboratories, with our institutes, so that we may help each other and learn from each other. And possibly this Conference may itself be repeated periodically, so that we may keep abreast of what is happening and consult each other.

### 3. Science in National Development<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Advisory Committee for Coordinating Scientific Work held on the 29 November, a resolution was passed recommending to the Planning Commission that a section be set up in the Planning Commission to

1. Note to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 5 December 1954. JN Collection.

deal with problems connected with the development of scientific work in its application to national development. The section should also deal with the question of training of scientific personnel required for the work connected with national development. Such a section of the Planning Commission would deal with broad aggregates and would refer various broad problems connected with the development of scientific work to the advisory committee for coordinating scientific work.

2. I need not point out to you the basic importance of scientific work and a scientific approach in all our activities today. The question of training scientific personnel is also of great importance. This takes time and, therefore, it has to be planned ahead. Our scientific activities are increasing and are ultimately intimately connected with planning and the country's progress.

3. In drawing your attention to this resolution, I would suggest that some such step should be taken. To begin with it might be on a small scale and no particular staff might be necessary, though outside scientists should be associated with it. I do not know if you have any scientists in your staff at present. Perhaps Pitambar Pant<sup>2</sup> might be put in charge of this for the time being till other arrangements are made.

2. Pitambar Pant was Personal Secretary to Nehru, attached to the Planning Commission.

#### **4. Scientific Research and Development Planning<sup>1</sup>**

In planning and implementing the plans, the cooperation of scientists and technical people in the country is more important than the cooperation of anyone else. Some eminent foreign people have told me that while Indian scientists are doing excellent work and the national laboratories have a great and fine staff, there is an element of "ivory tower" attitude. I do not think the criticism is correct. Nevertheless, I think it is true that scientific research work and its practical application have not been coordinated with the big plans of development as it should be.

1. Inaugural address at the forty-second session of the Indian Science Congress, Baroda, 4 January 1955. From *The Hindu*, 5 January 1955 and AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts. It was held from 4 to 10 January 1955 under the auspices of M.S. University, Baroda and was attended by about fifty foreign scientists also.

Scientists should pay attention to this problem as also the Government and Planning Commission, so that they can bring about the necessary coordination.

I appeal to the administrative officials to shed the old attitude of looking upon scientists and engineers as merely experts who can be summoned to advise, and the administrators alone are the repository of every kind of wisdom and they can take up any job and do it. The administrative services have changed greatly and are doing good work but it is the general conception "of what your objective is, where you are going" that must change. In the days of the British Government, they had merely to carry on and remain where they were, it was a static conception.

Obviously at present we cannot merely carry on. We have to move fast and in fact we have to run. For that reason our conception should change and we should recognize that the engineers and the scientists are far more important than the administrators for the nation's progress.

Cooperation of scientists, engineers and other technical people in the implementation of the national plans is required. It is a tremendous thing. We are planning in a big way. It has to do with the improvement of the standard of living of 300 million people and the removal of unemployment. The Planning Commission is attempting to do it. But, our scientists, universities and, scientific men, wherever they be, should take an intimate interest in the planning work. Unless they do that, they are not doing their function completely, nor are we utilizing them as well as we should.

The scientists should not just bow down to governmental or nationalistic pressures but create an atmosphere of free enquiry which is so necessary for scientific development and to ensure that their activities and researches lead to the good of the country and mankind, generally though their own definition of good and evil is likely to be limited....

So we have to face this problem. I hope that your service and your working shall be free from any such pressures from government or from any other sources....

We talk in terms of war and peace. Even the advocates of peace talk of peace as if it is something worse than war, and threaten you with consequences if you do not follow their lead. It is most extraordinary how people cannot be peaceful when they talk about peace. And that applies to almost everything. We are becoming in the world, to say, a loudvoiced people all over and shouting so loudly that one can hardly hear anything.

I suppose this is the age of advertisements. Again, I am old-fashioned, I do not react favourably to advertisements. If I see an advertisement too much, I react against that thing very strongly. Why should I be forced to accept something which is shouted at me from the walls or from the sky or from the newspapers? But the fact is that this world of advertisement is making us more and more vulgar. I dislike this kind of thing.

Scientists are supposed to be above these considerations of good and evil. They work in the rarer atmosphere of just searching for truth, whatever it may lead to. Well, that is true. In the search for truth you cannot presume what truth is. Obviously, if you say that, you are not searching for it, you seem to have found it. Nevertheless, the question does arise as to whether the activities we indulge in further the good or further the evil; though I would not dare to define it what it is, because whatever definition I might give is likely to be a limited one and not fully signify what is meant. But in a sense, we have got to face this problem in the modern world. Of course, the normal test of orthodoxy is that whatever I believe in, is the right thing, is orthodoxy; whatever somebody else believes in, that is heterodoxy, is the wrong thing, and we fight it. So what is the way out, apart from trying to find the truth? It is to tolerate the other person, to tolerate the other viewpoint, the other activity. In other words, well, to come back to what I started with, some form of coexistence. And what with these nuclear weapons and the rest, it is clear that the only alternative to that type of coexistence is, if I may say so, codestruction.

Now, I mention these things to you which more and more concern scientists directly. There are political problems, the other problems which we have to face, those who are responsible in government. But scientists have to face them and sometimes scientists have to shoulder a terrific responsibility, because it is due to their labours that one big development, either good for the world or very evil for the world, might take place. The problem is not a live problem in India in that sense because for the moment you are not playing about with atomic or hydrogen bombs. The time may come and you will play about with them. But it is a live problem for the world and I do not offer any solution of that problem. Each person will have to think it out.

But we have seen how the atmosphere of inquiry, which is supposed to be so necessary for scientific development, is gradually getting less and less under nationalist and governmental pressures. So you have to face this problem. And I hope, even though I happen to be connected with Government, I hope that you will keep your science and your work in science free from any such pressure of government or from any other source because the whole value of what might be called the scientific approach becomes less and less if it is regimented in this way.

One thing also I should like to say if you will permit me. Scientists more specially, in fact all educationists in India should have the high place of a teacher, which a teacher always has had in India. I find that in other countries—perhaps more than in India but it creeps in India too—the habit of the teacher, the educationist, and the scientist to become, to some extent, an advertising agent for himself. It is a bad thing. It does not take him very far because that kind of thing does not produce a good impression on others. It may produce an impression on those whose views do not count at all. It does. He should be restrained. He should not shout his own virtues and demand recognition of

them. I do not know if this is a pertinent suggestion to make in the world today where everyone is supposed to shout for himself and advance ahead mounting on somebody else's shoulder. We live, mostly in the great part of the world and to some extent in India too, in an acquisitive society where certain qualities pay which may not be good from the social point of view. Anyhow, we are trying to change this and we want your help and advice in this matter.

Speaking for myself, the older I grow—and I am afraid I have grown older than I wanted to grow at one time—the less dogmatic I become and the more humble in my approach to truth. I feel, how even a limited truth sometimes leads us in wrong directions, and one must not therefore imagine that what one has even of the truth is the whole truth. And I search and I try to search and understand; and make innumerable mistakes, no doubt. But anyhow, I am always prepared to retrieve that mistake because I am not bound to it by any dogma or any absolute conviction. That is the way I function. It may not perhaps be the right way and perhaps it may sometimes weaken the force of some activity which comes from belief in a dogma. But I believe that perhaps it is nearer to what might be called a scientific approach than any other approach might be. Therefore, I venture to consider myself in line with the scientific temper, even though I cannot presume to be a scientist.

Well, I have spoken to you rather not very coherently perhaps, but various things I have in mind, because one's mind is all the time struggling, all kinds of ideas and activities and sometimes all kinds of battles take place in the mind to determine what should be done and what should not be done, specially for those people who happen to be in positions of responsibility. But the fact remains that what we have got to do in this country and the world is something very big and we have to set about it in a big way, bringing in as much experience and knowledge as possible to the task of all concerned. In that task science and technology have to play an enormous part because the modern world is based on that; but also, that it is highly important that, as I said, the conception of good or the right should never be forgotten because, after all, there is something in that conception.

I am not a man of religion, and what is more, I think men of religion often do a lot of harm to society, have done a lot of harm. But I do believe in something, that there is such a thing as good and there is such a thing as not good which is harmful for society and the individual. I believe in gentleness, as in graciousness and in other qualities, and I see in this world that many of the good qualities that I believed in are vanishing. People are getting rougher, coarser, more belligerent to each other, they shout more loudly and the whole idea of graciousness becomes less and less in this world. Well, I do not like it and I do not see what it will profit—profit an individual or a country—even to progress at the cost of all that one values in life. I hope that India will progress but never at the cost of the things she has valued.

I have always associated many prominent figures with the Science Congress and among them the chief was Dr Bhatnagar.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to say anything formal about him. You all knew him. But I would like to pay a tribute to Dr Bhatnagar with whom I had cooperated for the last six or seven years or more and who—I think, has done—I say this with all respect due to others—more than anyone else for scientific development in India. We have eminent scientists in this country, people eminent in other ways, but Dr Bhatnagar was a special combination of many things added to which was a tremendous energy with an enthusiasm to achieve things. The result was he has left a record of achievement which was truly remarkable. I can truly say that but for Dr Bhatnagar you would not have the chain of national laboratories.

It is sad that he should have passed away suddenly in this way. There are many things which he has discussed with me and which we hoped to put through soon. We want many more scientists; if we are to go ahead and solve our problem.

I am happy that the Indian Science Congress has attracted eminent scientists from other countries, countries which are opposed to each other often enough on ideological ground and other grounds. I am glad that in the Science Congress, there is room for coexistence.

2. Dr S.S. Bhatnagar, eminent scientist and Chairman, University Grants Commission, died on 1 January 1955.

## IV. TRIBAL AFFAIRS

### 1. A Balanced Approach to Tribal Welfare<sup>1</sup>

Chairman,<sup>2</sup> comrades and friends.

I heard of this Conference only three days ago when Mrs Khongmen<sup>3</sup> told me about it. It struck me immediately that it would be a happy idea to have such

1. Speech while inaugurating the third All India Tribal Affairs Conference, New Delhi, 4 December 1954. JN Papers, NMML.
2. B.N. Datar, Union Deputy Home Minister, presided over the Conference.
3. Bonily Khongmen (b. 1912); Member and Deputy Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1946-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-1957; Vice President, Khasi Jaintia National Conference; Member, Advisory Councils of Khasi and Jaintia hills and Mikir hills till 1952; founder of several schools in Assam hills.

a conference and I was surprised that it had been delayed so long, although I confess I do not particularly like to give trouble to various state ministers to rush backward and forward between Delhi and their states. We, here in Delhi, have quite a number of ministries, and if I may say so, at the least provocation conferences are arranged. I think some check is necessary to this kind of thing.

Nevertheless, so far as this Conference is concerned, I think it is a good idea; but when we talk about tribal people, I wonder how many people have the same idea in mind. Vaguely of course, we have some idea. It is not vaguely; it is a little more precisely—so far as I am concerned, we are all tribals, whether we live in Delhi city or Madras or Bombay or Calcutta or in the hills or in the plains. This business of thinking of qualitative difference, some calling them primitive and all that, calling ourselves more highly civilized, is basically a wrong approach. There are differences, of course. There are differences of all kinds, for example, between the people of the Punjab and the people of Madras—very marked differences. But there is an essential unity. There are differences always between people living in the hills and the people living in the plains. In hills conditions are different. Ultimately, it is geography and climate that provide different kinds of things in hills and plains, agricultural differences, differences of food and clothing and living conditions. This is inevitable. And other things also make us different from others. We are different, very different, let us say from the Chinese or the Japanese, because in India our conditions and factors are quite different. And yet perhaps there is something more in common between us and the Chinese and the Japanese than there might be between us and some people in Europe. On the other hand, there is something more in common between us and Europe in language. So these restrictive factors come. This is a different matter, but it matters that the tribals and the non-tribals are something qualitatively different. I think it is wrong. Take the case of this description in our Constitution or elsewhere of the Scheduled Castes. As you know, it is rather arbitrary. Government after consideration decide whether this is a Scheduled Caste or not. As a matter of fact, you cannot draw a line—a hard and fast line. Of course, ultimately what we should aim at is removal of all these appellations, descriptions, names etc., which separate ideologically and physically, Depressed Classes, Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and all that. The differences due to geography and climate remain and should remain—the differences in the way of their living, customs and things like that. But this barrier of so and so is a Scheduled Caste should go.

There is at present under Kaka Kalelkar a Backward Classes Commission sitting for a year or two.<sup>4</sup> Many of the Backward Classes are as backward as

4. Backward Classes Commission was appointed on 29 January 1953 and was formally inaugurated on 18 March 1953. Kaka Kalelkar, its Chairman submitted the Commission's report on 30 March 1955.

any Scheduled Castes. In fact, they are more backward. The ultimate problem therefore becomes one of helping all those who are backward. Let us recognize one fact that in India, a handful belong to the so-called superior class, and by a 'handful', I mean not very few, but a considerable population of India. Not that they are necessarily different, but because through generations and centuries they have had greater opportunities of growth, education and living conditions. Therefore, they assumed a relatively more important position in India. Inevitably, of course, some individuals go ahead of others. But I assume that is not a good thing, for castes and such like things to be permanently installed in superior positions. Every individual should have such openings. Now, having said that, the ultimate problem is of raising the level of all depressed humanity in India, not this group or that group. We can never succeed by taking up one group. If a group deserves encouragement or special help, we should give, of course. That really brings us to the much wider problem of education and employment for everybody. I am not in favour of a large improvement in literary education in India today. We talk of basic education. We generally adopt them in resolutions. The fact of the matter is that we have done very little about real basic education in the country. Now education obviously is necessary for everyone. When I say education, I do not mean literacy. If we have to progress economically as a country, we must have much wider education.

All these are general observations which apply to tribals as well as to any other people. All that I would like to stress is that we must cease to think of our being different from the so-called tribal people. It is a vicious idea in our mind. It is a superiority complex which is not there. I can say with complete honesty that so far as the tribal people are concerned, some of them have reached a high degree of development. In fact I found that in some places the tribal people are highly educated and more disciplined than in any other part of India, and lead a corporate communal life which, I think, is far better than the caste-ridden society that we suffer from. There are people among tribals who are very primitive; there are others who are very well advanced, though in a somewhat different way.

Then again, we in India are being powerfully affected by all kinds of economic problems in the world—what may be called 'market economy'. The person who can succeed in that economy has certain qualities. Normally speaking, these tribal areas have not come within the scope of that market economy at all. I am not prepared to accept this high type of civilization—survival of the fittest. Therefore, it has become necessary, as our Constitution has laid down, that we should prevent this type of incursion, whether it is from the point of view of acquiring land or from the point of view of other economic operations. Rich people require land and they dispossess us. In these particular areas, which have so far not been affected by the market economy, it is

particularly necessary that such things do not happen upsetting the economy of the tribal areas. We want the tribal areas to advance in peace in everything.

Looking at other areas outside India, where what are called primitive people live, there are two things affecting them very injuriously. One was the introduction of market economy in the last century or so. The other was gin or some such alcoholic drink which came from Europe. They got accustomed to it. As a result, there was another dangerous thing. They lost their customs. They used to make some kind of handicrafts, etc. You get the most horrid importation from Europe—I am talking about the nineteenth century early twentieth century, which put an end to the arts and craft and their simple ways of living. They adopted the so-called European civilization, which was most disastrous. Not to some extent, there is the danger of the so-called Indian civilization having this disastrous effect, if we do not check and apply in the proper way.

It is obvious that these areas have to progress. Nobody wants to keep them as museum specimens. But it is equally obvious that they have to progress in their own way. They have their own likes. They do not like something alien to be imposed upon them. No individual can grow in an alien surrounding, habit, or custom. How are we going to keep these two things together? It is not an easy problem. There are two extreme approaches. One is the museum approach, keeping them as interesting specimens for anthropologists to discuss. The museum approach is of course bad. The other which may be called the open door approach is equally bad. Normally, that approach attracts all the undesirables from outside who exploit these people economically and otherwise, and just take them out of their moorings without any equilibrium. We have to find a middle course. And that can only succeed if the people are in harmony with it and cooperate with it and there is no element of compulsion about it. That approach also has ultimately to be applied through their own people. The first thing, therefore, is to train their own people who can work among them and that would be far more effective than for outsiders to try. Broadly speaking one must raise them up through their own team. There are general approaches which I am venturing to put before you. We have to make them progress, but progress does not mean just an attempt to duplicate what we have got in any part of India. It may not be suitable to them. It may not be suitable even to India. But there are many things in India which are suitable to them. They will adopt them gradually. Any element of imposition has to be absent as far as possible and so people have to be trained to train others. It may not be a very rapid progress. Every kind of training takes time. Whatever profession you may adopt, it takes years to train people, engineers, doctors and so on. It is better to go ahead on a firm basis than merely to knock about with odd jobs here and there. There is a tendency to do odd jobs in improving them without any firm outlook.

I, therefore, venture to place before you these general considerations. I have not gone into the particular things which you will no doubt discuss.

## 2. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
20 December 1954

My dear Jairamdas,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of December 14 with your note about a special cadre for the NEFA. We shall certainly look into this matter further and consider the comments you have made. While there is some force in these comments, I think that you have taken a view which is not wholly correct. Certainly we want people with a certain missionary ardour and special interest in the tribal areas. Such persons may be found occasionally. There are many others who are interested in tribal affairs and who are trained for the purpose. But to expect any average person to remain there continuously for too long does not appear to me to be reasonable. Occasionally this may happen but the person living in a confined area and specializing on that gets rather narrow in outlook and forgets the larger world. Even from the point of view of his competence, it is desirable for him to have some other experience. Otherwise we create a small sect with both the advantages and the disadvantages of a sect. We have to balance the two. On the one hand we want to specialize in special interest. On the other hand we want wider experience and knowledge. I do not see why any harm should come if people from the NEFA cadre are used elsewhere occasionally. They may have to work in our Ministry here.

What is referred to in Kaul's<sup>3</sup> note was the inclusion of Lhasa, Sikkim or Bhutan. While it is true that these places are different from the tribal areas, they are not so wholly far removed from them and the experience in one helps in the other. Political or diplomatic experience may well improve the person concerned.

You suggest that these officers should remain there at least for ten years. What do they do after the ten years?

I am just jotting down some of my immediate reactions but we shall consider this matter further.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. He was the Governor of Assam.

3. T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary and Controller General of Emigration, MEA.

### 3. Toda Tribe<sup>1</sup>

This evening I met a deputation of Todas from Nilgiri Hills,<sup>2</sup> who gave me a memorial which I enclose. The Governor<sup>3</sup> was present at the interview. He has been good enough to take a great deal of interest in the Todas during the last few years.

I think that both the Central Government and the Madras Government should take particular interest in this very old tribe and help it in every way possible. There are also the Kotas in the Nilgiri Hills who deserve attention and help.

The Todas have written to me about the land problems. I understand that they have been nomadic pastoral people and not accustomed to agriculture. In fact, the land they had, they used to give to someone else to cultivate for them. A change is apparently coming over them and they wish to become agriculturists. I think we should encourage this and provide some land, on the express condition that they engage themselves in agricultural work and must not pass on the land to someone else. To begin with, a hundred acres or even fifty acres might be given to them for this purpose.

Apart from this, they deserve help in education. A school has recently been established there. Some assistance might be given to the school. Also some scholarships for higher studies.

I was told that a Toda girl had qualified for nursing by training in England, but is doing nothing now. We should try to find suitable work for her.

An attempt might also be made to encourage these Todas to develop some simple cottage industries.

All this will not cost much and I am sure that Central Government would be glad to help out of the special funds at their disposal for tribal folks etc.

I am sending this note through the Governor, who has been so much interested in the Todas in the past.

1. Note to the Chief Minister of Madras, 20 January 1954. JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to the Ministers of Home, Education and Health.
2. The Toda tribe has a small population (879—according to the 1951 census) in Nilgiri hills. They have pastoral economy and a symbiotic relationship with their neighbouring Kota tribe. Different views prevail about their origin and racial affinities. Polyandry, endogamy, poverty, malnutrition and insanitary conditions caused reduction in their numbers.
3. Sri Prakasa was the Governor of Madras.

## V. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

### 1. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 December 1954

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a note by my PPS about a woman engineer, Usha Desai. I do not know her personally, but from her qualifications and experience, it seems to me that her services should be utilized. Evidently the fact that she is a woman appears to come in her way. I should have thought that a woman engineer should receive special consideration in this respect. As I told you, there are any number of women engineers working in China on important posts. Will you kindly look into this matter and give her what is her due in regard to salary etc.?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to B.N. Kaul, the Principal Private Secretary.
2. Minister of Irrigation and Power, and Planning.

### 2. Children are the Flowers of India<sup>1</sup>

I am happy and proud to see the children—these beautiful flowers in the garden of India here. We have got to make our country, Bharat, a great and beautiful garden.

1. Speech at a children's rally, Madras, 17 January 1955. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 18 January 1955.

In a garden there are many things, big trees with branches and leaves and flowers, and small trees and all greenery. When I see these flowers of India, wherever I go in this country, I feel happy.

We have little boys and little girls growing up strong and happy and training themselves for big things to come. We train ourselves in many ways. We work in our classes and we play in our playgrounds, and we dance and sing. Training ourselves does not mean merely reading of books. Above all, we have to learn about our own country.

Children are very much the same all over the country, whether they are in the north or south, east or west. You have to know your country and the various kinds of people that live in this country, because we are all the members of the same big family and we have to know each other. I hope that these flowers in the family will grow up in Madras and all over India and beautify the garden of India. I thank you. *Jai Hind*.

### 3. Women's Education<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman<sup>2</sup> and Friends,

It seems to me that while women's education is forging ahead at such a pace, some attention may also be paid to men's education. Well, women's education does not require any argument on my part or anybody's part in its defence. Nobody doubts the necessity and urgency of promoting women's education today. For my part, I have always been strongly of the opinion that it may be possible to neglect men's but it is not possible or desirable to neglect women's education. The reasons are obvious. If you educate women, probably men also will be affected thereby. And in any event children will be affected. For the

1. Speech at the foundation-laying ceremony of a women's college, Teynampet, Madras, 22 January 1955. From AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed (b. 1900); lawyer; secretary, Tamil Nad Pradesh Congress Committee & Madras District Congress Committee; member, Madras Legislature, 1926-46 and Madras Corporation for five terms; Chairman, Southern India Education Trust, Madras; Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras 1949.

mother certainly affects the children and every educationist knows that the formative years of a person's life are the first seven or eight years. We talk about schools, colleges and the rest which are important but a person is more or less made in the first ten years of his or her life. Obviously, in that period, it is the mother who counts most of all. Therefore, the mother who has been well trained in various ways becomes essential to education. Most mothers, who might be trained otherwise, I regret to say, are not good mothers. They are too soft. They stuff their children with all kinds of eatables at odd times, put too many clothes on them, wrap up their necks with mufflers and their heads and ears with all kinds of woollen apparel and make the boys and girls almost incompetent or imbecile before they grow up. Therefore, it is necessary for women to be educated, if not for themselves at any rate for their children. From any point of view, if a country is going to make progress, as we are determined to do, it is quite essential that education should be widespread among men and women.

A great French writer once remarked; "If you want me to tell you what a nation is like, or what a social organization is like, tell me the position of women in that nation." From the social status and the position of education of the women in a country one could draw sure deductions about the rest of that country.

The idea that women should be kept away from most occupations and the like does not find favour now. It might be that certain occupations are not suited for women. But that is a different matter. There are plenty of occupations which they could engage in and which they do engage in. If we look around us, we would find that the average woman in India works in the field. Man and woman, both work in the field. It is only when one gets to the middle class a distinction arises. The great majority of our women have to work because economic circumstances compel them to work. Unfortunately, the idea has been prevailing—I am glad to see that this is rapidly fading—that the less work one did, the higher is the status one occupied in society, and the highest status is of the person who never works at all. Similarly in regard to women. In my own part of the country, you can see a woman working hard in the field or elsewhere with her menfolk, but when the family or the husband begins to earn a little more, people think she should retire into purdah. Doing no work is considered a sign of status. Of course, it is wrong. The whole concept behind this business is totally unsuited to the present. This business of not doing anything is not a sign of superiority in any way. There are strange stories in my part of the world, which some of you may have heard. The begums of Oudh were so delicately nurtured and were so delicate that they could not peel an orange. It is said that whenever they saw an orange at a distance, they caught cold. Also when a doctor or hakim was called in, it was not only improper, but it was

thought it might hurt the ladies' gentle wrists if the doctor touched them for feeling their pulse. So it was arranged that a slender thread should run from the wrist to the doctor who should feel the thread and read the pulse. That might have been a good way of proceeding in the matter, because most of these women were neurotics and required treatment; as such it did not matter what their pulse said.

We have passed that age and everybody, woman and man, has got to be physically strong and mentally alert, and do creative, productive work. And a time is going to come when people would not tolerate the person who does no work. Therefore, apart from the desirability of education, in sheer self defence people should have education. By self defence I mean defending ourselves against other nations of the world or defending our interests within the nation itself. I admit as Prime Minister, and I am sure, my colleague Maulana Azad, will also admit as Minister of Education, that it should be the duty of the state to provide education, education at all levels to everyone. I hope the time will come when that will be done. But now, obviously, we are struggling against difficulties of finance. Education is of basic importance. At the same time, our ability to ensure it proceeds from the productive capacity of the nation. To increase the productive capacity of the nation, there are still many things of basic importance to do. So you have to face the problems and have to decide which is to be given priority of treatment, so that we could have a balanced system of priorities. Obviously, in every system, education has to be given a very high place. The problem is what type of education it should be and also how far we should go for expensive buildings. I am not saying anything with reference to the buildings coming up here at all. I am referring to some of the buildings put up for village schools in north India, which are so expensive, ugly, futile, and in every sense bad. High structures are put up and charged for by the Public Works Department, when a neat cottage would be infinitely more graceful and useful and inexpensive besides.

We have got into wrong ideas in many matters and we are suffering from complexes which are probably a result of what may be called the Anglo-Indian conception of things. I am not using the expression in the racial sense but I am referring to mixture of conceptions arising from the impact of the British mind in India. In architecture, housing, and other matters we seem to have more or less lost faith in our own traditions and accepted many western ideas. They were also partly imposed on us regardless of the fact that India is a country entirely different from England, climatically and otherwise. Of course, the English rulers did not worry much about these matters. Apart from it, they also felt that their imperial *izzat* required that they should impose their own conception of things—buildings and the rest of it, even in small places. But that was really our fault and not the fault of the Englishmen. So the fact remains

that we have inherited all kinds of astonishing ideas about buildings and the rest. I am quite sure that education will advance rapidly if we simplify our ideas about buildings and spend more on education proper and less on bricks. I am all for dignified buildings for educational institutions. I believe that good buildings do produce a strong impression on the person concerned. I do not want shabby, shoddy structures; we should put up dignified, solid buildings as the occasion permits. Meanwhile, if we are to make progress, let us spend what we have on education and its content, rather than on bricks and mortar. Again, I want to make it perfectly clear that there is no implication in this statement to the buildings being put up here.

I am very happy to be here and I am happy to be able to participate in this function. Mr Basheer Ahmed had suggested to me long ago that I should come down for the function, but I could not accept the invitation then. Now I am able to come here and participate in this pleasant ceremony. Only yesterday, Mr Basheer Ahmed wrote to me a "Private and Confidential" letter. Let me whisper it to you: he said in his letter that education among Muslim women was very backward here and that I should say something to push it forward. Certainly, I am prepared to say a great deal. In fact, whatever I have been saying is meant to stress that aspect. Whatever group or religion one might belong to education is essential—by education I mean education and not learning to be lady-like. Learning to be lady-like may be good in itself but it is not education as such. I shall be perfectly candid. Education has mainly two aspects—a cultural aspect, which makes a person grow and the productive aspect, which makes a person do things. Both are essential. Everybody should be a producer as well as a good citizen and not sponge on others, if I may use the expression, even if the other may be the husband or the wife. So that is the way we are developing and persons who do not wake up to this fact and prepare themselves for it will just be left behind. So it is highly necessary that we should develop education among our girls more specially, because men are provided for to some extent, there are still inhibitions in the case of Muslim girls' education and these should be removed, because apart from any other big reason, commonsense tells us so. Thank you.

## VI. CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

### 1. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

13 January 1955

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

There are two matters which I should like you to consider at some leisure. One of these relates to foreign missionaries in India and the other to visa and like regulations for foreigners entering India.

So far as foreign missionaries are concerned, there is not much difference of opinion about our policy in regard to them and Cabinet has laid down certain general principles only recently.<sup>3</sup> But it is true that for some reason or other, we have got a rather bad reputation in Europe and America on this subject. Partly this may be due to the propaganda on behalf of the missionaries but, I think, partly it is due to the mistakes on our part, and more so some activities of some State Governments, like the Madhya Pradesh Government.<sup>4</sup>

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Home Affairs.
3. In a letter to the State Governments on 24 November 1954 on admission and treatment of foreign missionaries the MHA stated that: (i) they should be sponsored by specified Indian church organization; (ii) nurses and doctors should be freely admitted; (iii) missionaries working in India should not be disturbed; (iv) new missions without the permission of Government of India should not be allowed, especially in frontier or tribal areas (v) recognition of a mission could be withdrawn by State Governments under Foreigners Act, 1946; (vi) missionaries from Commonwealth countries would require visas hereafter.
4. To investigate various allegations against the work of Christian missions, the Madhya Pradesh Government had appointed the Christian Missionary Activities Inquiry Committee under M. Bhawani Shankar Niyogi on 14 April 1954, which published its report in July 1956. The Catholic Bishops Conference and other Christian organizations protested against the composition of the Committee and the mode of inquiry followed by it, particularly the questionnaire, which was considered prejudicial. In their opinion the inquiry was not conducted in an impartial and judicious manner.

The attitude I have taken up all along is that we must look upon this problem as a political problem and not a religious one. We do not wish to interfere from the religious point of view at all. This approach is understood everywhere. While I know missionaries are to blame and have to be kept in check, I know also that our people have often been in error. The Hindu Mahasabha and RSS have deliberately carried on violent agitation against them in some states.

The question is not really a difficult one but it does require tactful handling and not too much rigidity.

As regards our visa and like regulations for foreigners, I am receiving frequent complaints about the treatment of foreigners in India. I do not mean that they are treated offensively but that our rules and regulations are such that foreigners arriving are put to a great deal of inconvenience. A very eminent scientist of America, who came here as guest of Science Congress at our invitation, was telling me two or three days ago, how he was held up at Bombay for some hours. He told the people there (presumably Customs) that he had come as a guest of the Science Congress. Nevertheless, he was kept for several hours and interrogated. I had to apologise to him for all this trouble, which he had been caused.

There are rules under some ancient Foreigners Act requiring registration of foreigners and their reporting from time to time to the Police.<sup>5</sup> All this is completely out of date in modern world and we must revise it.

There is also a feeling about the issue of visas. I think that we must make it easier for visas to be issued by our Missions abroad and normally not ask for reference to be made to us here except in cases which raise doubts. In Europe there is a tendency to do away with the visa system and many countries have agreed to do so inter se.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Under Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939. J.R.D. Tata brought this to Nehru's notice in a letter of 31 December 1954.

## 2. Commonwealth Missionaries<sup>1</sup>

I was surprised to learn from a telegram received from our High Commissioner in London about the circular issued by the Home Ministry<sup>2</sup> and the request made that publicity should be given to it through newspapers, etc. This procedure appeared to me a very unhappy one and likely to cause needless irritation. Perhaps, it is not the fault of the Home Ministry, because they have literally interpreted a decision of the Cabinet. I have not myself understood that decision to imply such publicity.

2. I am quite clear that in this matter there should be no discrimination between Commonwealth missionaries and others from abroad. But how are we to proceed about it is quite another matter. Unfortunately, we have created a widespread impression abroad that we are treating missionaries badly. As a matter of fact, we have done very little and in fact the number of missionaries has gone up very greatly in India. But the impression is there and it has done us harm.

3. I have made it perfectly clear to foreign Church representatives here and missionary societies as well as in Parliament that we are not judging this matter from the point of view of religion, but from political and like reasons. I think it is undesirable for large numbers of foreigners to come here and settle down for long periods. They will lead to a new problem in the future. There are already a very large number of missionaries in India.<sup>3</sup> Many of them are doing useful work; some are not. Therefore, I think that we should be more careful in admitting missionaries into India. At the same time, I would certainly be rather lenient in regard to doctors, nurses and specialists, as we are not having enough of them and are not likely to have enough in the foreseeable future. My own idea was that we should deal with the principal missionary organisations in India and inform them of our policy. No missionary comes here, with some rare exceptions, except through a major society here. If we deal with that society and inform them of our policy, then we can hold them responsible for any breach of it. We could also inform governments privately.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 24 January 1955. JN Collection.

2. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in a telegram dated 7 January 1955 and a letter dated 12 January 1955, referred to a circular of the Home Ministry dated 2 November 1954 notifying an amendment of the Indian Passport Rules making it obligatory for the UK citizens visiting India "in connection with missionary work" to obtain a visa.

3. See also *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 322-325.

4. As it is, public notifications have been issued and advertised without any private approach either to these societies or to governments and naturally they are surprised at this and enquire what has happened.

5. This matter should be considered afresh by the Home Ministry in consultation with External Affairs. Meanwhile, we might, by executive action, tone down our orders about visa required from Commonwealth missionaries. I suppose it might be enough to issue instructions privately that any such missionary coming from Commonwealth countries, even without a visa, should not be prevented from landing, but that his or her case might be reported to us.

6. Copy of this note might be sent to the Home Ministry with this file. When the Home Ministry has considered this matter, if necessary, we can take the guidance of Cabinet on it.

## PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE



## I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

### 1. Objections in PAC Report<sup>1</sup>

I have been reading the ninth report of the Public Accounts Committee. This report deals, inter alia, with the purchase of stores in foreign countries and in particular refers to:

- (1) jeep contracts;<sup>2</sup>
- (2) two contracts for the purchase of certain defence stores;
- (3) purchase of aviation stores and
- (4) procurement of blankets in the United Kingdom.

The report makes serious charges in regard to these transactions, and it has received a good deal of publicity in the press. I have little doubt that these matters will be raised in Parliament also. The Public Accounts Committee has suggested that the whole question of the extent of individual responsibilities should be referred to one or two High Court Judges for assessment.

2. I do not personally know much about the third and fourth items. But the question of jeeps as well as the purchase of defence stores has come up before us repeatedly on previous occasions. Indeed, the jeep contract and its consequences have received a good deal of publicity and have become in the public mind examples of Governmental incompetence, if not worse.<sup>3</sup> The Public Accounts Committee considered these matters previously, but, apparently, it deferred final judgement as it was waiting for the result of the second contract. In its present ninth report, a final judgment has been given and it is very unfavourable both to the Defence Ministry and our High Commission in London. It is clear that this matter cannot be left where it is and has to be dealt with fully and finally. Whether it would be necessary to approach one or more High

1. Note to the Minister for Defence Organisation and Defence Secretary. On board INS *Delhi*. 5 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. In March 1951, 2000 reconditioned jeeps were purchased from a British firm. For Nehru's intervention in the Parliament on this case, see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 16 Pt. 1, pp. 263-265. For other details of the case, see *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 18, pp. 218-219 and 222-223.
3. See *post*, pp. 454-456.

Court Judges to carry out an investigation is a matter for us to consider later. For the present, I should like to know what the Defence Ministry proposes to do about this.

3. There have been several inquiries previously into both these matters, namely, the jeep contracts and the purchase of defence stores. I remember, in particular, a full examination of these questions by some of us including the then Defence Minister, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the Finance Minister, the Secretary General, the Defence Secretary and the then High Commissioner in London, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. For several days, we went into all available papers and discussed this matter among ourselves. Later, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar made, I think, a statement in the House of the People in which he referred to this enquiry and expressed the opinion (to the best of my recollection) that, while, there is a number of irregularities in these transactions, we had found that no serious error or errors had been committed.

4. In reading the Public Accounts Committee report now, it seems to me that some of the facts that were placed before us were not placed before the Public Accounts Committee and the PAC have, therefore, proceeded on inadequate data.

Why these facts were not placed before them by the Defence Ministry at that time, is not clear to me. Perhaps the particular questions were not asked. It is probable that, if the PAC had all the data before them, they would not have come to the conclusions that they have now arrived at.

5. Recently, that is about two months ago, the Director of Audit, Defence Services, Shri R.P. Sarathy, had mentioned to me that he had gone into the question of jeeps, and, after full enquiry, had arrived at certain conclusions. I asked him to send me a note on this which he did. He sent a copy of this note to the Comptroller and Auditor General<sup>4</sup> as well as to the Defence Ministry. The Defence Ministry have since sent a reply to that note. Shri Sarathy's note endeavoured to show that the original bargain to buy the jeeps was not a bad transaction because those jeeps could be, and some of them indeed were, reconditioned after an expenditure of Rupees one thousand or less. If we had accepted those old jeeps and repaired them, they would have done us good service, and the total price would have been less than what we had subsequently paid. The Defence Ministry have accepted this main argument, though they have criticized Mr Sarathy's note in some particulars. The Comptroller and Auditor General had informed me that he had asked Shri P.C. Padhi<sup>5</sup> to consider Shri Sarathy's note and examine this question fully. I presume this has been done now and we should have Shri Padhi's comments probably with the Auditor General's views fairly soon.

4. V. Narahari Rao.

5. P.C. Padhi was Accountant General, Central Revenues.

6. I need not refer here to the criticisms of the Public Accounts Committee except to say that nearly all of these matters were, so far as I remember, considered rather fully by Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the then Defence Minister and others, as I have indicated above.

7. The question is what Government should do now in these matters which have aroused so much public attention. If the charges of the Public Accounts Committee are true, then undoubtedly further action is necessary. Before deciding on any further action, I should like to have the views of the Defence Ministry regarding those charges.

8. A copy of this note is also being sent to the Comptroller and Auditor General.

## 2. Censorship on Foreign Press Telegrams<sup>1</sup>

The question of censorship on foreign telegrams was raised more than once in 1947 and 1948, i.e., actually during the period of acute troubles both in Pakistan and in northern India. It was raised by foreign correspondents in Delhi who objected to any kind of censorship. The matter was considered at the highest level. Lord Mountbatten was interested in it too and was in favour of no censorship on these foreign telegrams. In fact a meeting was actually held of foreign press correspondents in Government House at which not only Lord Mountbatten, but Sardar Patel and I were present. We told them that there would be no such censorship on foreign messages.

2. That was a time when conditions were rather critical in north India and of course in Pakistan, and even in Delhi. Nevertheless, we decided that we should not put any censorship on these foreign messages. The reason was that the mere putting up of a censorship led to all kinds of rumours, speculations, etc., in foreign countries and actually in the result the impression created in foreign countries was much worse than if messages were allowed to go. It had also to be remembered that in these days of airmail, messages could be sent by airmail, naturally without censorship, so as to reach their destination within a day or two. That practice has apparently been followed in regard to foreign telegrams ever since.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 11 November 1954, JN Collection. A copy of the note was sent to the Home Ministry.

3. I was not aware of the fact that a separate rule applied to inland messages and further that inland messages included messages to Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Tibet. The reasons applying to non-censorship of foreign messages appeared to me to apply with equal force, if not greater, to inland messages. Any message can be easily sent by airmail. Perhaps, the difference would be only of a few hours, or at the most of a day. Therefore, we do not really stop a message; we only delay it slightly.

4. The question that has been raised is how far we can apply this inland rule to Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Tibet. I think the question is a wider one and it is whether we should have any such rule for inland telegrams at all, i.e., even for those to various parts of India. I am inclined to think that there should be no such rule, i.e., no pre-censorship or stoppage of messages.

5. I know that the Pakistan press has been full of highly tendentious messages from India. They may have gone by telegram or sometimes by post. I do not know if any such case has arisen in regard to Burma, Nepal, Ceylon or Tibet. I do not see how the sending of tendentious news to Pakistan can be stopped by our pre-censoring messages. The rule of not censoring foreign messages applies to accredited correspondents of foreign papers, the idea being that if an accredited correspondent sends tendentious messages, his accreditation should be taken away from him. I do not know if any attempt at any time has been made to take away this accreditation from the correspondents of the Pakistan News Agency or newspapers in Delhi who have misbehaved in this matter. Surely, that was the right way to proceed.

6. The argument that internal messages might create a law and order situation and therefore should be checked at the outset seems to me of no great consequence. As I have said, messages can be sent with great speed by airmail.

7. The idea of a clerk in the telegraph office or even the head of the telegraph office deciding as to what to send or what to delay and refer to the District Magistrate does not appeal to me at all.

8. Some of the American and European correspondents in Delhi are constantly sending messages which are tendentious and thus creating wrong impressions in their respective countries. We permit this to happen. Sometimes the correspondent is sent for and it is privately pointed out to him that his message was tendentious. I do not remember any more drastic action having been taken except, I think, once in regard to a correspondent of the Tass Agency. When a complaint was made about his messages, the Soviet Government withdrew him immediately and he went back to Russia. Therefore, I am of opinion that this internal censorship should be removed completely. This disposes of the question as to whether messages to Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Tibet should be considered internal messages. This rule should only apply to accredited correspondents. Some record should be kept of their messages so that we can judge what kind of messages they are sending. If tendentious

messages are sent, we should consider what action we should take against that correspondent. The first action should be a warning, the second to withdraw his accreditation, and the third might well be asking him to leave the country, i.e., if he continues to misbehave flagrantly.

### 3. To K.S. Thimayya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

16 November 1954

My dear Thimayya,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 14th November and the chapters 7 and 12.

I have not read the manuscript<sup>3</sup> yet though I have seen a few pages here and there. Your first four chapters, however, have been considered with some care in the External Affairs Ministry as well as by the Defence Secretary. I propose to read them myself. But I might inform you that both External Affairs and Defence have given their considered opinion that the book should not be published. It is full of views on debatable and highly controversial points which will be highly embarrassing to Government.

There is another aspect of this matter. The book can only be published with the permission of the Government of India. That would indicate to the public, whatever might be said to the contrary, that the Government of India broadly agreed with its thesis and its comments. This would create further difficulty for us.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

1. JN Collection.
2. Lieutenant General K.S. Thimayya was GOC-in-C, Western Command at this time.
3. Thimayya was the Chairman from September 1953 to March 1954 of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, established under the agreement on the repatriation of the Prisoners of War in Korea signed by UN Command and Northern Command on 8 June 1953, to take custody of the Korean prisoners of war alleged to be refusing repatriation. He had written a book on his Korean experiences and presented a part of the manuscripts to Nehru personally on 7 November 1954 for Government's approval.
4. The Korean diaries of Thimayya which could not be published then due to Government objections were later published in 1981 by Nina Thimayya, his wife, under the title *Experiment in Neutrality*.

#### 4. Republic Day Parade<sup>1</sup>

1. Yesterday at the children's pageant at the Stadium,<sup>2</sup> there was an attractive item. Children came dressed in the costumes of different parts of India. Not only that they sang songs but danced as they passed along. This was effective as it was and with a little more attention it can be made very effective indeed. After the different states groups went by, there was a mixed group representing India.

I think that it would be very desirable to have some such thing in the Republic Day pageant. It will have to be carefully organized but this organization need not give much trouble. The children participating would nearly all come from Delhi where people from different provinces are adequately represented. I would not mind some children coming over from other states too, if necessary.

It would not be right to make these children march too far. It would be tiring for them. Perhaps they could march along Kingsway only up to India Gate. Anyhow, I should like this matter to be considered by the Committee dealing with the Parade on Republic Day.

2. Another idea has struck me about this parade. We want to make this as national as possible with various professions and occupations represented. Thus we could have representatives of various types and occupations. Naturally, this can only be done where there is some organization for each group. It would not be feasible to pick out individuals. It should be easy to get, for instance, trade workers' unions to send some representatives. Those workers can be of all types from *tongawalas*, taxi and car drivers to industrial workers. They should come with their flags. Preferably they should have also an Indian National Flag in each group in addition to their own standard. Intellectual organizations could also be represented, as well as cultural.

I should like this idea to be worked out. This will give a wider significance to our parade.

It is sometimes said that the parade as it is, takes too long and therefore, it might not be desirable to prolong this period. I do not think it takes too long. After all, it is an annual function and normally such parades or pageants

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 16 November 1954. JN Collection. Copies of the note were sent to the Defence Secretary, Foreign Secretary and Indira Gandhi.
2. Six thousand children participated in a function of dance, music and physical exercises at the National Stadium, New Delhi, on 14 November to celebrate Nehru's birthday.

in other countries take much longer. If a few persons in the audience, one might say, get tired easily, that is not of great consequence. The great majority of the people would like this.

The whole idea of the pageants is to show the varieties and at the same time the unity of India. We should develop this idea in this way.

3. It would be desirable to have a float as well as some representatives of what used to be the French settlements in India. A great event has taken place in the transfer of Pondicherry etc. *de facto* to the Indian Union.<sup>3</sup> That should be represented in the pageant. Our Chief Commissioner in Pondicherry<sup>4</sup> should be asked to organize this. I think he can get a good deal of effective help from Sri Aurobindo Ashram there, which has a certain competence in such matters.

3. On 1 November 1954. See *ante*, p. 221.

4. Kewal Singh.

## 5. Voluntary Cut in Privy Purses<sup>1</sup>

I am afraid I can give no definite information on the subject of this question. The present position is as follows:-

I wrote a letter to about one hundred Princes in 1953.<sup>2</sup> No precise suggestions were made in this letter, and I only invited the Princes to consider the question of some kind of a voluntary cut in their privy purses. In their replies, some of them generally agreed, others pointed out their difficulties and some others did not send any reply.

On the 15th June 1954, I wrote another personal letter to these Princes.<sup>3</sup> In this letter, I made some precise proposals. These proposals were for a certain percentage of cut in their privy purses, the money to be used for developmental purposes in the State, and subscription to the National Plan Loan on a certain percentage basis.

I have had many replies to this letter. Most of the Princes have pointed out

1. Note for the Lok Sabha Secretariat regarding a question on privy purses, 25 November 1954. JN Collection.

2. On 10 September 1953. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 213-220.

3. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 277-279.

that they have contributed largely to the National Plan Loan giving figures. Some have also agreed to use certain percentage of their privy purses for developmental projects in their own States. Some others are still corresponding with the Prime Minister.

It will not be desirable or proper for any names of Princes to be given at this stage, apart from the fact that the matter is being pursued by correspondence.

## 6. Visa Regulations<sup>1</sup>

1. I have read the note of Home Ministry about the issue of visas. I suggest that this matter be considered afresh.

2. To say that our visa regulations are based on the principle of non-discrimination is hardly correct when nationals of Commonwealth countries (other than Pakistan and Ceylon) are not required to have visas. Thus we do discriminate in favour of these Commonwealth countries. In doing so we take the risk of some undesirable persons coming to India. As a matter of fact, no amount of care can prevent every undesirable person from coming from outside.

3. There is no reason why we should treat the Commonwealth countries more favourably than countries like France, Belgium, Sweden, Turkey or Norway. There is still less reason why we should not treat some of our neighbour countries favourably, like Burma, unless there are some special reasons applying to that particular country.

4. The whole system of visas is a relatively new innovation, and an attempt is made in Europe to do away with them as between a number of countries.

5. Anyhow the question of non-discrimination does not arise at all and I see no reason why we should not come to a particular agreement with a country and not with others. Nor do I see any reason why the Commonwealth countries should be put on a special footing in this respect.

1. Note to the Ministry of External Affairs and Home Affairs, 5 December 1954. JN Collection.

## 7. Publication of Book Containing Secret Documents<sup>1</sup>

In view of the opinions given by the Secretary of the States Ministry<sup>2</sup> and the Cabinet Secretary,<sup>3</sup> it is clear that we cannot agree to the publication of this book as it is.<sup>4</sup> I need not repeat these reasons because they have been set out in these notes and they appear to me very valid. The publication of this book, in its present form, is likely to embarrass Government greatly and might even create fresh problems and difficulties for us. Whether this will involve Shri V.P. Menon in legal proceedings or not, I do not know, and that is after all his concern. As the book is, we cannot agree to its publication.

2. Whether some other draft, which is completely revised, will be suitable for publication can only be decided when we see that draft. But in any event that will have to be greatly changed and extracts from secret papers left out.

3. The question of principle or policy that the Cabinet Secretary has raised seems to me to admit of only one reply. No secret documents of Government should be allowed to be published except on a date which is far removed from the time of occurrence and when it has only historical value. Secondly, an officer, who has functioned in a responsible position, should not write about the matters he has dealt with in that position. He might write some kind of a memoir, but he should not deal with events of political importance which have very great bearing on present-day affairs. I am quite clear that Government servants, who have occupied a high position, should not make any use of unpublished and secret Government documents. Indeed, this rule should apply to Ministers also, or ex-Ministers.

4. I think it would be desirable for the Secretary, States Ministry, to send for Shri V.P. Menon and explain this fully to him. I have personally no objection to his seeing the note of the Cabinet Secretary or other notes, if the States Minister<sup>5</sup> also agrees to this procedure. If the notes are not actually shown to him, the substance of them certainly should be mentioned to him.

5. As Shri V.P. Menon has written to Shri M.O. Mathai<sup>6</sup> on this subject with the object, presumably, that I should see his letter, I think Shri M.O.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai and the States Ministry, 7 December 1954. JN Collection.

2. C.S. Venkatachar.

3. Y.N. Sukthankar.

4. The book in question was *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* by V.P. Menon, who was Secretary and for sometime Adviser to the Ministry of States, Government of India, from 1947 to 1951. This book was finally published in March 1956.

5. K.N. Katju.

6. Special Assistant to the Prime Minister.

Mathai should send him a brief answer informing him that I have considered this matter carefully after both the States Ministry and the Cabinet Secretary have read the entire three volumes and submitted their comments. As a result of this consideration, I am clearly of opinion that the book, as it is, cannot be published. Government are not prepared to give their permission. Also that in no event should any secret documents of Government be quoted or referred to. Shri V.P. Menon's manuscripts deal with many controversial questions and refer to many matters which are not known to the public and which are likely not only to embarrass Government greatly, but raise acute controversies.

6. Of course, if the book is completely revised and there is no reference to secret matters in it, then we can consider this matter afresh.

I have no knowledge of what took place between Sardar Patel and Shri V.P. Menon about this book.<sup>7</sup> All I can remember is that V.P. Menon told me long after Sardar Patel's death that he was writing a book. He might have mentioned the Rockefeller Foundation, but I do not remember it. He had added that it would be sent for Government's approval so far as I remember. I think I told him that he could write the book but, of course, it will have to be passed by Government. This was a casual conversation, and I have no clear recollection of it. Certainly I could not think of giving him permission to publish his book without careful scrutiny.

7. The position is clear. The manuscripts as he sent us should not be published. If he has modified it greatly, we can look through the modified version and then decide.

7. Menon wrote in the preface: "This book is in part fulfilment of a promise made to the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It was his earnest desire that I should write two books, one narrating the events leading to the transfer of power and the other dealing with the integration of states." The second book, *The Transfer of Power*, was published in 1957.

## 8. PAC Report on Purchase of Warlike Stores<sup>1</sup>

The Public Accounts Committee has commented adversely in its ninth report on the Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services, on the purchase of warlike stores in foreign countries. The two major items on which attention

1. Note drafted by Nehru for C.D. Deshmukh, 15 December 1954. JN Collection. Nehru had suggested that this note should be sent by the Finance Ministry to the Public Accounts Committee.

has been focussed, relate to the contract for the purchase of jeeps in the United Kingdom and the two contracts for the purchase of ammunition in an European country.

2. The Committee has criticized the failure to invite tenders in the first instance, and has also commented upon certain technical and procedural irregularities in the performance of the contracts. Evidence has been laid before the Committee, from time to time, in defence of the deviation from normal commercial practices. The recommendations of the committee are based on an analysis of the explanations furnished and on its inability to accept the justification for the unusual steps being taken.

3. Government feel that for a reconsideration of these cases in their proper perspective, emphasis should be on the circumstances in which these contracts came to be concluded, rather than on matters of details or their implementation. Shortly after Independence, it became evident that transport vehicles of a particular type, and arms and ammunition for the re-equipment of the Armed Forces, were very urgently required for reasons of internal security and defence strategy. The Public Accounts Committee should be aware of the internal post-independent situation in which the reorganization and the re-equipment of the Defence Services assumed paramount importance. As the defence requirements could not be obtained from the traditional sources of supply, it became imperative to make such other arrangements as were possible in the situation then prevailing and take the consequential risks. If it becomes necessary to purchase stores of this category from sources other than the recognized suppliers, it becomes inescapable to rely upon middlemen. In such a situation, it was not possible to conform fully to the standard pattern of contracts always or to enforce procedures observed in normal times for procurement of stores. It is not denied that Government and officers concerned, in these circumstances, took every precaution and exercised all reasonable prudence and judgement to safeguard the interests of Government.

4. The main factors relevant in proper perspective are:

- (1) that the supplies were extremely urgent and demands for the procurement were repeatedly made on the High Commission;
- (2) that the normal sources, such as the Government of the United Kingdom and the United States, and even other foreign sources, had been repeatedly approached and searched and had produced no results;
- (3) the stores were in short supply and there was the post-war sellers' market.

5. Government have given anxious and careful consideration to the observations made by the Public Accounts Committee. They concede that it is possible to point out technical and procedural irregularities and that in the light of results and losses incurred, judgement may be regarded as having

sometimes in error. These above circumstances, however, are inherent and inescapable in arrangements which, as already mentioned, departed somewhat from the normal methods and stores had to be obtained from new sources.

6. In view of the circumstances and the importance that have become attached to the matter, Government decided to constitute a sub-committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Finance Minister, the then Defence Minister (Sardar Baldev Singh) and the late Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who was at the time Minister of States, to consider these cases in all their aspects. This sub-committee met for several days in 1952 and carefully studied all the relevant papers. They were assisted in this examination by the then High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, Cabinet Secretary and the Defence Secretary. As a result, they came to the conclusion that, though there were procedural and technical irregularities, the bona fides of the officers concerned could not be questioned and there was no deliberate ignoring of rules and instructions. They found that the officers were actuated by the best of motives and in the interest of securing defence supplies as speedily as possible. In this connection, the late Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who had then become the Minister of Defence, made a lengthy statement in the House of the People on June 4, 1952. In this statement he stated categorically that there was "absolutely no warrant" for questioning the bona fides of any of the officers concerned. It may also be pointed out that, during the period to which reference is now made, supply of these stores were difficult and required much initiative and ingenuity in their location and procurement.

7. Government trust, therefore, that the Public Accounts Committee will accept that no officer was negligent or acted in a way dishonourable and calling for condemnation.

8. The Public Accounts Committee is no doubt aware of the point made by the late Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar that, for reasons he then stated, all details of transactions of defence stores cannot always be made public.<sup>2</sup> This consideration cannot be overlooked in regard to defence matters.

9. Government are convinced that they have made the most thorough enquiry into this matter and that they have issued the necessary instructions in regard to procedures and that no beneficial result will accrue from any further enquiry.

2. He said that details of the transactions of defence stores could not be disclosed because it involved a comparison of one kind of weapon with another kind, diplomatic relations and correspondence with independent governments and it also had an indirect but great effect on the procurement operations on the part of the Government of India for the stores required by the armed forces.

## 9. Rehabilitation in Bengal<sup>1</sup>

...Jawaharlal Nehru: I wish only to say this that in every big thing that we undertook in this enormous matter of rehabilitation, it has been a task to which I think there is no comparison anywhere in the world and I beg to remind the House, in this task we have committed—naturally, we have been overwhelmed by it—mistakes, in the way it had been done and all that, but by and large, the record of rehabilitation in this country is something at which the entire world has been amazed. I admit, I am prepared to admit, any number of errors in it. The hon.Member may point out errors here and errors there.<sup>2</sup> I admit many of them. I do not say that everything that has been done has been right. The problem has been a difficult one, a very difficult one. In Bengal, specially, it has been difficult because it has been a fluid one. That is the difficulty in Bengal in the main. On the western side it has been a very big problem, but that problem ended, in the sense that the coming of people into India stopped. But in Bengal it is a very fluid thing, people coming and then going back and coming again and all that. That difficulty arose and I can assure the House, if any assurance is needed, that Government is very much alive to the problem of rehabilitation in West Bengal. In fact, as I said in the other House, if I may say so, the headquarters of the Ministry of Rehabilitation itself has been transferred to Bengal, to Calcutta. Our Minister will remain there with a much larger staff so that he can deal with the situation personally and urgently and in the most effective way....

1. Intervention during the debate on the Appropriation Bill 1954, 21 December 1954. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, cols. 2949-2950. Extracts.
2. Criticizing the rehabilitation work in West Bengal, B. Gupta said that the State Government had spent only Rupees six crores out of the allocated sum of Rupees eleven crores. He also emphasised the necessity of reshaping the rehabilitation policy so as to integrate the refugees into the economy of the country. See also *post*, pp. 466-467.

## 10. Border Areas and the Central Government<sup>1</sup>

I have read these papers. I do not quite remember what the functions of our special officer for the border areas are. However, this appears to have been a good step and it should be continued at least for a year.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary, MEA, 12 January 1955. JN Collection.

2. The suggestion that we should demarcate certain areas and put them directly under the Centre is not feasible. Though it may have some advantages, it has its disadvantages also. Anyhow, it cannot be done without constitutional amendments and all that. There should be no difficulty, however, in the Centre taking interest in them in cooperation with the state concerned. If the Centre is prepared to spend money, I am sure the state will not object.

3. These border areas are in Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, possibly Punjab, Assam and West Bengal, apart from NEFA, Sikkim and Bhutan. In effect, the important border States are Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. I think that Jammu & Kashmir should be treated rather separately, that is, Ladakh should be treated rather separately. It is a difficult area and we cannot do much at that distant border, though we should of course try to do something. The Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh require particular attention. In this connection, Uttar Pradesh has sent us many proposals in the past and they have often been held up.<sup>2</sup>

4. I agree generally with the suggestions made about the Police and the Military Police. We have previously suggested repeatedly the formation of some kind of a militia on the border. I do not think this need be as trained and efficient as the Assam Rifles which is practically on a par with our Army.

5. So far as education is concerned, it is our accepted policy to give training in schools with emphasis on practical subjects. This applies to the whole of India. But, because of special reasons, there has been delay in making this change everywhere. Certainly it is the basic type of education that must prevail. In the border areas, this type should be adapted especially to the requirements of that particular area.

6. I do not think the Ministry of Education is likely to be very helpful in drawing up a syllabus or other details about these particular requirements, though they should no doubt be consulted and can help. The initiative will have to be taken by our own officers. The States concerned will have to be consulted.

7. I am sure that the UP and Himachal Pradesh will cooperate if we are active enough.

2. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, p. 204.

11. To Julian Huxley<sup>1</sup>

Camp : Rajahmundry  
14 January 1955

Dear Professor Huxley,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of January 3rd.<sup>3</sup>

Dr Bhatnagar's death is a great loss to us. He died very suddenly.

You suggest the creation of a Ministry to deal with population policy in India. A Ministry can certainly be created if there is enough work for it. But apart from this, I do not see what particular good this would do at the present stage. So far as some kind of a control of population is concerned, I am entirely in its favour. Some work in this direction is being done and it is having effect in the urban areas.

In order to carry it out in the rural area, not only an enormous organization will be necessary, but also a widespread health service and also the spread of education. Thus, both health and education have priority.

We are at present greatly concerned with plans for a rapid development on industrial lines so as to absorb our unemployed and add to our production. This seems to me far more important than any other approach.

Although the population of India is very big, the rate of increase is by no means abnormal.<sup>4</sup> In fact it is less than most European countries.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Julian Huxley (1887-1976): biologist and writer.

3. Huxley had expressed grief and shock at the death of S.S. Bhatnagar, eminent scientist and Chairman, UGC, on 1 January 1955. He had written that a combination of a scientifically planned population policy with a development policy was needed for an all round development of India.

4. According to the 1951 census the population of India was 35, 68, 29, 485 and the mean decennial growth rate was + 12.5 (1941-51).

## 12. Judicial Inquiry into Police Firing<sup>1</sup>

It pains me whenever police resort to firing, but there are situations where such a step has to be taken. It is possible that a particular police firing may not be justified. Such a thing will certainly be subjected to a searching inquiry. But the resolution<sup>2</sup> is out of place.

The aim underlying the resolution is good,<sup>3</sup> but the solution it offered for achieving it is completely wrong. If this resolution is adopted, there will be more police firings. I should rather put it in a different way. The resolution, if accepted, would tend to make certain people indulge more and more in a particular kind of activity, which would necessitate large number of police firings.

I respectfully ask the mover of the resolution not to lay undue stress on a subject like police firing.

I do agree that some times police firings are not justified. It should be our endeavour to stop such firings. But the way suggested in the resolution to do so is not the correct way....<sup>4</sup>

The resolution has been motivated, perhaps, by the controversy that is going on in the Praja Socialist Party on the subject of police firings. One group in that party holds the view that no police firing should take place until somebody dies in a riot or a fight. The Praja Socialist Party has a right to consider what is proper or not proper in these matters. What should be our view in this regard?

Our opinion is that as far as possible there should be no police firing. Our whole policy should be to avoid such a thing. But remember that this is not a one-sided affair. Circumstances might arise where the question would have to be decided that police firing should be resorted to or not. Either you decide that police firing should not be resorted to under any circumstances, even if a city was aflame with trouble and there was violent trouble and a riot, or you impress on all concerned that police firings should be reduced to the minimum.

1. Intervention during a debate on a non-official resolution in the Subjects Committee. AICC, Avadi, 21 January 1955. From the *National Herald*, 22 January 1955. Extracts.
2. Trikamal Patel, a delegate from Gujarat, had urged in the resolution that a tribunal should be set up in every state, consisting of three judges of the District or High Court, to conduct inquiry into incidents of police firings resulting in death.
3. While moving the resolution, Patel emphasized that the Congress was wedded to the ideal of establishing a democratic society in India which made it imperative that the administration should adopt democratic methods in all their work.
4. Patel agreed to withdraw the resolution.

If any policeman or official resorts to firing without justification and this results in death, then such an official will be tried for manslaughter. Already, a very big responsibility is cast upon those who have the power to resort to police firing. There is always the "fear" among them that they will not be spared if firing is resorted to on innocent people. Everybody, however, has to remember, at the same time, that the police can not just wait and watch if a city is set aflame, violent trouble breaks out and people begin to die in the streets.

The recent students trouble in Indore<sup>5</sup> and in all such situations, order has to be restored with a heavy hand. The tendency among students to begin violent agitation for all kinds of things including such trivial ones like the transfer of a professor is unique to India and does not exist anywhere else.

Regarding satyagraha, it is held by some that there should be no police firing on the one hand, while on the other, the same people demand that the Government should not interfere at all with the *satyagrahi*.

In the name of satyagraha all kinds of violent agitations are carried on, which is only abuse of the word satyagraha. I can understand a man taking to satyagraha in a peaceful manner out of genuine conviction of cause. But to-day the position is that the so called *satyagrahis* demand a *carte blanche* for their violent activities and indignantly resent any action on the part of the government to check them. These *satyagrahis* say, "We have a right to do satyagraha, but the government has no right to take action against us".

This is a fantastic thing to say and what kind of satyagraha would that be if the government did not check it. Satyagraha means that one breaks the law and bears the consequences, including punishment of it. If there were no question of punishment, then everyone would gladly jump into the open field and begin satyagraha.

The demand is also made that the government should concede the right to the people to go on satyagraha.

I will tell you that no government can give that right. There is, of course, a way of impressing upon the government a particular thing in a proper and peaceful manner. But once the law is broken, the government should resign when such a thing happens or it should handle the situation with a firm grip. There is no middle way left to a government to continue to exist without acting.

5. From 18 to 20 July 1954, the students of Holkar College, Indore, agitated and demanded reinstatement of their principal Dr H. Ghosh, who was suspected of having engineered strikes and had been retired from the college. Justice K.N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, was appointed to investigate the disturbances in Indore following the students' agitation.

An "abnormal situation" had developed in Calcutta a few years ago<sup>6</sup> where tramcars were burnt, bombs thrown on innocent people in the streets and other hooliganism indulged in by a few persons. All this was the work of a few thousand people who wished to disrupt the life of the forty lakh citizens of Calcutta. It was quite clear that this situation could not be tolerated and had to be put down firmly.

When conditions were so bad I decided to go to Calcutta.<sup>7</sup> Some friends tried to dissuade me on the plea that the condition was not normal. But I did not listen to them. From the aerodrome, I went to the city in an open car, standing. After all, things had to be faced. In the evening there was a public meeting where, it was said, nine lakh people had come. I had ordered the police that whatever might happen at the meeting, they were not to do anything. Even if there was a murder, they were not to move their little finger unless I ordered them. I told the audience to keep sitting whatever might happen. Even if a bomb were to be thrown, they were to stick to their seats. Immediately a bomb was thrown. Some people were killed and injured, including the person who threw the bomb. But nobody moved.<sup>8</sup> And as the matter had been faced squarely, violence in Calcutta ceased after that day.

I do not want to compare India with any other country, but the sort of things that are done in India in the name of satyagraha which are usually accompanied by violence will be put down far more relentlessly and ruthlessly in other countries than they are done in India.

There can be no comparison with the English because the Britishers are a very peaceful people. Colossal strikes took place in that country without even a single untoward incident. But in India any small strike may lead to rowdiness and disturbance.

This kind of "atmosphere" has to be changed. There is no point in comparing the steps taken by the police to control violent activities in India with what is done in Europe or America. In those countries the kind of violent trouble that takes place in India, does not exist at all. Even the biggest of strikes in Europe and America were quite peaceful and orderly. I am quite sure that were things that happened in India to take place in those countries, authority there would put them down ruthlessly.

"Certain parties" pat the students and others on their back if they indulge in any hooligan activity against the government. These parties do not understand that such activity is directed not only against the government, but the state also and is harmful and should not be tolerated or encouraged.

6. During June and the first half of July 1949, serious disorders attributed to communist instigations, occurred in Calcutta and the neighbouring rural areas.

7. He visited the city from 12 to 14 July 1949.

8. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 12, pp. 226-242.

## II. STATE GOVERNMENTS

### 1. To Pattom A Thanu Pillai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30 November 1954

My dear Thanu Pillai,<sup>2</sup>

Now that the Praja Socialist Party meeting in Nagpur is over,<sup>3</sup> I should like you to think about the future relations of your Government with the Congress Party in your Assembly. I spoke to you about this.

It is obvious that the present position of the Travancore-Cochin Government in the Assembly has elements of instability.<sup>4</sup> It survives because your Government and your Party on the one hand, and the Congress Party on the other, wish it to survive. If, however, either Party in this picture comes to the conclusion that the position is not satisfactory and that it is not worthwhile to carry on in this way, then the balance is upset and your Government cannot carry on.

I have no desire to see this balance upset and I should like your Government to continue with Congress help. But I understand that the Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin Assembly is not at all happy and feels that you do not even consult it in important matters. As a matter of fact, normally even the Opposition is consulted by us in important matters, much more so, of course, the Party which gives its support.

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to K.P. Madhavan Nair, President, Travancore-Cochin Pradesh Congress Committee.
2. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai was the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin.
3. A special convention of the Praja Socialist Party was held from 26 to 28 November 1954. The convention considered the problems facing the PSP ministry in Travancore-Cochin, such as increasingly violent demand for merger of Tamil speaking talukas with Madras by Travancore-Tamil Nad Congress; Congress engineered strikes in plantation areas creating law and order problems; and the growing open criticism of the Congress leadership of the manner of functioning of the PSP ministry. It was decided that the PSP should explore avenues for support from the Communists and till the matter came to a head, "need not resign".
4. The PSP, after the elections held in February 1954, got 19 seats in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly out of 118 seats, while the Congress got 45 seats and the United Front of Leftists got 40 seats. The PSP national executive after the elections unanimously decided not to form Government with the support of United Front of Leftists and not to support the Congress. On 16 March 1954 the PSP formed the Government with the outside support of the Congress. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 197 and 198.

Therefore, I should like you to consider this matter fully because I do not like certain developments that are taking place which may lead to the upsetting of balance. I suggest that you discuss this matter fully and frankly with Madhavan Nair and the leader of the Congress party in your Assembly.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. P. Govinda Menon was the Leader of the Congress Legislative Party. On 12 December the Travancore-Cochin PCC passed a resolution suggesting withdrawal of support from the PSP ministry. This was approved by the Congress Parliamentary Board on 15 December 1954. Finally the PSP ministry fell on 8 February 1955 and P. Govinda Menon took over as the Chief Minister in March 1955.

## 2. To C.M. Trivedi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
4 December 1954

My dear Trivedi,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 4 December, 1954, together with a record of the discussions we had this morning in regard to the orders of the late ministry in Andhra about the exemption of small holdings from payment of land revenue, water rates and cesses. The summary of our discussions that you have sent me appears to me to be correct.

In view of the developments in Andhra,<sup>3</sup> the responsibility for any decisions during this interim period before a new ministry is formed in Andhra falls on the Government of India. The present arrangement might be called a caretaker arrangement and we are naturally reluctant, during this period, to take any major decisions. As was apparent in our discussions, the orders of the late ministry in this respect have certain far-reaching consequences and affect the big developmental projects which Andhra so much needs and which we have in view.

1. JN Collection.

2. C.M. Trivedi was the Governor of Andhra.

3. On 6 November 1954, the T. Prakasam Ministry fell due to the adoption of a no-confidence motion by the Andhra Legislative Assembly and President's rule was imposed on 15 November.

When the late Ministry decided to exempt small holdings<sup>4</sup> from the payment of land revenue, water rates and cesses, it had intended to take certain financial measures to make good the loss involved by the exemption. As the Andhra Assembly has been dissolved, these measures cannot be enacted locally, and it is not appropriate to ask the President to enact the necessary legislation for this purpose during this caretaker period. The result is that only that part of the late ministry's scheme, which relates to exemption, can be given effect to now and not the other important and balancing part of making good the loss involved by the exemption. The net result of putting into effect the orders of the Andhra Government in respect of exemption of small holdings would, therefore, be to increase the existing revenue deficit of about Rs three crores per year to about Rs four and a half crores. An additional and even more serious effect would be the effect produced on the developmental schemes which have been calculated on the previous basis. Unless, therefore, the whole picture of exemption and additional taxation is viewed together and action taken in regard to both, there would be a very marked imbalance producing unfortunate results which would be injurious to the Andhra State and its people.

We feel, therefore, that any such one sided action should be avoided at present and till such time as a new ministry can consider this subject in its entirety. The Government of India, therefore, give you a direction that you should issue orders forthwith holding in abeyance the decision of the late ministry in regard to the exemption of small holdings. The new ministry, when it assumes office, will be in a position to consider this whole question again in the light of all relevant considerations. We desire also that at that stage the Andhra Government should consult the Government of India and the Planning Commission before taking a final decision.

I note the anxiety in Andhra about both the Nandikonda and the Tungabhadra high level canal projects.<sup>5</sup> We share that anxiety and are desirous of helping in the development of the Andhra State to the best of our ability. I suggest that you discuss the several questions involved in these two projects with Deshmukh, Nanda and V.T. Krishnamachari. You can rest assure that we shall do whatever we can to help Andhra.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 2 October 1954 the Andhra cabinet decided that "any person liable to pay to Government in aggregate Rupees ten or less under one or more *pattas*, single or joint in respect of land owned by him in one or more villages, by way of land revenue, water rates, and cesses, shall be exempt from the payment of the same".
5. The Nandikonda project, a joint venture of Andhra and Hyderabad, was estimated to cost Rs 120 crores and was to irrigate fourteen lakh acres in Andhra. The Tungabhadra high-level canal scheme, estimated to cost Rs 18.96 crores, was to irrigate 152,000 acres in the Andhra. The Andhra Government had been pressing the Planning Commission to include these two schemes in the First Five Year Plan.

### 3. Improper Allocation of Lands & *Taccavi* Loans<sup>1</sup>

For some time past, I have been receiving complaints from Rajasthan about State lands being given to MLAs and MPs. Also that *taccavi* loans were given to officials. Both seem to me improper. Some days ago I wrote to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan (Shri Sukhadia) drawing his attention to these complaints and asking him to enquire into them.<sup>2</sup> I have had no reply.

When the Finance Minister, Shri Deshmukh, went to Jaipur recently, I mentioned this matter to him so that he might discuss it there. I do not know whether he actually did so.

I have received some papers dealing with these matters. They consist chiefly of correspondence and notes. Some of these are in the files of the Ministry of States here.

I think the Ministry of States should enquire into these matters from the Rajasthan Government. All these transfers or grants took place at the time of the last Ministry,<sup>3</sup> but the present Chief Minister was the Minister for Revenue then and was thus directly in charge of this subject.

1. Note to the Ministry of States, 5 December 1954. JN Collection.
2. On 26 November 1954 (not printed).
3. Headed by Jai Narain Vyas who resigned on 9 November.

### 4. To. B.C Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5 December 1954

My dear Bidhan,

... I am very anxious that continuous and concentrated attention should be paid to the rehabilitation problem in Bengal. I am, therefore, suggesting to Mehr Chand<sup>2</sup> to make his headquarters in Bengal even though he has become a Minister here, and spend roughly three weeks in a month there. He has already

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Mehr Chand Khanna replaced A.P. Jain as Minister of Rehabilitation on 7 December 1954.

got a good grasp of the situation there, and I think he will be able to help you a great deal.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 5. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
6 December 1954

My dear Sachar,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter from U.M. Trivedi,<sup>3</sup> MP. This discloses a truly astonishing state of affairs in Sirsa Sub-Division of Hissar.<sup>4</sup> If even a small part of the charges made against the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Bahal Singh, are true, he is thoroughly undesirable. If most of the charges are true, then he should be tried.

Apart from all this, if a person is very unpopular in the area he serves in, he has no business to continue there.

Will you please enquire into this matter immediately and let me know?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab.
2. Bhimsen Sachar was the Chief Minister of Punjab.
3. Umashanker Muljibhai Trivedi (1904-1984); Barrister-at-Law; Member, Indian National Congress upto 1951; Member, Bhartiya Jana Sangh since its inception; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-1957, 1962-1967.
4. Trivedi had written about various complaints from Sirsa regarding law and order situation there. He visited the place on 3 December and noticed that thefts, murders and abductions were taking place there and the Deputy Superintendent of Police instead of controlling the situation was abusing his powers and arresting the complainants. *Hartals* in various towns in Hissar district were observed in protest of such police highhandedness.

## 6. To Lalit Madhav Sarma<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 December 1954

Dear Friend,<sup>2</sup>

I have seen your confidential report to Dr Katju, States Minister, dated December 10. In this you refer to Mr Mathew<sup>3</sup> being selected for the Chief Commissionership of Manipur and express your apprehension at the fact that he is a Christian.

You are not acquainted with Mr Mathew and therefore you cannot say anything about him. You are only objecting to the fact that he is a Christian. I think you are wrong in objecting to anyone because of his religion. This is against the policy of our State. Your apprehensions also are quite unfounded. If we appointed persons because of their religion to various places, then we would cease to be a secular State.

Mr Mathew is, I think, a Syrian Christian from south India and has a very good record. I am quite sure that he will do his work, wherever he is, competently and impartially. You need not at all be afraid that he is going to favour any community. You must not think that he is some kind of a missionary. The Syrian Christians have lived in India for the last 1900 years and are as much a part of India as I am.

If Mr Mathew goes to Manipur, you should welcome him and talk frankly to him about any matter that is of importance to you. He will probably be able to be of considerable help to you.

In our country we have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists, Jains, Jews and people of other creeds. They are all equal citizens of India and have to be treated as such. The tribal Christians, whom you refer to, may have been misled by the missionaries and may not behave properly always. They have to be made to feel that they are also full Indians with all the privileges that go with that. There will be no future for Manipur if there are

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to K.N. Katju and General Secretary, AICC.
2. Lalit Madhav Sarma was President, Manipur State Congress Committee.
3. P.C. Mathew (b. 1913); joined ICS, 1937; agent, Government of India, Sri Lanka, 1945-46; Chief Commissioner, Manipur, 1954.

internal religious conflicts there. It is specially the business of the Congress to overcome these conflicts and make friends with all.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Sarma, in another letter on 13 December, wrote to Katju that his apprehensions about a Christian Chief Commissioner were based on facts. During E.P. Moon's regime, Christian missionaries secured undue advantages. American Baptist Mission was given the choicest site in Ukhrul area and were also about to get a very large valuable site within Imphal town which could not materialize because of the early departure of Mr Moon.

## 7. To Pratap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 January 1955

My dear Pratap Singh,<sup>2</sup>

... I think it will be a very unwise move on your part to exempt people having five acres and below of land from land revenue. This will powerfully affect your entire developmental programme.

This is not a question of your raising some more revenue otherwise. You should certainly try to raise that. But the principle of exempting five acres and less appears to me to be a bad one. If applied all over India, it would mean that there would be practically no land revenue in some States. Anyhow, this requires the greatest care. So far as the Planning Commission is concerned, they are much exercised about such proposals.

I do not see how the panchayats are going to have more money this way. As far as the Punjab is concerned, you have a relatively prosperous peasantry. The need for exemption is far greater in other provinces, but we just cannot do it if we have to plan at all. We are thinking in a big way of planning and this depends essentially on revenue and saving.

I should like you to send me statistics about land owning in the Punjab. How many people own less than five acres, how many between five and ten, between ten and twenty and so on? What is the revenue derived from each section?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.  
2. Minister for Development, Punjab.

## 8. To M.L. Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Rajahmundry

14 January 1955

Dear Sukhadiji,<sup>2</sup>

Maulana Azad wrote to me some time ago about the mosques in Alwar, etc. which had been converted into gurdwaras and temples. He sent me your letter of November 30 to him in which you refer to this matter.

I need not tell you that we are very much concerned about this conversion of mosques into temples and gurdwaras. This is against not only our declared policy, but also against the Agreement arrived at with Pakistan in regard to places of worship.<sup>3</sup> If we cannot honour that Agreement in India, then we cannot ask the Pakistan Government to honour it in Pakistan..

I realize the difficulties that you have pointed out. Nevertheless, we should try to find a proper way out. Even if all these mosques cannot be restored, every attempt should be made to restore the important mosques or *Idgahs*.

I gather that you have appointed a committee to go into this matter. I should like to be kept informed of the progress made.

We are receiving petitions from Muslims for the restoration of their mosques and we find it difficult to send a proper reply.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to A.K. Azad.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.
3. Under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of September 1947 between India and Pakistan, it was agreed upon to protect religious places within their territories and to ensure restoration of such places which had been destroyed or desecrated.

## 9. Development of Laccadive<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a report on the Laccadive islands which Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, has sent to me after his visit to these islands. In this report various recommendations are made<sup>2</sup> which should be considered soon by the Ministries concerned.

2. I think that from every point of view we should pay much greater attention to these islands than we have done and bring them into the orbit of our Five Year Plans, etc. The first thing to be done is to arrange for some kind of a regular service there by sea, and investigation might be made also about the possibility of an air strip. Postal arrangements also should be made and medical and education facilities offered.

3. The Governor of Madras has suggested our considering the possibility of taking over these islands under the direct charge of the Government of India. Prima facie this appears to be desirable, but it should be examined.

4. I am sending a copy of this report to the Ministries of Home Affairs, Communications, Transport, Defence and Commerce & Industry. I am also sending this to the Planning Commission....

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 19 January 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Sri Prakasa had recommended better communication, and developmental measures such as expansion in healthcare, education and employment opportunities. He had also suggested that early steps should be taken for transfer of the Minicoy light house from the British Board of Trade and removal of Union Jack from there. These islands, he felt, should go to the Kerala State when it was formed.



## PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS



## 1. Questions in Parliament<sup>1</sup>

...2. I have noticed repeatedly that questions are put which are largely repetitions of previous questions. If a brief answer can be given to a question, this does not matter much. But when long statements are required, this takes up a great deal of time of our ministries. I have noticed, for instance, the same types of questions addressed to the External Affairs Ministry requiring full details about all our Missions abroad. Also, another type of questions requiring full details of all the delegations that have been sent abroad from India or have been received in India. The preparation of these answers requires great labour. We should, of course, give these answers. But to have to repeat that labour again and again, simply because there is a slight variation in the question, seems to me quite unnecessary and undesirable. I pointed this out to the Speaker<sup>2</sup> and he agreed with what I said. He added that this is a question not for the Lok Sabha Secretariat but for the Ministries concerned. He was perfectly right.

3. I feel that much of our labour could be saved if, when notice of any question has been received, this is not sent on automatically for reply to the Under Secretary or others, but the head of the department has a look at it and gives some indication as to what should be done. The Minister might be consulted immediately, if necessary. Some questions are not likely to be allowed. About others, the Chairman's or the Speaker's attention might be drawn to the fact that they are repetitions or that they are improper. All this should be done at the earlier stage to save the labour of the ministerial staff, as well as of the Parliament staff. Usually, much labour has been spent. Then the decision comes and the labour is wasted.

4. Questions sometimes relate to information to be obtained from some outside source or foreign country. Immediately, without thought, long telegrams are sent giving the question verbatim. This must not be done. First of all, it should be decided what we are going to do with the question and then other steps should be taken.

5. I am sure that a great deal of our labour will be saved if this procedure is followed.

1. Note to all ministries, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission and Department of Atomic Energy, 3 December 1954. JN Collection. A copy of the note was sent to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. Extracts.
2. G.V. Mavalankar.

## 2. To G.V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7 December 1954

Dear Mr Speaker,

I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> I have addressed to the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee.<sup>3</sup> This refers especially to the case of the purchase of Japanese cloth by Government some years ago which resulted in a loss to Government.<sup>4</sup> As I have said in that letter, this matter has been considered very fully by Government and they have placed their views in a statement before the Lok Sabha. Normally, I should have thought that this would close the case.

2. In my letter to the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, I have suggested that we might build up a convention somewhat similar to that prevailing in the United Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> This would enable Parliament to have the full picture before it when the Public Accounts Committee makes its final recommendations. It would also enable fuller cooperation between Government and the Committee which would not only prevent any errors of fact from coming in but would also lead to a more satisfactory way of dealing with all such matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to the Ministers for Finance, Commerce & Industry and the Comptroller and Auditor General.
2. On 7 December 1954, (not printed).
3. B. Das.
4. The Public Accounts Committee reported on 4 February 1953 the loss of Rupees fifty-five lakhs in the cloth deal and recommended a judicial inquiry. The Ministries of Commerce & Industry and Finance examined the case thoroughly with particular reference to the comments of Public Accounts Committee. The Cabinet, after considering the matter, found that undoubtedly errors had been committed, but any further inquiry would not lead to any additional elucidation of any fact and desired that a detailed statement should be prepared. The statement was placed on the Table of the House of the People on 11 August 1953.
5. According to this convention the statement prepared by the Government would have been brought to the notice of Public Accounts Committee first. Nehru also suggested that it would be more appropriate to send the Public Accounts Committee report to the Finance Ministry first so that both the report and the Government's explanations were placed before the Parliament at the same time.

### 3. Resolution for Removal of Speaker<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, may I make a submission to the House? You were pleased to allot two hours for this discussion.... Normally you do adopt some kind of proportion, but I should like to submit that in this particular case,<sup>2</sup> more time should be allowed to the opposition than to the Government benches. We do not wish to take too much time and I hope that hon. Members of this side will not take too much time of the House in their speeches. Naturally, we will have to say something which we will do. But I would submit for your consideration that the opposition should have more time....

Mr Deputy Speaker,<sup>3</sup> this, as several hon. Members have observed, is a serious matter. It is true that to a large extent, the hon. Member, one of the signatories who sits opposite, Dr Khare, tried as usual, to reduce it to the level of a farce.<sup>4</sup> But it is not a farcical matter because there is some element of tragedy in this. It is as well that this House realizes what we are talking about and what we might decide. As a matter of fact, whatever we may decide—the decision is clear enough—sometimes things are done which cannot be undone. If you break a precious porcelain vase you cannot put it together. When something has been done it unfortunately cannot be undone.

I should like to address the House, if I may, in my capacity and the high privilege of being the Leader of this House and not as a leader of the majority party. So far as this majority party is concerned, I should like to tell them that not one of them is bound by any whip or any direction; let them vote as they like. It is not a party matter. It is a matter for this House, for each individual, to consider, regardless of party affiliations. Therefore, let us try to think of it

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 18 December 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, part II, 1954, cols. 3398-3399, 3447-3454. Extracts.
2. On 18 December a resolution signed by some opposition members of Lok Sabha belonging to Communist Party of India, Praja Socialist Party and Hindu Mahasabha was moved for removal of the Speaker G.V. Mavalankar, alleging that in his conduct in the matter of giving his consent to adjournment motions and disallowing questions etc., he had ceased to maintain impartial attitude, necessary to command confidence of all sections of the House. It was stated that he showed his partisan attitude by openly espousing the version of official spokesperson on all controversial matters. J.B. Kripalani, S.S. More, V. Missir, V.G. Deshpande, N.B. Khare, A.K. Gopalan and Sarangadhar Das were among the signatories of the resolution.
3. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
4. N.B. Khare (Hindu Mahasabha) referring to the Speaker's rejection of adjournment motions proposed by him commented, "It amounts to mental murder of a Member, albeit effected non-violently.... But in the language of Jesus Christ, I would say, Father, forgive him, for he knows not what he is doing, blinded by authority."

not as a party issue but as Members of this House, because this matter affects the hon. Speaker, of course, but it affects the high dignity of this House, as Parliament, it affects the first citizen of this country, that is, the Speaker of this House. It is a serious matter when the honour of Parliament is concerned. What is said about the Speaker, what is done about the Speaker, comes back on each one of us who claims to be Members of this hon. House. I wish Members to realize this because I have felt sad and very sad—ever since this matter came up before the House. We have known the Speaker for many years and we have seen him function and it is possible that some of us may not have exactly the same opinion about him as others have; it is possible. It has so happened that some of us have not particularly liked a decision of his or a ruling of his; some of us, may be on that side of the House or on this side. It is one thing not to like a ruling or to disagree with it or even to feel, if I may say so, slightly irritated about something that has happened. These things happen. But, it is completely a different thing to challenge the bona fides of the very person in whose keeping is the honour of this House. When we challenge his bona fides we betray before our countrymen and indeed before the world that we are little men and that is the seriousness of the situation. It is for you to decide because we are displaying to the world and to our country that we are little, quarrelsome men who indulge in frivolity, who indulge in accusation without thinking what that means and without thinking what the consequences of it might be.

You, Sir, said a little while ago that you would not permit general denunciations. If I may say so, with all respect, it was the only thing to say and to do. It is amazing that in regard to the head of this House, the Speaker of this House, any individual should indulge in any idle talk or general denunciation because he does not like his face, he does not like his tone or does not like anything which he says. It must be specific, pointedly and deliberately something that is so obvious that nobody can ignore it. Here, what have we seen this afternoon? The hon. Member who first got up and spoke about this motion—not the proposer<sup>5</sup>—but Mr More<sup>6</sup> in his soft and gentle voice, which often contains many bitter things, went on and told us of what happened to the head of a King in England in the seventeenth century. He told us of the practice of the British House of Commons two hundred years ago and all that. I listened with amazement. Here was a serious matter, here we are in the middle of the twentieth century, in the Republic of India; and, we are told about what happened in the middle ages or some other time

5. Vijneshwar Missir (PSP), moved the resolution formally.

6. S.S. More (Peasants and Workers Party).

in England. It is true that we follow, to a considerable extent, the practices of the British Parliament. But it is also true that even the practices of the British Parliament are not governed today by what happened in the seventeenth century there. But, apart from that, we are not concerned with what happened in the British Parliament. We are concerned with the honour of our Parliament. I do not say that it is not possible at all to raise a motion against the Speaker. Of course, the Constitution has provided it. Nobody challenges the right of the opposition or any Member of the House to put forward this motion. I do not deny that right since it has been given by the Constitution. The point is not the legal right but the propriety, the desirability of doing it.

And, in this matter, it might have been possible, perhaps, that the Speaker might have erred. I do not think he has erred in this matter. I think he has been one hundred per cent right. He has been right. I challenge anybody to tell me here or elsewhere in what particular way he has been wrong in this particular matter. I say, if I have your permission to say so, that any Member presiding or sitting here as the Speaker would have done exactly the same thing. I say there are Members on the panel of Chairman, if any of them had been here, I do submit, to this hon. House, that they would have had to decide the same way. It was not whether the question was not one of fact. You cannot convert this House into a forum where evidence is laid, as the Speaker said; it cannot be done. This House is meant, either by a motion of adjournment or by questions, to bring certain facts to the notice of this House and through this House to the country at large. That is all that can be done. Then they can be proceeded against and they can be pursued in other ways. There is a question. The question is asked and the answer is given. It may be, of course, probably that the answer is wrong; it may be deliberately wrong or it may be by mistake. Whatever it is, it ends there. You cannot argue it out.

So also, in the matter of an adjournment motion, it is inevitable—and I think, Mr Gopalan recognized it—that the Speaker's ultimate decision has to prevail. The objection was that he gave his decision without giving an opportunity to the other party to say something.<sup>7</sup> Now, that is a matter with which Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava has dealt with, I think, very adequately.<sup>8</sup> But, if I may say so, on the first occasion that this was raised, the Member

7. A.K. Gopalan (CPI) had referred to an adjournment motion tabled by him on 13 December 1954 on the Kurnool firing, when the Home Minister did not give any reply. but on the next day he gave a statement in the matter in the House and Gopalan was not allowed by the Speaker to say anything on the facts referred to by the Home Minister.
8. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Congress) said that a Speaker was "bound hand and foot by the precedents of the House" and that there were three precedents of the Lok Sabha in which the present Speaker and other Speakers had held that the official authentic version was the last word on the question of fact.

who raised the matter had his say—number one say—and then the Home Minister, on behalf of the Government, was asked for his version of the facts. He gave his version of the facts. There the matter normally ends, because the rest is argument. It may be carried on in some other way. But, at that moment, it cannot be carried on. Each Member can challenge the fact given by Government at the proper time and take such steps as he feels. But, at that moment, it cannot be done. The Speaker has to go on to something else.

Mr Anthony talked about the rules etc.<sup>9</sup> May be the rules are good or bad, I do not know. We are not discussing the rules here. We are considering the position as it is today in accordance with the rules. But when Mr Anthony or any other Member went on to talk about the rules suppressing something or the practice or convention growing up, or the Speaker being hard and harsh about motions of adjournment and questions, I pinched myself and wondered whether I was hearing right and what is all this about. May I ask you to get particulars about every Parliament in the world, wherever it may be, in the north or south, in the east or the west and try to get a list of adjournment motions, the numbers that are moved, the number of questions that are put there? I think it will be useful if we knew. So far as the House of Commons is concerned—I have no figures with me, but I have an idea..

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have got all the figures with me. I can quote the figures if you order me.

JN: I do not want that; he may do it later; but, it is once or twice a year. We have it three times a day. Just conceive of it. So also about questions. Nobody can possibly say that we lack questions. In fact, we cannot deal with all of them. Can you imagine the enormous amount of time and money that is spent in gathering facts for answering twenty or thirty thousand questions? The whole apparatus of the Government is functioning like that. Daily telegrams are going all over the country to get facts. Now, hon. Members—some of them—say that they are suppressed and Dr Khare's questions are disallowed. So, just look at this picture. A motion for adjournment—as Mr Anthony said and I entirely agree with him—is a valued and precious right. But, every valued and precious right can be so misused as to become a nuisance, and lose all its value. You debase it if you use it in that way. Here is a special

9. Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians) said that signatories to the Resolution were aggrieved against the Speaker in respect of adjournment motions and points of order. But the Speaker should not be blamed for the defective rules of procedure in accordance with which he acted. These rules should be properly framed by the House.

thing which has importance because it is used only on a special occasion, for a special purpose and when it is thus used, it attracts the attention of the country. What is it today? There are three motions of adjournment a day; that would not attract the attention of anybody....

So far as the rules are concerned, I am not going into them. I do submit that it does not matter who the Speaker is, he has to function in the manner, if he is to function impartially, that our Speaker functions.

I listened to a number of speeches delivered from the opposite side and I want to say no harsh word, but I was amazed at this extraordinary exhibition from the other side....

It was an exhibition of incompetence, frivolity and lack of substance. It is astounding....

It is said again and again and Shri More rolls over history—the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

S.S. More: Only glimpses of world history.

JN: I suggest to the hon. Member to read that well-known book carefully. Some other hon. Member, Acharya Kripalani, said that he was speaking only on questions of general denunciations or general invectives, not on any particular matter. Is this the way to deal with anybody, the humblest of persons, much less the Speaker of the Lok Sabha of the Indian Republic?

J.B. Kripalani: I did not say 'general denunciations', but I said 'general attitude'.

Deputy Speaker: That is not a charge here.

JN: I take it that Acharya Kripalani stated that the general attitude was bad, was unfair, was partisan, was all that, otherwise he would not have signed that document.

J.B. Kripalani: Quite right.

JN: I would beg of hon. Members sitting opposite those who have signed it and those who in duty bound have supported it, to read that thing which they have signed. It is a vicious thing they have signed. I doubt whether the persons have read it before they signed it. If they had read it, they would have hesitated a hundred times before they signed that document....

I wish to make an exception in favour of the Communist Party, because I do not expect any sense of responsibility from them, but I do expect, even according to their own proclamations elsewhere, that they do not believe in

democracy or a democratic set-up.

Sadhan Gupta: Absolutely false.

JN: Do you then believe in democracy?

A.K. Gopalan: We have come here to get the democracy from you. You said we have no faith in democracy. We have come here because democracy is in your pocket and we understood that democracy is to be shared....

JN: I hope Shri Gopalan will repeat that every morning so that gradually it might have some effect on his thinking and action.

I would submit to this House that a motion of this character being brought up in the House is an extraordinary procedure, which could only be justified under extremely grave circumstances. It is a very serious matter. I have no details with me about other places, but elsewhere; so far as I know it is a very serious and very very rare thing.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: During the last one hundred and thirty years in the House of Commons, such a motion has not been tabled even once.

JN: At any time! And yet seeing the manner in which this has been brought forward and the wording used here, I say it is a gross abuse of one's intelligence and to ask anybody in this House to support this is to consider that man utterly lacking in intelligence.<sup>10</sup>

10. The House rejected the motion by a voice vote.

#### 4. To G.V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Raj Bhavan  
Madras  
18 January 1955

My dear Shri Mavalankar,

In the Madras newspapers of this morning,<sup>2</sup> there is a UPI message of what you are reported to have said to a UPI correspondent in Ahmedabad.<sup>3</sup> The report runs thus:

"I entirely agree that second Chambers are unnecessary now. There may have been some justification for their existence before, but now, due to adult franchise, all the interests are represented in lower Chambers and no separate representation for vested interests, whose interests are now safeguarded, is necessary."

Further, it is stated that "the Speaker said, he agreed with the Speaker of the Bombay Assembly<sup>4</sup> that legislatures were mere rubber stamps of the Executive because of party discipline and majority of the government and also because the Opposition generally did not make any constructive suggestions and was not strong enough to enforce its views." I do not know if this is a correct report of what you said. It has caused considerable surprise among many of our colleagues here.

Many of us hold certain views about second chambers. But we have avoided any expression of them. In the case of the Speaker, it would seem particularly desirable that such views should not be expressed. Apart from the issue being a controversial one, it tends to bring about conflict between the two Houses of the Legislature. It might be that the Chairman of the Upper House might express his contrary opinion and criticise the statement made by the Speaker. It may also be that in the Upper House itself some criticism might be made. These complications can arise and produce friction between the two Houses.

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 32(16)/56-57-PMS.

2. *The Hindu* had reported an interview of Mavalankar on the views expressed by several State Assembly Speakers, who were invited by the Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad, to speak on parliamentary democracy in India.

3. On 16 January.

4. D.K. Kunte.

Whether a second chamber is necessary or not, when the decision to have second chambers in some of the states and at the Centre was taken, this was not to give separate representation to vested interests, but for other reasons which were considered adequate. These reasons may not be considered of sufficient force not to continue to have second chambers. But the matter is obviously a controversial one. As the Speaker is head of one House, for him to refer to it brings a certain personal element into this argument which appears to be undesirable.

Your reference to the legislatures as rubber stamps of the executive has astonished me greatly and, if I may say so, it is hardly fair to the legislatures. I do not know what your conception of a democratic legislature is or of parliamentary government. I am not aware of any legislature or parliament, in the democratic sense, where there is no party discipline. Indeed, without that party discipline, modern democracy is likely to fail. Party discipline surely does not mean the legislature becoming a rubber stamp.

I have taken the liberty, however, to express to you our distress at what you are reported to have said.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Mavalankar in his reply of 20 January 1955, clarified that he had been quoted out of context and the said report gave a misleading version of the interview. He enclosed another copy of the interview for Nehru's perusal.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS



## 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9 October 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

As you are aware, we have been considering various proposals for amending the Constitution made by the State Governments and by our Ministries here. One of them is the amendment of Article 31<sup>2</sup> and the connected Articles 31A and 31B<sup>3</sup> which had become an urgent problem because of the manner in which the Supreme Court has interpreted Article 31 in three cases<sup>4</sup> decided by it last year.

2. In these decisions, the Supreme Court has given a very wide meaning to the expression “taking possession of or acquiring property” occurring in clause (2) of Article 31 and regarded it as exactly the same as the “deprivation” referred to in clause (1) of that Article. It holds that if State action withheld any property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner or materially reduced its value, the abridgement of the owner’s rights would amount to deprivation, and in every such case the law must provide for compensation to the owner. The Court has also given a very wide meaning to the expression “property” so as to include contractual rights. In consequence, the curtailment of every property right will have to be compensated under the law. The Court has further held that the principles for determining compensation as laid down by the legislature must ensure a just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of, and that the question whether those principles take into account all the elements which make up the true value of the property is a justiciable issue.

3. When clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 were being considered and passed by the Constituent Assembly, we certainly did not think that they would be interpreted in this manner by the Courts. However that may be, this very liberal construction of the Article creates serious difficulties in the way of our

1. JN Collection. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4 (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 56-60.
2. Article 31 guaranteed the individual’s right to property as a fundamental right: entitling him to compensation if deprived of the said right by the State.
3. These Articles were added by the First Amendment Act of 1951 as they enabled the State to acquire private property for public purposes despite the inconsistency with the fundamental rights.
4. In the three cases of *Dwarkadas Vs. Sholapur Spinning Co.*, *State of West Bengal Vs. Subodh Gopal*, and *West Bengal Co-operative Society Vs. Bela Banerjee*, the Supreme Court held that the law must provide a just equivalent compensation to the owner of property for taking possession of the same by the State and that the quantum of compensation was justiciable.

putting through social welfare legislations on the lines we have in mind. The following items appear to be specially important from this point of view.

(i) While the abolition of zamindaris and the numerous intermediaries between the State and the tiller of the soil has been achieved with the help of Articles 31A and 31B, the power to modify, and in some cases extinguish, the rights of owners of large agricultural holdings not comprised in estates, is required for completing our programme of land reforms. It is necessary to fix maximum limits to the size of agricultural holdings and to provide for the proper redistribution of any lands held in excess of such maximum.

(ii) One Central Act and two State Acts which provide for the acquisition and requisitioning of immovable property for the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons have been declared partially invalid on the ground that the principles for determining compensation laid down in those Acts are not correct. Two or three other State Acts enacted for a similar purpose are liable to be challenged on the same ground. It is necessary that these enactments should be validated.

(iii) Clearance of slums which are an eyesore in almost every town and the beneficial utilization of vacant and wastelands are among our main objectives in town and country planning and development. These should not be allowed to be held up by considerations of compensation on the "just equivalent" theory. In fact, on any view of social justice, owners of slum property do not deserve to be compensated at all.

(iv) As in the case of the Sholapur Mills, it will often be necessary to take over under State management a commercial or industrial undertaking in the public interest. For instance, certain insurance companies which have been grossly mismanaged to the detriment of policy-holders have been taken over under the provisions of the Insurance Act. Such temporary transference to State management in the public interest should not give rise to claims for compensation.

(v) Turning next to laws of a purely regulatory character, certain provisions of the Companies Bill,<sup>5</sup> now before Parliament, require to be safeguarded, e.g., the abolition of the managing agency system, the compulsory amalgamation of two or more companies in the national interest, the transference of an undertaking from one company to another, etc. Although these provisions may result in deprivation of property rights to some extent, it does not seem practicable, nor from a broad social point of view desirable, to provide meticulously for compensation in every such case.

5. The Companies Bill, amending and consolidating the laws relating to companies, was based on the recommendations of the Company Law Committee. It was introduced on 2 September 1953, and was passed on 22 November 1955.

(vi) It is desirable in the interest of the national economy that the State should have full control over the mineral and oil resources of the country. The extinguishment or modification of rights accruing to holders of mining leases and prospecting licences, whenever it becomes necessary to do so in the public interest, should be placed above challenge. This is equally true of public utility undertakings which supply power, light or water to the public under licences granted by the State.

(vii) Apart from the specific cases of extinguishment of property rights mentioned above, other cases which we cannot now visualize may arise calling for legislative action. A general provision to cover such cases would seem to be desirable.

4. The problem is how best to amend Article 31 or 31A or both the Articles in order that we may go ahead with our social welfare legislations without fear of its being challenged on constitutional grounds. Different methods have been suggested and we have very carefully considered all of them. We have also had the benefit of an informal discussion with some of the Chief Ministers on the 26 and 27 September. On the whole, the best plan seems to be to amplify Article 31A as in the attached draft and not to alter the provisions of Article 31 in any way.

5. For one thing, this was the method we adopted in 1951 when we were faced with the problem of validating the zamindari abolition laws which were being vigorously challenged before the courts. Another advantage that I see in this method is that we shall be placing clearly and prominently before the public the particular matters in which we as protagonists of a welfare state are deeply concerned and in regard to which property rights ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of progress and quick achievement. At the same time, in regard to all other matters requiring the acquisition and requisitioning of property for public purposes, Article 31(2) will continue to apply. At the present juncture when there is a large measure of economic stability in the country, it would not be wise to raise needless scares by taking more power than we actually require. Such a step might prove to be a setback to our development plans.

6. I would request you and your colleagues to examine this problem in the light of what I have said above and let me have your comments before 1st November. I should like to introduce the requisite amending Bill in Parliament at the beginning of the November session, if possible.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, introduced on 20 December 1954, was passed by the Lok Sabha on 12 April and received the President's assent on 27 April 1955.

## 2. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

10 October 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Your Government will have received a letter from our Ministry of Law regarding an amendment of the Constitution contained in the Constitution (Third Amendment) Bill, 1954.<sup>2</sup> This Bill has been passed by the necessary majorities both by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.<sup>3</sup> The Bill has been sent to your Government.

The Bill itself is a small one and makes a petty change in List III, i.e., the Concurrent List, of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution.

This does not, in effect, bring about any real change. It means a continuation of the present position.

Although this was a small change, we have given a good deal of thought to it and we felt that, in the interests of planning as well as of coordination, this inclusion of one or two additional items in the Concurrent List was not only desirable, but necessary. There was and is no desire to encroach on the domain of the states. But it becomes more and more clear that if we are to go ahead with our planning in a big way, a certain measure of coordination is necessary.

I hope that your Legislature will ratify this Bill and that you will be good enough to take some personal interest in this matter. When not less than half of the Part A and B States have ratified it, it will be placed before the President for his assent.<sup>4</sup>

This ratification of the amendment can be done by a resolution of the State Legislature.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4 (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 61-62.
2. As the Union-jurisdiction in respect of certain industrial products was to lapse on 22 January 1955, it became necessary to amend the Concurrent List to continue with the Union's right to legislate on these subjects.
3. It was passed on 23 September and 28 September 1954 respectively.
4. The bill received the President's assent on 22 February 1955, after ratification by nine State Legislatures.
5. Nehru wrote to the Chief Ministers on 21 November 1954 to make special efforts to ratify this amendment as early as possible since it affected "our powers in regard to essential supplies. We do not want to have recourse to Ordinances for this purpose."





## 1. Purchase of Aircrafts<sup>1</sup>

I do not think it is at all necessary for us to make a special point as to how the approach should be made. This approach has been made quite correctly by the Soviet Air Attache in London to our Air Adviser in London. The next step obviously lies with us.

2. The real question is not that of approach, but: (1) whether we want more aircrafts or not, and (2) whether we should buy them from the Soviet Union.

3. We have recently concluded a deal with the French Government about the purchase of aircraft<sup>2</sup> which are going to be supplied to us from time to time. To a large extent that probably fulfils our needs in the present and the near future. On this matter, of course, it is for our Air Force people to give us advice. The Air Force would, no doubt, like to have more, but we have to consider the question of finance also and we cannot easily duplicate our purchases.

4. I have no objection whatever to our making purchases of aircraft from the Soviet Union, i.e., I have no political objection. The question should be considered purely from the point of view of the aircraft offered suiting us and the price being reasonable.

5. There is another aspect of this too. Even though we might not get a large number of aircraft from the Soviet Union, it is certainly desirable to get a few. This will enable our Air Force people to have experience of a different type which is supposed to be good.

6. I know that there are disadvantages in having several types of aircraft for a small Air Force like ours. Different spare parts have to be kept and special servicing might have to be arranged. In a large Air Force it is almost incumbent to keep various types of aircraft, to study them and to learn from them. We cannot afford to expand ourselves in that way. Nevertheless, it is desirable to have this experience of different types. Also, this opens out a new avenue for us which might well be useful. Thus far, we have gone practically to the same countries and have had to pay what they demanded. If they know that we can get good aircraft elsewhere, I have no doubt that their prices would come down. We see this kind of thing happening in regard to our proposed new steel plant.<sup>3</sup> As soon as it was known that we were considering

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 12 November 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Ouragon aircraft (later on succeeded by Mystere IV).

3. On 31 August 1954, USSR offered to provide equipment and technological help for a steelworks in India. On 2 February 1955, India and USSR signed an agreement for construction of a million tonne steel plant at Bhilai.

the purchase of steel plant from the Soviet Union, immediately other favourable offers were made to us, which were not forthcoming previously.

7. Therefore, broadly speaking, I am entirely in favour of investigating this offer. How we deal with it later, it will be for us to determine. I think the proper course is for CS<sup>4</sup> to see the Soviet Ambassador<sup>5</sup> and tell him of the offer made by the Soviet Air Attache in London to our Adviser there. He should, further, be told that we are interested in this offer and should like to have further particulars. If these particulars are available, the matter should further be discussed by the Soviet Ambassador with the Defence Secretary....<sup>6</sup>

4. Secretary, Commonwealth Affairs was S. Dutt.

5. Mikhail Alexeevich Menshikov.

6. M.K. Vellodi.

## 2. Defence Preparedness<sup>1</sup>

.... 2. We should of course be prepared for every contingency in so far as we can be prepared. No amount of preparation can meet the possibility of an attack on India by nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which might be involved in a major war. Fortunately, there is no chance of such an attack on India. We must, therefore, for all practical purposes, ignore such a contingency.

3. The chiefs of staff have referred to various frontier regions on the north east as well as to the foreign possessions in India. Apart from the possibility of internal troubles in Nepal, there is no foreseeable danger in the north east border, that is, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA. The foreign possessions also need not be considered in this connection. So far as these border areas are concerned, it has been proposed that we should have some kind of a border militia or something like it. There is no question of a regular invasion on that border. Nevertheless, the border has to be well protected from any possibility of infiltration by odd groups.

4. So far as Nepal is concerned, there is no direct danger to us. But there is a possibility of internal trouble and our having to take some steps to meet such a situation.

5. So far as Pakistan is concerned, the position at present is better than it has been for some time. But one cannot rule out the possibility of a worsening

1. Note to the Minister of Defence Organisation and Defence Secretary, 6 January 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

of the situation in the future, though this is unlikely. Anyhow, we have to be prepared.

6. In regard to the two specific points, it has been clearly stated previously that an attack by Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir will be considered an act of aggression against India. We shall then be entitled to use our armed forces against Pakistan anywhere. As to what steps we might actually take would be a matter to be considered at the time.

7. The question of minimum period of warning is almost a hypothetical one. If I was asked today, I could say with confidence that nothing will happen within the next six months or more. Any kind of a sudden attack on India is exceedingly unlikely for a considerable time to come. If the situation worsens, even then nothing is going to happen suddenly. If the situation is bad, then it will be difficult to give any lengthy period of warning. In other words, we have to watch the situation. At present I can safely say that there is no danger.

8. In view of this present position, it does not appear necessary for our forces to be kept in readiness for a ten-day's warning.

### 3. Usefulness of Aircraft Carrier<sup>1</sup>

Lord Mountbatten spoke to me today about our Navy and, more especially, about an aircraft carrier. He said that an aircraft carrier was desirable for us to have from many points of view. I need not go into these details.

2. I told him that we had been discussing this amongst ourselves and our Chief of Staff, Navy, was very anxious to have an aircraft carrier.<sup>2</sup> I referred to the talks we had with Professor Blackett.<sup>3</sup> I told him, briefly, what Blackett's

1. Note to the Defence Ministry, Minister of Defence Organisation and the Defence Secretary, 30 January 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the High Commissioner in London.

2. On 8 January, in a note to the Defence Secretary, Nehru stated that the question of having an aircraft carrier should be considered from the point of view of modern global war, likely to be dominated by nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. He commented that since defence depended largely on the productive capacity of a country, it had to be decided whether money should be spent to have an aircraft carrier rather than on industrial development.

3. P.M.S. Blackett, the British Defence Scientific Adviser, visited India at the invitation of the Government in 1948. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 7, pp. 271-272.

approach was to our defence problems and, more particularly, that Blackett thought cruisers and the like were quite useless now for our defence purposes except for ceremonial uses and to show the flag in various places.

3. Lord Mountbatten said that he largely agreed with Blackett in this matter and he did not think cruisers were important in modern warfare. He thought destroyers were much more useful. A cruiser was good for some kinds of training. But he thought that an aircraft carrier was certainly much more useful and important than a cruiser, both for protection of the coast and for a variety of other purposes. It could transport large numbers of people, help in relief work, evacuation, etc. It was not possible for us to have airfields all over the coast with aircrafts stationed there. An aircraft carrier would cover the coast in this way. Helicopters had been found of great use from the point of view of submarine warfare and an aircraft carrier can carry helicopters which almost make it impossible for submarines to function in the neighbourhood.

4. I told him that Blackett had ultimately said that it might be better to have an aircraft carrier instead of a cruiser, and Lord Mountbatten agreed. He said that after the *Delhi*<sup>4</sup> had been more or less put out of commission, it should be put in moth balls. It might become useful later some time, even years later. There was no point in destroying it. Then we were likely to get the *Nigeria*.<sup>5</sup> We should not get any more cruisers, but we should get an aircraft carrier. He said it would not be worthwhile for us to get a new aircraft carrier which was terribly expensive. An old carrier would serve our purpose. He said that it might be possible for him to give one of the older British aircraft carriers on loan. That would save us money. He wanted my reaction to this. *Prima facie*, it seemed to me a worthwhile proposition.

5. I am sending this note to you so that you might consider this suggestion and instruct your naval advisers attached to our High Commission in London accordingly.

6. I might add that Lord Mountbatten said that it would take about eighteen months even to give this aircraft carrier on loan, and, in fact, he did not want to hurry this process because long before the aircraft carrier came to us, we would have to get an adequate number of persons trained for it.

4. The first warship acquired by the Indian Navy after independence was INS *Delhi*, formerly known as HMS *Achilles*. Since her acquisition in 1948 till 1957, she was the flagship of the Indian Fleet.

5. HMS *Nigeria*, a cruiser acquired from UK in 1954, joined the Indian Navy after being modernized in 1957 as INS *Mysore* and became the flagship of the Indian Fleet.

## AMONG THE PEOPLE



## 1. Tasks Ahead<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> sisters and brothers,

I have been wondering what to say to you. As far as the State Employees Insurance Scheme<sup>3</sup> is concerned, which was started actually on the second of October, I do not need to say very much. Any thinking individual will realize that it is a very good scheme and if there are any shortcomings in it, they can be rectified later. It is a step in the right direction. I remember that this question had come up before us six years ago and we passed a law in Parliament. But then, all kinds of obstacles and difficulties came in the way because most of the States felt that though it is a very good scheme, the financial burden would be too great. Then a few more years went by and it was taken up gradually in a few places—Kanpur and one or two other places. But it was negligible. Now a bolder step is being taken by the City of Bombay which is to be welcomed.

However, it is also true that it is not a big enough step. The problem is that we want to do many things for the people. But mere desire is not enough. It has to be backed by resources and strength and so long as they are lacking, everything remains vague and in the air.

What is the biggest problem that we face in India today? We are counted among the backward nations, although we are more advanced than many countries, particularly in Asia. The words backward or advanced are not used as praise or condemnation but merely to describe the stage of industrialization and production of goods. In that sense, we are ahead of most countries of Asia. But it is obvious that we are backward compared to most of the European countries.

I do not mean that we should copy the countries of Europe or America. But I do mean that we want to increase production of goods, agricultural as well as industrial, as they have done in the West, in order to remove poverty and unemployment. The complication that arises is that the countries which are regarded as backward in this sense do not have the resources and capital

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Employees State Insurance Scheme, Greater Bombay, Shivaji Park, Bombay, 6 October 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Shanti Shah, Labour Minister of Bombay, presided over the function.
3. Employees State Insurance Act came into force in 1948 in order to provide certain benefits to employees in case of sickness, maternity and injury during employment. The Act extends to all States of India and is applicable to all factories.

for progress. That can be remedied only by hard work and increasing production in various ways. Any new goods which are produced in the country increase the national wealth. Please remember that, gold and silver are merely tokens to facilitate trade. They do not constitute real wealth. They are merely symbols of wealth. The real wealth of a nation consists of consumer goods which meet the day to day needs of the people like food, clothing, houses and a thousand other things. The goods that a farmer produces from land constitutes real wealth. Similarly, a carpenter or artisan who produces new things does not take it from somebody else's pocket but creates new wealth. On the other hand, a moneylender or trader who merely transfers the money from one pocket to another does not produce new wealth.

We want to make India a wealthy country by increasing production of goods through the hard work and effort on the part of the people. It is obvious that the more we produce the greater will be the surplus that could be spent on tasks of development. If there is no surplus, there can be no development or progress. Therefore, whatever the people produce out of their hard labour in a year constitutes the income of the country. If the expenditure exceeds income, the nation will go bankrupt, because if everything that is produced is consumed, there will be nothing left over for development. The big development projects require a great deal of capital. Therefore, the more a country produces the year round and the more it saves, the more capital there will be available for development. The problem is that the countries which are poor do not produce enough even for their needs. How can they save anything? This is the dilemma which the poor countries face. It is a vicious circle. They need money to provide the daily necessities of life and even more importantly to open new avenues of employment, set up industries, etc., in order to produce more wealth in the country. Once a poor country crosses the barrier of poverty, then gradually the surplus available for development grows steadily. Then the pace of progress also gathers momentum.

I want you to understand these broad facts of economics, because everyone knows that we cannot achieve anything merely by shouting slogans. A farmer has to till the soil and work hard to produce a crop. He cannot do it by shouting a slogan. Similarly, we need skilled engineers to build bridges. People shouting slogans on the river bank cannot construct a bridge merely by their enthusiasm. So everything needs intelligence, hard work and planning. It is only then that we can ensure that the whole of India benefits and not just a handful of people.

The social organization differs from country to country. It is not necessary for us to copy anyone, whether it is the United States, England, the Soviet Union or some other country. But we must be prepared to learn from all of them, always keeping in mind the fact that our roots lie in our own soil and therefore, we can improve conditions in India only by understanding them and

the climate in the country. If we are bent upon copying the West without understanding the conditions in India it will not do much good. We must sow the seeds of future progress in our own soil. We can learn from other countries and their ideas. The problem is that an individual or a nation already possessing plenty of money is able to invest it and make more money and grows richer. A poor individual or a poor nation is hard put to it to make ends meet. Where is the question of saving anything? So they remain poor. A rich country keeps adding to its wealth while a poor one has no surplus to invest in any new tasks. What is the solution to this? How are we to acquire the capacity to invest in projects which yield more wealth?

Take one example. We have undertaken huge river valley schemes in various parts of the country, in the Punjab, the south and also Bombay. The biggest, of course, is the Bhakra Nangal project<sup>4</sup> in the Punjab. Then there are the Damodar Valley project,<sup>5</sup> Tungabhadra,<sup>6</sup> Mahanadi-Hirakud,<sup>7</sup> etc. All these schemes cost an enormous amount of money. I do not remember exactly but I think in Bhakra Nangal alone, we have had to invest sixty to eighty crore rupees or more. We have not started receiving its benefits as yet, except that the workers on the projects have benefitted in the form of wages. But we have had to keep investing more and more money. Projects which provide employment to people also do good, so long as something constructive is being done. We want to take up more of them all over the country in order to provide employment to everyone.

We have, as I said, invested nearly one hundred crores in one scheme. But we want people to take advantage of it by building canals to provide water for irrigation which will help increase production. We want that the waters from the Bhakra Nangal should reach Rajasthan and make the desert green. In this way, for one thing, the food production will increase. Secondly, we want

4. It was one of the largest multipurpose projects in India consisting of (i) the Bhakra Dam across the Sutlej, (ii) the Nangal Canal, (iii) the Nangal Dam, (iv) the Nangal Power Works at Ganguwal and Kotla and (v) Bhakra Canal system. On completion the project was to irrigate 3.6 million acres of land in Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan and generate 1,44,000 kw of power.
5. This multipurpose project aimed at taming the Damodar river and its tributaries to protect large parts of West Bengal and Bihar from floods. The project comprised of eight storage dams with hydroelectric installations, a giant 2,00,000 kw thermal power station, an extensive grid and an irrigation barrage with canals and distributaries.
6. This multipurpose project, a joint undertaking of Governments of Hyderabad, Andhra, and Mysore consisted of a dam and a system of canals with power stations on either sides.
7. This project in Orissa aimed at harnessing the river Mahanadi to provide irrigation to 1.8 million acres of land and the power houses at the base of the dam was to have an installed capacity of 1,23,000 kw of power generation.

to produce more electricity in the country. The work has been going on for six or seven years and we have been spending enormous sums of money. The time is now coming when we can enjoy the benefits of all the investments in the shape of increased food production, electricity, water for irrigation, etc. But all this will become possible only after eight or nine years of expenditure without any returns.

This is the case whenever we take up big schemes. The benefits begin to accrue only much later. But whatever we have invested in Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Mahanadi, Tungabhadra and elsewhere will yield returns for generations to come for the whole country. It is possible that instead of investing in these schemes, if we had used the hundred crores differently, we may have been able to provide some temporary relief to the people. But the future would have remained as bleak as ever and the hardship would have continued as before. On the other hand, though it has meant tightening our belts a little now, we have laid the foundations for a better future and greater national wealth.

We are beginning to produce more electricity. That means that we would be able to set up hundreds of new industries and produce new goods and provide employment to millions of people. All these aspects have to be taken into account and we have to decide whether we want an easier life in the present or a better future. It is a difficult choice, because everyone would like to make life easier for the people. If we did so, we would come in for great praise. But it would not be a wise step, if it meant a halt to further progress.

Let me give you an example. You hear of the great progress that the Soviet Union has made in the last thirty or thirtyfive years. But I do not know if you are aware of the tremendous difficulties and hardships the people of the Soviet Union had to bear and how they had to tighten their belts, year after year in the first twenty years or so in order to save money for development. They utilized those savings to put up huge factories. Once the foundations were strong, progress became easier. The Soviet Union is, of course, a communist country. But I am not talking about ideologies at the moment. I am merely trying to show you that the basic difficulty which any poor country faces is the lack of capital to invest in tasks of development. This is the bane of a poor country. How is it to progress? We cannot sit idle in the hope that some other country will come to our aid. We do get a little by way of loans and aid from other countries. We too give to others who are in greater difficulties than ourselves. We help some of our neighbours with money. But no country can hope to progress very much by relying wholly on others. For one thing, it is not a good thing for any country to go around with a begging bowl, for it is a sign of weakness. The country which does so loses the respect of other nations. Secondly, how far can foreign aid take us if we do not have the self-confidence to stand on our own feet? Unless we learn to be self

reliant, we shall remain weak and command no respect in the eyes of the world.

Therefore, we must work hard to build a new India and produce new wealth in the country, from land, industries and in a thousand different ways. That is pretty clear. But the problem is that we have to do all this quickly. We do not have a hundred years to do so. The countries of the West which are among the affluent nations of the world today had nearly two centuries to become wealthy. Now the problem is that we cannot wait even a hundred years. So how is it to be done quickly. We must rely on our strength and confidence. It is a difficult task but we have already seen how it can be done. That is why we have set up the Planning Commission. It is not enough for the Planning Commission to draw up a plan to set up an industry here and there. Planning means the best utilization of available resources for the good of the people.

We want to increase the per capita income of the nation and double it within the next ten years. To double the income of crores of people is not an easy task. It will be a great achievement if it could be done. But it is possible to do that only if we double the production of wealth in the country for it is that which is distributed among the people. I want you to understand the broad issues involved. It is natural that you should want higher wages. But it is pretty obvious that you can get more only if there is more in the treasury. Ultimately, what we earn is in direct proportion to what we produce. Otherwise, the nation will go bankrupt.

The principles of socialism and communism are all part of that. They are no doubt excellent principles. But behind them lies hard work, organized effort and production of wealth. What does wealth mean? It means production of essential goods. It is only when sufficient wealth is produced in the country that there will be enough to go around. Otherwise, we can only distribute poverty. Therefore, the most urgent task before us is to increase production. Equally important is to ensure the equitable distribution of that wealth. The social structure must be such that the profits will not go to a handful of people but get distributed among the masses. Our effort must be to bring about equality among the people by providing equal opportunities for education and employment. It is absurd to expect everybody to become absolutely equal, for there are bound to be natural differences, physical and mental, among the people. But everyone must get equal opportunities. This is not so at the moment. That is pretty obvious. Some children go to excellent schools while others get no education at all. So we must make an effort to provide equal opportunities for everyone in the country.

What does that imply? First of all, it means that every individual must get the basic necessities of life, like food, clothing, houses to live in, healthcare and educational facilities. This list can be added to. Once the basic necessities

are assured, each individual can progress as far as his strength and ability permit. All these concepts are part of what is known as the welfare state. The structure of society and planning should all be geared to see to it that the people have an equal opportunity to go ahead.

We need a great deal of money to implement many of these projects. For instance, we want to provide education for every single child in the country. This is in fact laid down in our Constitution. It requires an investment of millions of rupees. Where is it to come from unless we produce more in the country? How does money flow into the government treasury? It does not come from some other country. It comes from the pockets of the people in the form of taxes, land revenue, etc. We can spend only as much as we can earn.

This is the dilemma that we face. We want to provide free education for everyone in the country. Everyone must be able to get adequate healthcare at nominal cost. They may be required to pay a small sum every month. But there should be a national health service in which all our thirty six crores must get free medical care. I want to do this.

But I am helpless at the moment to do it. At the same time, I do not think we should wait another fifty years to do it. But the resources simply do not permit us to take this step immediately because if we utilize the available resources for this, we shall have nothing for anything else. We want to do many things in the country—set up new industries, produce more goods so that we do not have to import from other countries, and to open new avenues of employment. If we were to use up all our resources in the national health scheme, the treasury will be empty and all other schemes for progress and development will come to a standstill. Similarly, if we were to go in for an expansion of educational facilities, it will require enormous resources. So we have to keep a balance so that there is all round development in the country and particularly in the direction of increasing our resources in the future. Even if initially our progress is slow, it will gather momentum in a few years.

We got freedom seven years ago. You may remember that the first few years were the most difficult. We had to bear tremendous hardships in the aftermath of Partition, when millions of people were uprooted, on both sides. Remember, eighty lakh refugees had fled to India from Pakistan and an equal number went from here to the other side. There were rich as well as poor people among the refugees and most of them had left all their worldly possessions behind and fled in just the clothes that they were wearing. It was an extremely difficult task to look after such a large number of people and rehabilitate them.

Well, most of the refugees were from the Punjab. Later on they came from Bengal. The people of the Punjab are strong, hard working and full of guts. It is obvious that the Government gave them all the help they could and continue to do so. In my view, one of the biggest achievements of the present

Government has been the way it has tackled the refugee problem. I do not say that it has been completely solved. But we have succeeded to a very large extent in doing so. The refugees themselves have worked very hard.

I am reminding you of this because we were confronted with a problem involving eighty lakh of human beings which imposed great burden on the whole of north India and to some extent on Bombay and elsewhere. Apart from that, in the aftermath of Partition and Independence, all the services—the armed forces, railways, posts and telegraph, canals—were divided into two. Secondly, the World War had ended only a few years earlier. It had created tremendous upheavals all over the world and India also suffered as a consequence. Thirdly, unfortunately we had successive years of crop failures. As it is, the food problem had become acute with the granary of the Punjab going to Pakistan. Then there was a great earthquake in Assam<sup>8</sup> and we were beset with terrible problems.

Do you remember the great famine in Bengal about eleven years ago? It was during the War years and it is estimated that in the course of four months, thirty five lakh people died of starvation. Immediately after Independence, we faced acute food shortages and had to import foodgrains from outside. A great deal of noise was made about the situation in the country and I do not say that the people in some parts of the country did not have to put up with great hardships. In fact, a few may even have died of starvation. It is difficult to say. But we could not behave as the British Government did in allowing millions of people to die like flies. So we had to import foodgrains from other countries. In one year, we imported forty lakh tonnes of foodgrains at a cost of millions of rupees which could have been utilized for other purposes. But we could not allow people to die of starvation.

So the problem of increasing food production became our most urgent priority. So long as we faced food shortages in the country, we could not go in for industrialization. Therefore, we started the "Grow More Food" campaign.<sup>9</sup> People sometimes laughed at it and said that it was more likely to "grow more officers". It is true that some money was spent on opening new offices. But you can see the fruits of that campaign already. We have achieved a great degree of self-sufficiency in food. The Planning Commission has estimated that

8. A severe earthquake rocked Assam on 15 August 1950 affecting an area of 15,200 square miles and a population of 462,000, specially in upper Assam.
9. This campaign was initiated in 1943 and during the first four years, grants and loans were given to the states by the Centre to enable them to increase food production. The campaign covered two types of schemes—work schemes and supply schemes. The former included the construction and repair of wells, tanks, small dams, tubewells, water lifting appliances etc. and also schemes of contour building, reclamation of wasteland. The supply schemes covered the distribution of fertilisers and manure, and improved seeds.

we would be able to bring the situation completely under control in the next five or six years. People in other countries had been very pessimistic about our being able to achieve self sufficiency in food because of our increasing population. It is true that our population is growing very rapidly. How to reduce this growth is one of our problems.

Whatever it is, we have been successful in bringing the problem of food under control this year. I do not say that we have solved the problem completely. But the situation is fully under control and the prices of foodgrains have fallen. Controls have been removed. How did we do all this? First of all, more land was brought under cultivation. But it is by increasing the average yield per acre from ten *maunds* to nearly fifteen *maunds* that we have been able to bring the situation under control. One of the reasons for India's poverty is the very low average yield per acre of land. We produce about eight to ten *maunds* per acre of land, whereas in other countries, it is twenty to twenty five or even thirty *maunds* per acre. Now you can imagine that even if we raised production from ten to fifteen *maunds* per acre there will be a fifty per cent increase in national wealth. This year, the production of wheat has gone up by one and a half times. When the big river valley schemes are complete, we shall be able to bring more land under cultivation. So for the first time, we are reassured about the food situation. That does not mean that we can relax. We shall be making a big mistake if we do so.

Let me give you an example. Four years ago, when the food problem in India was at its worst, it used to be said that there was great prosperity in Pakistan. That was no doubt a good thing. But last year, it was suddenly discovered that things had gone wrong, the people of Pakistan were facing great food shortages because they were complacent earlier and made no effort to increase food production. When the granaries were empty, they realized their mistake. We must remain constantly vigilant. Food is a basic necessity. We must increase food production by using the best inputs and tools.

The second problem to which we are now going to pay more attention is the opening up of new avenues of work in the country. There are big textile mills in Bombay. But a nation's progress depends on its having the basic industries, the mother industries. It is true that we may be able to achieve higher production by importing machines from the West and setting up some new industries. But that will not take us very far because we shall always remain dependent on others for spare parts and other things. Progress will be only real when a country is self reliant and does not have to import machines and other things. Similarly, there are other things like steel, which are essential for industrialization. Some steel is being produced at Jamshedpur but we need four times as much. So we are putting up huge steel plants. Once we have enough steel and power in the country, the process of industrialization will gather momentum.

So these are some of the basic things which the country needs. We have put up a huge fertilizer factory at Sindri. It has greatly helped in increasing food production in the country. Then we are building locomotives and railway engines at Chittaranjan and ships in Vishakhapatnam. There is a railway carriage factory.<sup>10</sup> We are also beginning to build aeroplanes at Bangalore.

People generally invest their money in things which yield great profits. Private businessmen would not dream of investing their money on projects like Bhakra Nangal because they keep swallowing money for years before yielding any returns. We did not have the basic infrastructure so far. We are trying to remedy that now by putting up basic industries and power plants. Once that is done, it becomes easier to build the edifice. It is our goal to ensure overall development in India and to improve the standard of living of the masses. The dilemma that we face is that if we aim at making people's lot in the short run easier, resources for future development are depleted. So a balance has to be maintained.

As I told you just now, I want to provide education and healthcare facilities for everyone in India as quickly as possible. But it is impossible for us to do this at the moment. However, I am sure a time will come when it will be done. The faster we progress, the sooner will that time come. Many things have happened during the last six or seven years which were not reassuring. So I want the process of progress to go on at a faster pace. At the same time, you must bear in mind the fact that our achievements during the past few years have been pretty considerable, if you compare them with what is happening in other countries, though I agree that comparisons are not good.

I have placed some basic facts before you. One of the fundamental reasons for the progress of the West is scientific and technological advancement. If we do not catch up with them in original research, we shall remain mere copies of the West. So we have set up huge national science laboratories at enormous cost. They do not yield ten or fifteen per cent dividend. But they are fundamental to the nation's progress. The science laboratories will be sources of new knowledge. Even if I am not satisfied with the pace of progress in the last few years, you will find that our achievements have impressed the world. The other countries are amazed at the progress we have made and the improvement which has taken place in our economic condition. If we continue to progress at this pace, we shall soon be a strong and prosperous nation. We are in perpetual need of trained and skilled people within the country. But there is a great demand for our teachers, administrators, engineers and technicians in the countries of Asia and Africa. We have sent more than a hundred officials to

10. The construction of Integral Coach Building Factory at Perambur (Madras) was started in 1952, and it was expected to commence production in 1955.

other countries to help them because, it is our duty to maintain friendly relations with them. We make many mistakes and must not try to hide them. But India is firmly on the path of progress and we are laying the strong foundations for the future in order to build an enduring edifice.

I have drawn your attention to a few basic things. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service are transforming the rural areas. The progress of India depends on the progress of the villages. People who visit India after an interval of two or three years are amazed at the rapid changes which are taking place. But, unfortunately, some of our own countrymen are always bent upon belittling our achievements. That is indeed regrettable.

Well, we have to move faster in the future and everyone must march together. It is not a question of a few individuals getting jobs. We cannot provide government jobs for thirtysix crores of people. We must open up new avenues of progress and take the people with us.

Well, since I had come to Bombay after an interval of time, I wanted to share some of my thoughts with you. The Health Insurance Scheme is an excellent thing and I hope, as one of our comrades said just now, we shall soon be able to extend it to all members of the family. I want everyone in India to enjoy these basic facilities. But it is absolutely impossible to cater to the needs of thirtysix crores of people at once. We must extend the reach gradually and go as fast as we can and, step by step, the whole society will progress. Please forgive me for taking up so much of your time. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

## 2. India and the Outside World<sup>1</sup>

Our proceedings seem to have begun a little before time. It is a good sign to do work early. Radha Ramanji<sup>2</sup> said just now that I am addressing a public meeting for the first time after returning from China. That is not quite correct, because I addressed a mammoth gathering at Calcutta the day I came back.<sup>3</sup> I think I have not seen such a large gathering in my life. Some put the attendance at the Calcutta maidan at ten lakh, others at fifteen lakh. One cannot be sure

1. Speech at a public meeting, Ramlila Maidan, Delhi, 28 November 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Senior Congress leader of Delhi and Member of Parliament.
3. On 2 November 1954. See *ante*, pp. 54-66.

which figure was more correct. But it is true that I am speaking at a public meeting in Delhi after a long time. I had gone to China and some countries of Indo-China. There have been other developments in the country. You might have heard that before leaving for China, I had expressed a desire for a change of job for a few days. It is difficult to change professions in midstream. After all, a carpenter cannot suddenly become an ironsmith. But it is possible, though, to do the same thing in different ways.

Forty years or so ago, we were all filled with an overwhelming passion and desire to do something for our country. Then Gandhiji came on the scene and unleashed a veritable storm in India. All of us came under his influence. Our lives changed completely and a whole chain of events followed in which millions of people were caught up. All of us of that generation more or less were moulded by the experiences of those times. We become what we do. Those who lead lives of ease and leisure become weak in character. Children who are overprotected and overindulged find it difficult later on in life to deal with the realities of the world for they become soft in mind and delicate in body.

Human beings are moulded by their experience just as wrestlers become tough and strong by constant practice. They cannot learn wrestling by reading books. They need to practice. Similarly, the more you train your bodies and minds, the more alert will you become. This is true of nations as well.

In the last thirty or forty years, we have had a great many experiences which have moulded us. In a sense, India is a storehouse of thousands of years of experience which have moulded us for good or bad. We are the products of thousands of years of history. But the events of the last thirty or thirtyfive years in particular have had a tremendous impact upon us. During this period we have witnessed a great many ups and downs until India became free seven or eight years ago. We are bound to see more changes.

Recently, in one of my speeches, I said that many people from our country went to China, the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries and were influenced in various ways by what they see there. Those who go to the United States are blinded by the abundance and wealth in that country and get carried away. Others go to the Soviet Union and are equally carried away by another kind of impression. The same is true of those who go to China. So, as I said, thirty-odd years ago I went through a unique experience of being carried away which is enough for me and perhaps it is enough for the life of my country too. Now I do not get carried away when I go to other countries. I like some of the things that I see. But in many respects I feel that we are better than these countries. The same is true of any country. Another strange thing is that people who go abroad are full of praise of things that they see there. But when I ask them what they have seen in India, it appears as though most people have seen almost nothing. They are full of praise of the sights

and sounds of other countries, but neither see nor make an effort to see what is happening in our own country. We must try to understand some of these changes and bear in mind a couple of things.

First of all, individuals or nations can grow only if they are firmly rooted in the soil. If they are uprooted and planted somewhere else, they will not be able to grow roots. If you try to uproot a nation and put it down somewhere else, it will be neither here nor there. There are big countries in the world, each good in its own way. There is no question of comparison. It is absurd to say that England is better than France or Germany. Each of them is an advanced nation and good in its own way. Similarly, it is absurd to feel that there can be any comparison between the nations of Europe and Asia. Each one of them has had thousands of years of history with its own language and literature. There are good as well as bad points in all of them. But any nation which gives up its roots, finds it difficult to grow. This is particularly true of an ancient nation like India. It is essential that we must have our roots firmly in our soil.

Secondly, it is equally important to let the fresh winds of change blow in from other countries. We must learn from others and benefit by their experience. It is not a good thing to shut ourselves off from the outside world as we had done for quite a few centuries. We were completely unaware of what was going on in the world. We were steeped in pride about ourselves and refused to learn anything new. So the world went ahead and ultimately subjugated us. Europe made rapid strides in science and technology, industrialization spread, and new kinds of weapons were invented, while we remained backward, steeped in our foolish pride and so, ultimately, we lost our freedom. So it is very important to keep abreast of developments in the outside world and learn from, as well as teach others. Both these things are equally important.

Look at the world around you. You read the news from other countries in the newspapers, no doubt. But do you realize what the situation in the world today is? You have to read between the lines to understand what is happening in India and the outside world. A couple of days ago, a small conference on atomic energy took place in Delhi.<sup>4</sup> Atomic energy is like electricity, not new but something which has always been a part of nature. It has been harnessed by man now. After all it is only recently that electricity became an everyday thing. Just a hundred years ago, it was considered to be magical.

In the two day conference on atomic energy, the best scientists from all over the country were present. India is not very advanced in this field compared to the big powers. We do not have the atom bomb nor do we have any intention of doing so. But let us forget about atom bombs for the time being, though it is difficult to forget it when it is constantly dangling over our heads.

4. See *ante*, pp. 416, 423.

The important thing is that man has acquired a tremendous source of energy which will transform the world. The question is whether it is used for good or evil. If it is used for evil, it can bring about the extinction of mankind. On the other hand, if it is used widely it can contribute enormously to the progress of mankind. It is a great source of energy like electricity on which industries and ships and trains are so dependent today.

The discovery of atomic energy ushers in a new era in the history of mankind. You will find that in the next ten or fifteen years it would have transformed our way of life as electricity did in its day. If it is wisely used, it can produce enormous wealth and mankind will benefit in various ways. It can enable us to put an end to poverty in the world. On the other hand if it is used for evil, it can bring ruin upon the world. In short, the splitting of the atom has led to an enormous source of energy which can be used for various purposes.

You must have heard about the *Alif Laila*<sup>5</sup> stories. In one story, a fisherman, once out fishing, caught a bottle in his net. The bottle had been sealed with the insignia of a great emperor of old. When he opened the bottle, feeling sorry that he had not caught a fish instead, out came some smoke which took on the shape of a human being. It was a jinn, a terrible thing to behold and the fisherman was frightened. The jinn told him that he had been imprisoned in the bottle for twenty years having been put there by King Solomon. He had promised to make the man who released him the wealthiest in the world. Nothing happened for years and so he promised something else. After seven more years he said that he would kill the person who released him. The long and short of it was that the fisherman had to exercise great ingenuity to put the jinn back into the bottle. Atomic energy is something like this jinn. It had remained hidden for a long time and has now been released by man. It is there like a jinn and nobody can say whether it can be kept under control or not. It is a revolutionary discovery in the history of the world. A revolution does not necessarily mean violence and chaos but something which changes society politically or economically. There have been political revolutions when regimes have changed, or as it happened in India when British rule was removed. Then there is another type of revolution in which the economic system changes. The third kind is a social revolution.

Now atomic energy is a revolutionary thing which can transform the world for the better or bring total ruin upon mankind. I am telling you this so that you may appreciate the fact that the world is on the threshold of great change.

5. An Arabic work known in Europe as *The Thousand and One Nights* or *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. It is a collection of oriental stories of uncertain date and authorship, whose tales of Aladdin, Ali Baba, Sindbad are well known all over the world.

The big question mark that is agitating the world today is whether man will have the wisdom to benefit by it or use it for evil which will lead to total ruin.

In the face of something so revolutionary, all our other problems which generate such passions pale into insignificance. The old arguments and quarrels between various political parties, etc., seem old hat and irrelevant in the modern world. You must bear this in mind.

You must have heard about the great revolutions which occurred in China and the Soviet Union. The Russian Revolution took place nearly forty years ago and the Chinese Revolution occurred four years ago. They have changed the course of world history. But during the last few years since the end of the Second World War, a great revolution has been taking place all over Asia after centuries of subjugation. The Western powers had held them in bondage for centuries and now suddenly the countries of Asia have one by one begun to throw off their yoke. India and her neighbouring countries, China, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, have undergone great transformation. The old system has come to an end and there is a new vitality in the peoples of Asia. It was not enough to put an end to the old regimes. They have now become dynamic once more and are growing in strength day by day. Each one of them is facing the need to achieve rapid progress economically and of gaining strength and stature in the eyes of the world. They have learnt from past experience that the countries which lag behind are vulnerable in the ruthless world of today.

In India, we have adopted planning in order to move ahead as quickly as possible. Essentially, this involves increasing national wealth by stepping up production. The surplus can then be invested in new tasks of development in order to eradicate poverty and unemployment from India.

What is national wealth? It is not the money which is in the treasury. That is merely a symbol. The wealth of a nation consists of goods which it produces through its labour on the fields or in factories. The affluent nations of the world have amassed great wealth because they have adopted modern techniques of production, industries, electricity, etc. We must also learn these techniques. The chief problem which India and China face is to increase production. I was recently in China. In many areas, India is ahead of China. We have more industries, more railways, roads, etc. So we have a slight advantage over them. In other things China is ahead. You must remember that only four years ago, a great revolution occurred in China. So the revolutionary fervour and zeal remains. It is true that the Chinese are extremely hard working and skilled. When a nation twice the size of India makes a concerted effort, it releases a great source of energy. China will undoubtedly go very far and we can learn many things from them. In my opinion, China can learn from us too. Just as we shall learn whatever we can from the United States, Soviet Union, China and others, so too can all of them learn something from India.

We want friendship with all nations. We do not want to quarrel with any of them. We must give respect to others in order to beget respect for India. Nowadays it has become the common practice for nations to hurl abuses and insults at one another. This is extremely vulgar and serves no purpose. We must behave in a civilized way, learn what we can from others and cooperate as far as possible with everyone. China and India in a sense face unique problems. We are the two largest nations in Asia and the world and also among the most ancient. Both countries have had a long and unbroken history of thousands of years. There have been ups and downs. We have stumbled and fallen. But we have picked ourselves up and gone on. Continuity has lent a certain strength to our two countries. India and China have demonstrated a deep inner strength over thousands of years. That is yet another bond between us. People have come in hordes into our land from other countries of Asia right from ancient time. History tells us that even the Aryans had migrated to India thousands of years ago and the present day Indian culture was born out of a synthesis of the Aryan and earlier cultures. Then came the Huns and the Turks. Hordes of foreign invaders poured in from Iran, Turkistan and China. I am not talking of a few individuals but waves upon waves of outsiders who came and settled down here. They were absorbed in the great ocean of humanity that is India. India has had a unique power to absorb ideas and peoples from outside. China too had this quality. Invading hordes occupied China and within a generation or two disappeared into the vast ocean of Chinese culture. It shows that a nation which possesses an inner strength is not easily cowed down by outside forces and influences. It benefits from them.

Well, a close relationship between India and China is very essential from various points of view. They are the two largest countries in Asia and close neighbours. We have a continuous border of more than two thousand miles, from the Himalayas to Assam. Our history shows that our relationship dates back thousands of years. I think there is mention of China in the Vedas and the Puranas, or rather of Chinese silk—*China-Patta*—which came from China. Then about fifteen hundred years or more ago, Buddhism travelled to China. During the Buddhist period, people frequently travelled between the two countries. It is said that at one time ten thousand Indian monks were living in a Chinese town. It is possible that the figures were exaggerated. But thousands of people did travel to and fro. I am talking about fifteen hundred years ago.

Therefore, for India, China as well as Asia and the world, the way the relationship between our two countries develops is crucial. The visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to India a few months ago was a historic landmark in our relations. Then I went to China. It is not a question of personalities or individuals but of the coming together of two great nations which makes it historic. It has had an impact on Asia and the whole world.

There was a great revolution in China. Revolutions are born out of the conditions which exist in a country. When the French Revolution took place, it was in similar circumstances. You cannot replicate the French Revolution in India. Conditions are different here. In Russia, too, the Revolution took place in the aftermath of their defeat in the First World War. In China, the Manchu rule had come to an end fortythree years earlier and the period which followed was marked by civil war and chaos. Then Japan invaded China and war broke out between the two countries. In short, China had no internal peace for forty years, and the population in the cities and the rural areas was completely ruined. There was no Government to speak of. No country can progress in such circumstances. China was ruined by the internecine fighting and the war with Japan which was followed by the Second World War.

I am trying to show you that revolutions do not occur in the air. The Chinese Revolution was born out of forty years of civil war. They have at last found peace. Those who feel that what has occurred in other countries should be repeated here, understand neither history nor realities. Must we also undergo forty years of civil war culminating in a revolution? That is absurd. It is meaningless to want chaos and ruin so that a generation or two later we may build anew. I am saying this because people are easily carried away, particularly our communist brethren, who have a great deal of enthusiasm, but very little common sense. They seem to think that slogans can be a substitute for common sense. It is most strange. I have just returned from China. It is, by and large, a communist country. Their Government is made up of well known communists, men of extraordinary brilliance, whose ideology has been moulded by thirty years of warfare and suffering and what not. Chinese communism is not a carbon copy of Soviet Marxism, but has been evolved out of their own experiences. I have great respect for their leaders who are extremely intelligent and are leading their country towards progress with great courage and daring. They have the right to adopt whichever path they like. How can I advise them? Their circumstances are different and they know them better. Similarly, I would not permit them to advise me what I should do in India. You and I know our country better than they do. But our communist friends have been influenced by some literature written ninety years ago in Europe, describing the conditions which prevailed there then. No doubt, it is literature of very high quality and it is but right that people should be influenced by it. I too was influenced when I read those books. Then came the Russian Revolution which produced its own literature. Indian communists have been influenced by that too. But it is absurd that they want to link our conditions with conditions which existed in Europe ninety years ago or in the Soviet Union forty years ago. What I mean is that every nation learns and grows by its own experience. It learns from others too, but in its own way.

Why did Mahatma Gandhi succeed so well in India? It is because he was a product of the Indian soil and could recognize the real inner spirit and strength of India. So he made them his weapons to fight against British imperialism. His philosophy could be understood by even a simple peasant. He had no readymade slogans to be learnt and repeated at will. I am prepared to admire and respect the Chinese Government and organization. They have built something with great difficulty and I have no quarrel with their system. But if anyone suggests that we should copy China or the Soviet Union or the United States, I cannot understand that. I would say that such people have not yet mentally arrived in the twentieth century. They are still living in the past.

The communalists are, of course, even worse. They live in an even remote past. It is people of similar mentality who ruined India a few centuries ago. The communalists today want to repeat the things which had led the country to ruin in the past.

There are three types of people in the world. One is the kind which learns from the experiences of others. They are considered the most intelligent. The second type consists of the people who learn from their own experience. They are of ordinary intelligence. The third kind are the ones who do not learn at all. These are completely useless.

India has a storehouse of thousands of years of experience. We have made many mistakes. We fell and were enslaved because of our disunity and internecine feuds in the name of religion and caste and what not. Other countries advanced in the meanwhile. All this is before us, that is the lessons that the history of India and Asia teaches us. What is one to say about people, who want us to follow the same path which led to ruin in the past? They are people who are capable of neither learning from others or from their own experience. I am truly amazed at their lack of intelligence.

You will forgive me if I praise my Government a little. The credit does not go to me or to my Government but to the whole of India. But the fact of the matter is that you will not find another example of a country, which had been until just seven or eight years ago under foreign domination, playing the role that India is, on the world stage and the respect that we have earned from others. It is because we are not easily swayed by the winds that have uprooted our neighbours. They have chosen to take sides and in the process they have been weakened and that is inevitable.

We, on the other hand, have tried to stand on our own feet. We have no enmity with any country, only friendship for all. It is a different matter that there are some powers who are upset with us for not toeing their line. But even they have gradually come round to the point of view that in everything that we do, there is complete honesty and integrity and no succumbing to external pressure or threats. Recently an Englishman visited India. I am not acquainted with him. I learnt from the newspapers that he was a prominent

leader of one of their parties. He has written that he travelled all over Asia but found that it was only in India where the people were completely free from fear. He said that they had no inferiority complex. What I mean is that he was able to gauge that the people in India were able to lead normal lives as free citizens of a country without fear or showing off. It often happens that when there is fear, people tend to make a noise or show off. Those who are without fear can behave normally.

Many things have happened in India during the last six years which, in spite of all our faults have made a profound impression upon the world. What we have done in the past has made an impact and the foundations that we are laying for the future are making an even greater impression. India's role has made a great difference in world affairs. It may be said that in the debate between war and peace, our efforts have managed to tilt the balance in favour of peace. That is a big achievement. I do not say that the entire credit goes to us. Others have also been involved. But we have played a major role.

I want you to look at what I have said in the context of the situation in the world. As I said in the beginning, we are living in a revolutionary era. Old debates and slogans become completely meaningless. We have to look at the world from a new angle. The communalist parties in India say things which have nothing to do with realities. They are living mentally in an age which is long past. They are unable to understand the problems of the modern age and so they resort to religion. On the other hand, those who consider themselves as great revolutionaries, like the communists, are equally backward in their thinking. They may succeed in fomenting violence, which anyone can do. But we in India have great problems to solve and it has to be done in the context of the atomic age. Can we hope to solve our problems by fomenting trouble and violence? Something which was relevant in the nineteenth century or even fifty years ago is no longer relevant today. We shall slip back if we try to hold on to them. Provincialism and communalism are completely outdated. We shall have to rid ourselves of them if we want to progress.

There is something else which hurts me deeply. We do not wish to criticize or speak ill of any country. Why should we? We want friendship with everyone. We know that we have many weaknesses and faults. How can we point a finger at others? We must try to follow our culture and civilization, no matter what the others do. But what would you say to Indians going abroad and criticizing their country? We must keep our differences to ourselves. We have the right to argue and criticize among ourselves. But what is the meaning of maligning India in a foreign country? I do not know what they think they are achieving. But it is clear that they are completely lacking in patriotic feelings. There is complete freedom of expression in India. But it is not a decent thing to run down our country before outsiders. People are of different types. But in my opinion, we should prevent two things. One is of people lacking in

nationalism and patriotism. They are traitors to their country even if they live here. The other kind of people are those who foment violence and chaos.

As I told you, the Chinese Revolution occurred after forty years of civil war. Their history has been different from ours. During the same period of forty years, our history has been the history of Mahatma Gandhi and of nonviolent battles. We were moulded by the history, experience and thinking of that period which had evolved out of the traditions and memories of the past. If we stoop to violence, even if it is on a small scale, immediately we would be uprooting ourselves from the events of the last fifty years or so and ruin the country. Violence begets further violence and if the process continues, we will be ruined.

I am saying this because though this problem is not before us at the moment, our communist brethren feel that there can be no progress without chaos. Five or six years ago, they instigated riots in Telengana in Hyderabad, which were put down. They are welcome to sit in Parliament and work peacefully within the democratic framework. They have the right to do so but not to foment violence. They have not rid themselves of this notion yet. It is a different matter that they do not get the opportunity to do what they want. But they continue to foment trouble in small ways and keep the pot boiling. They cannot do anything on a large scale. But they instigate strikes and foment agitations even if they gain nothing in the process. Their only concern seems to be to foment trouble and set the people against the Government. Now they are facing great difficulties. In the beginning, they used to claim loudly that we were stooges and puppets of the British and so on. Even after Independence, the communists would not accept the fact. You can imagine the mentality which refuses to accept that India had become independent. Their vision is blinkered and so they are unable to accept the realities. For years they kept saying that India had not become independent and the Constitution and Parliament, etc. were superficial things. In fact, we were painted as puppets dancing to the British tune. They kept saying that our foreign policy was dictated by the British and Americans. They say so even now sometimes, though less vociferously. When they found that the whole world, including the Soviet Union whom they admired so wholeheartedly, thought differently and that our foreign policy was held in great respect because it stood for peace, they were in a dilemma. Their slogans are all copies from other countries. When those countries too said something else, they had nothing to fall back upon. So, now they are saying that India's foreign policy is the right one to some extent but pressure from the West still operates. Well, they are aware that their arguments have lost force. So the communists are in a big dilemma as to what they should do because their mentality leads them to think only of violence, chaos and turmoil. When things are going smoothly, they cannot find fault and so they are weakened. They are constantly looking for complaints. After all, there

are innumerable problems in India—poverty, unemployment, etc. Everywhere these self styled leaders stand up as the champions of the workers. You may have heard about the impending strike by bank employees. A Commission had been set up and ultimately the Government took a decision.<sup>6</sup> I will not go into details because it is a complex matter. Then we appointed a very able judge of the Bombay High Court to go into the matter fully again and to advise us. It was a special case and since there was a doubt in our minds that all the facts were not in our possession. We did something that no government would normally do. We said that we were prepared to have another look at our own decision. We appointed a man of integrity who had nothing to do with the Government to go into the matter and report to us. I cannot understand what more any Government could have done. But in spite of that, the communists have instigated them to go on strike. You can imagine who is likely to benefit by it. It is only the bank employees who will benefit but not the public. After all, a bank is there for the benefit of the people. If that is not forthcoming and the people are put to difficulties, what is the use of the bank?

After all, the matter is being examined fully. There is no other alternative. We have said that we are prepared to change our decision provided the judge's findings indicate so. Yet the employees are bent upon a strike. It is obvious that life will not come to a halt in the country. There may be some temporary loss to trade, industries and some nuisance to the public. That is why I feel that those who favour chaos and turmoil in the country as a policy cannot have the interests of the nation at heart. They cannot tolerate that India should make progress. My complaint with the communists and others is that they fail to consider national interests and look only to narrow party interests. They malign the country when they go abroad. We must be careful particularly at the present moment which is a great testing time for us. We have succeeded so far in the eyes of the world. But we have to take into account our own strength. It is obvious that there is no magic formula to put an end to all our weaknesses and problems.

The Soviet Union has made great progress. But you must bear in mind that they have taken forty years to do so. It did not happen all at once. Their progress is based on forty years of hard work and effort. Similarly the advance of the United States has been the result of nearly two centuries. It requires hard work. A nation cannot advance by shouting slogans or making a noise. In my opinion we have laid the foundations of progress during the last six or seven years. We shall be able to progress faster during the Second Plan period. Each target requires a certain approval and effort. For instance, if we set before

6. See *ante*, pp. 390-391.

us the target of putting an end to unemployment within the next few years, you can imagine what a gigantic task it would be. Millions of people are unemployed and jobs would have to be generated for all of them. The problem is particularly acute in the rural areas. The National Extension Service is expanding rapidly. It has reached nearly seventy thousand villages so far. Fifty thousand villages a year are being covered. This shows the rate at which we are progressing.

I want you to consider these fundamental things because then you will realize that there is only one way in which we can progress and that is by maintaining unity and not indulging in thoughtless activities. I want to warn you against the communal parties. There are a number of them among the Hindus. Though the Muslim League has gone to Pakistan, others here are emulating its example. The communalists are not very large in number. But the whole concept is extremely poisonous and harmful. Please do not imagine that I am maligning the millions of Muslims who live in India. If you make that mistake, you will be falling into the very pit we are trying to avoid. There are a few people who indulge in such activities. Some newspapers in Delhi seem to specialize in it. But ultimately the responsibility for encouraging communalism rests with the Hindus. After all, since they are in a majority, the country will naturally lean in the direction that they follow. If they go wrong, the nation will go wrong too, and it will have a bad influence on others. Therefore, it is mindless to say that we are only copying Pakistan. Whatever Pakistan does, it will have to bear the consequences of its action. I am convinced that friendship between India and Pakistan is absolutely essential. If you ponder carefully, you will realize that if we want to progress, we cannot afford to fritter away our energies in futile internal squabbles or disputes with other countries, Pakistan or anyone else—we shall undoubtedly be hurt even if Pakistan is hurt. So it is not wise to fly into a passion and say things which aggravate feelings in both countries. That would be harmful to the country and the great national tasks that we have taken up.

I have no enmity with Pakistan. I want that there should be peace, friendship and cooperation between India and Pakistan. So long as I have the strength, I shall devote all my energy into that task. We must resolve our differences by peaceful methods. I regret to say that Pakistan's internal condition is not good. It is not a question of comparisons. But they have been following the wrong policy from the beginning. When a country is founded on communal principles, it is difficult for it to pay attention to other important issues. For the last one year they have been having a debate about drawing up a Constitution. Well, they have every right to do what they like. We do not wish to interfere. But you can see how they have got stuck. If we get involved in communalism, we too will get stuck similarly. There can be no progress.

Pakistan has the right to do what it wants. But if anyone tells me that we should copy Pakistan, my reply would be that it would not be very wise. Making progress is our goal. How can we allow India to lag behind? There is a great uproar over communal and provincial issues. I have no objection to the way people want the boundaries of various provinces to be demarcated. But I have strong objection to any effort at dividing the country, emotionally and mentally, weakening the national unity, in the name of province, religion, caste or community. No matter what you call it, these sentiments militate against the unity of India. They are harmful at all times but particularly now, when the world is passing through a critical period. When we are trying to progress step by step with all our energy poured into the task, such activities would be a stab in the back. Those who want to do big things must be big-hearted. Narrow-minded people cannot do big things. We have taken up the task of ameliorating the condition of thirtysix crores of people and getting rid of poverty and disease. There can be no task more important than this. How can we afford to get involved in squabbles? I would say that we have to wage a ruthless war against disunity and tendencies which divide us into compartments. Above all, we must fight against the caste system which has divided and weakened us in the past, kept people in so many separate compartments. Unless we do so, we cannot go ahead in this world.

You ask me about China. The greatest strength of China lies in the fact that there are no barriers dividing the people. So when sixty crores people work together, as they do in China, they are bound to progress. Who can stop them? There must be unity among the people and no barriers dividing them. The caste system with its rituals and taboos, which have bound us rigidly in the past, has become completely irrelevant in today's world. We are moving towards a new age and India must fit into it.

We must bear all these things in mind and look at what is happening all around us. China is a great country which is progressing very fast. Soon a troupe of artists is coming to India and you will be able to see them perform.<sup>7</sup> They will be in Delhi for four or five days and give performances in the stadium and other places. Perhaps you may not understand their music, which is entirely different from ours. When Indian music is sung in Europe it is difficult for them to understand it. We have invited the Chinese troupe because we want to establish closer ties.

7. The Chinese cultural delegation, consisting of sixtyseven noted authors, poets, actors, musicians, dancers and opera singers, arrived in Delhi on 6 December 1954. The delegation was headed by Cheng Chen-fo, Vice Minister for Cultural Affairs, who was a leading Chinese author and litterateur.

Well, what is the message that I want to give you on my return from China? I did not see anything new that I had not already read or heard about. The only difference is that seeing something with one's own eyes makes a greater impact. Then I went to Indo-China where every nook and corner is full of telltale signs of the impact of India's ancient culture. You can find exquisite examples of art and culture there which may be difficult to find in India. Their old monuments, language, dance form, all bear India's imprint. The people of India had gone there over 1500 years ago with their arts and culture and influenced them profoundly. It is the same story in Cambodia—the ancient Kamboja. Its capital of Angkor has temples of such grandeur and beauty that I was amazed at the excellence of the architects who built them. There is one monument in Angkor which is considered to be unique in the world. It is an immense one and has been standing for over a thousand years. Today it is in a bad state of repair in parts. But the architectural beauty is unsurpassed. Legends from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are engraved on stone all around the temple walls. You cannot find such fine work even in India.

Angkor Vat is a symbol of sublime aesthetic quality. It is only when a nation is highly evolved that it can produce work of such excellence. Temples are built today in Delhi and other places in India. They are huge in size but nobody can praise them for their artistry. After all, a building needs not only bricks and mortar but imagination as well. The Taj Mahal is famous throughout the world not because it is built of marble, for there are many such in Delhi, but because of its unmatched beauty of design and execution. The Taj Mahal has managed to capture the spirit of a nation. The credit must go to the excellence of the architects and masons who built it. It is artists like them who went out to Cambodia and Indonesia and built temple and other monuments which stand to this day. We must strive to recapture that excellence.

I saw the impact that ancient India had made on the countries of South East Asia. Please do not forget that the people of India had not gone there with armies to fight and conquer. Their conquests lay in the realm of letters and arts. Indian arts and religion and literature exerted a profound influence on those countries. Similarly, China was another great country which exerted its influence upon the countries all around it. That is why the region in between bears the joint names of India and China and is called Indo-China. Both countries exerted great influence on the region, particularly in the realm of arts, literature and ideas. The strange thing is that our forefathers more than two thousand years ago had the spirit of adventure to travel far and wide. Their daring and courage fills one with amazement. What kind of people were they and how did the ideas of taboo and caste system develop so rigidly later? We were bold enough at one time to cross thousands of miles of ocean braving great dangers to spread our arts and religion and ideas in distant places. Yet, just a few centuries later, we find that we had closed our minds to the outside world and

were content to sit like frogs in the well, in our narrow compartments of caste and what not. You can see how India grew in stature and exerted a profound influence on the world and then went into decline when the people became narrow-minded and caste-ridden. Foreign travel became taboo and if any persons dared to cross the seas, they were declared outcasts.

When my father went to Europe, he was declared an outcaste.<sup>8</sup> Things are changing now. We must get out of our narrow mental ruts and let the fresh winds of change blow into the country. We must strive to regain that spirit of daring and courage which led us to great intellectual efforts and scientific and spiritual discoveries. Those are the signs of a great nation. We must progress in peace and friendship with all nations.

I want to tell you one thing more, and that is that in a fortnight's time we are going to have a guest here. The President of Yugoslavia, Marshall Tito is coming to India. I should like to remind you that during the last War, German forces had overrun Yugoslavia and nearly one fourth of the population was wiped out in the struggle for freedom. Yugoslavia is a strange country in the sense that though it is a communist country, it has not adopted the Russian brand of communism. It has evolved its own ideology. In fact that has led to some misunderstanding with the Soviet Union. Whatever, it may be, a great man from a great country is coming and it is obvious that we shall give him a warm welcome. Please say *Jai Hind* with me. *Jai Hind*.

8. In 1899, Motilal Nehru visited Europe. Going abroad in those days was considered as violation of Hindu religion punishable with excommunication from the caste. Punishment could be condoned on performance of *prayaschit* (purification) ceremony. Motilal, on return to Allahabad, refused to perform the 'purification' ceremony and was excommunicated.

### 3. Need for an Economic Revolution<sup>1</sup>

You must forgive me for addressing you sitting down. I wanted to talk to you quietly for a while. I have come to Sambalpur after nearly three years.<sup>2</sup> I have

1. Speech at the All Orissa Political Conference, Sambalpur, Orissa, 11 December 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. During his two-day tour of Orissa for campaigning in the first general elections. Nehru visited Sambalpur on 14 December 1951.

been in touch with Sambalpur in mind all these years. As you know your town began to figure prominently on the map of India six or seven years ago due to the big projects that have been started on the Mahanadi. The first one is the Hirakud Dam, but there will be many others. Whenever I see these great projects taking shape in the country, my enthusiasm soars. You can imagine how a man feels when his dreams of a lifetime come true one by one. For years, most of us, who are no longer so young now, have dreamt of freedom. You know all about the various movements in the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in the last thirty years. But even before that, people used to dream of freedom. Do you remember the brave hero who had dreamt of freedom long years ago and in whose memory you have raised Surendra Sai Nagar?<sup>3</sup> Like him, we too dreamt of freedom from our childhood and worked for it to the best of our ability. So a dream came true when freedom came. It was a grand dream that we dreamt, of fighting for the freedom of this ancient country which had been for so long in bondage. As you know there are thirtyseven crores people in India. They constitute one-fifth or one-sixth of the world's population, which is a large chunk of humanity. So it is a great event for the country as well as the world, when thirtyseven crores human beings become free. It is rare for dreams to come true, but it did happen. But the moment one's dream came true, we began to dream of others. We began to think of vast schemes to rebuild the country, because though freedom is a great thing, it is not complete in itself. It is but the path which leads to the prosperity of the people. If our people continue to be poor and downtrodden, freedom loses its meaning. Freedom gives us the right to govern the country and serve the people. All of us are citizens of this country. So we have got the right to strengthen ourselves. Without freedom, the people have no rights as they are under the rule of others. There was foreign rule in the country and when that was removed, the people acquired the right to govern themselves. Now, the people must do what they can according to their ability and wisdom. If they are wise, they will go ahead, if not, they will remain where they are or might even slide back. Freedom by itself does not solve anything. It merely paves the way to other things. Freedom removes the obstacles from our path. But, thereafter, the task of making progress is ours. Therefore, our task is not over, now that we have got freedom; on the contrary it imposes greater responsibilities and duties upon us. The responsibilities of a free people are tremendous. People in bondage have no responsibilities, for the responsibility rests elsewhere. The foremost duty of a

3. The reference is to Surendra Sai of Sambalpur, who had led the rebellion against the British in Orissa in 1857 and continued the fight till he was taken prisoner on 23 January 1864. He died in Asirgarh fort in 1884.

people who are not free is to acquire freedom. It is thereafter that the entire burden of governing the country and leading it towards progress descends upon the people. It is a tremendous burden.

There are many students present here today who are studying in schools and colleges. Perhaps most of you would have had no personal experience or memories of the freedom struggle of the last thirty or forty years. You hear and read about it as a long chapter of India's history and learn what the people of India did to get freedom. You would not have experienced those things at first hand because you were very young. So, therefore, you may not perhaps fully realize the difficulties which lay on our path. We did not get freedom merely by shouting slogans or making noise. We got it by uniting ourselves into an organized force and facing up to British imperialism. It involved great sacrifices and hard work. Nothing big can ever be achieved without hard work. If a country wishes to undertake a big task, there has to be unity in the country. A divided country has no strength. We learnt the lessons of unity and organization, and the spirit of sacrifice and cooperation under the shadow of Mahatma Gandhi. All this made the country strong and we were able to march towards our goal.

Now we are faced with great problems because the responsibility is on our own shoulders. We cannot solve them by starting an agitation as we did during the British regime. Whom are we to agitate against now? It will have to be against ourselves. Agitation is all very well but it does not solve anything. For instance, none of our great river valley schemes, such as the one at Hirakud, can be built by agitation. You need thousands of people, engineers and labourers, to plan and work hard. We cannot build a Hirakud dam by shouting a few slogans or agitating about it. It needs intelligence and hard work.

So when India became free, a new chapter of her history began. We and our colleagues all over the country had spent a life time in the freedom struggle—taking out processions, offering satyagraha and civil disobedience. The complexion of our work changed after Independence. What we had learnt earlier had strengthened us and organized us into a unified force. But we had to learn a few new things and change our method of working a little. Those who do not understand the changed circumstances and can only organize agitations are quite useless in the India of today, because something new is required of us.

Let me give you a completely different kind of example. We had the zamindari system in the country and there were big zamindars and *jagirdars* and princes. It was not that all of them were bad. But the system was no longer relevant to the present times. I am not saying that it was always bad. It may have had its advantages five hundred years ago. But society is a changing organism and what is good in one age might not be so in another. The zamindari system was relevant for a social system of an earlier age but it is wrong today,

not only in India but all over the world. In the olden days the kings and rulers had a great deal of autocratic powers which is absolutely wrong in the modern times. There are still a few kings and emperors left in the world today though there are none in India. I am not counting those who are merely called raja, but of people with power. England is a great country and they have a King and Queen who are held in great respect, but have no political power because there is democracy in England.

The zamindari system has been abolished in your state as well as in the rest of the country. The lives of our zamindars became topsy turvy though the way we have gone about it has ushered in revolutionary changes peacefully. People think that there has been no revolution because there has been no chaos. They think revolution means violence and bloodshed. This is absurd. Revolution means a change in the political or economic and social set up of a country. Now that change can be brought about either violently or peacefully. For the first time a great country like ours brought about a peaceful revolution and removed British rule from here. This was a unique phenomenon in the history of the world. Similarly, we have to bring about other revolutionary changes in the economic and social systems in the country. This we are doing gradually and peacefully. Since these things are being done peacefully, our young men think that nothing is being done.

At the time of Independence there were a number of Indian states, nearly six hundred of them, with a great deal of power. Within a few months, all of them had been merged into the Indian Union. It was a big revolution which was achieved peacefully and with the cooperation of the princely states. We had the people behind us, and the strength of our new Government, and without the pressure of power, it could not have been achieved. But power was used in a peaceful way. Within a few months, all the six hundred princely states had been merged. Can you show me a similar example anywhere in history of such a big revolution, so much upheaval, taking place peacefully?

All right, after that came the abolition of zamindari which was done in various provinces. There have been delay in some places, sometimes due to the lethargy of the state governments, but the main obstacle has been our law courts. Our High Courts and the Supreme Court in Delhi have come up with all sorts of arguments, legal and constitutional. We were not even aware of such clauses in the Constitution, but the verdict of the Supreme Court had to be accepted. Then we had to amend the Constitution and even now there are some obstacles. We are planning to bring in further amendments to remove those obstacles. Anyhow, we have taken up the task of the abolition of zamindari and it has been done peacefully and with the cooperation of everyone. It has been abolished almost all over the country and remains only in a few places. Our zamindars have become superfluous. In a sense they have been useless in the past too, because they lived off the labour of others. There was no

compulsion for them to do any work at all. Now they have become completely redundant with the vast changes in society. They will have to adjust themselves to the new society which is emerging and learn to work, because in the changing social system in India, the old ways of living as parasites on society cannot work any more. They will have to do something, whatever it may be.

A political revolution at the top is not enough, though it is necessary and our getting freedom was one such revolution. But now we need to bring about an economic revolution to remove poverty from the country and increase production and avenues of employment so that the wealth of the country can increase, from land and industries, etc. This is a big problem which faces us.

Why is our country so poor? There is nothing wrong with our land which is extremely fertile. Your state of Orissa is perhaps among the poorest in the country. But there is a tremendous amount of mineral wealth hidden in the soil, which makes it extremely valuable. All that is needed is hard work and intelligence. We are using both to build these large river valley projects, in Hirakud, and elsewhere, and are taking advantage of the resources of the Mahanadi, which would otherwise be frittered away or bring ruin upon the people during floods. What are we doing with the great power that we are impounding? One, we are building canals to supply the water for irrigation to far off places. Our farmers are entirely dependent on the monsoons and when they fail, they are in difficulties, as it happened last year. We cannot control the rains, but it is within our power to build dams on large rivers and use the water. All this requires time, money and effort. Hirakud has already taken six years and we are told that it will take another year and a half to be completed. We will then be able to produce electricity.

Electricity is a great source of power which can help us in every kind of activity. You see that electricity provides light but that is only a small part of it. In fact, electricity is a tremendous source of power which can be used to run huge machinery, as well as for cottage industries, and in the houses. In the United States of America, everything is done by electricity, including cooking food, washing clothes, etc. I do not mean to say that you must also use it for such domestic purposes. But electricity is a source of great power and as soon as we have enough power, industries will flourish, which in turn will provide employment to the people of Orissa as well as the country will become prosperous.

We want such things to happen all over the country. Well, I was talking about Hirakud. You must have heard the President of our Reception Committee<sup>4</sup> who spoke about the new steel plant being put up in Rourkela. We need a number of such plants. There is already one in Tata Nagar. The Rourkela steel

4. Bijoy Kumar Pani, MLA, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

plant will be a very good thing for Orissa because ancillary industries will come up and thus gradually employment as well as production will increase. It will add to the country's wealth.

Now, I have talked to you about Hirakud and Rourkela. But there is tremendous wealth hidden in the soil, not only in Orissa, but the nearby areas of Madhya Pradesh and in fact this entire region of Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar is extremely rich in minerals. The soil is loaded with mineral wealth. The task of taking it out of the soil is up to the intelligence and labour of man, for it is not an easy task. The wealth has always been there, so it is nothing new. Now it is up to us to tap these resources. So if we look ahead, there are any number of things which can be done for the welfare of the people of this state. It will take time. These things cannot be done by magic or by chanting verses, or by consulting astrologers. I am telling you this because some people believe in these things. There is no greater foolishness than this, if you want my opinion, for an individual or a country can grow only by hard work. If something is achieved easily, it can be lost easily too.

We got freedom after long years of toil and we paid a tremendous price for it, and so we value it all the more. If, by some chance, we had been unable to work for freedom or to pay the price for it, and British rule had ended on its own, please believe me, our freedom would not have lasted very long. We would have fallen prey to some other power. We need strength to defend our freedom.

I wander all over the country and wherever I go, I see new things being produced and the country being transformed. It gives me added enthusiasm and happiness to see India putting on a new garb. This ancient country of ours, with thousands of years of history behind her, has tremendous spirit left in her which is blossoming in new ways. Just think, we who are living in India today have seen some revolutionary changes in our lifetime. First, the success in our struggle for freedom, and now this great economic transformation which is taking place in the country. We are making efforts to eradicate poverty and the hardships of the people. Please remember that we are doing this not for a few chosen people, or a caste, but for the uplift of thirtyseven crores people. There can be no greater task in the world than the one that all of us are engaged in at the moment. Please do not think that it will be done by the Government in Cuttack or Bhubaneswar or Delhi. No government can do it by itself. It can be done only by the government and the people working together. We can of course run a government, as the British did here. What did that foreign government in India do? It protected the country from external aggression, maintained law and order in the country, and collected revenue. This was all that they did and the officers were paid for this. Not only the British Government but other past governments also functioned in this way. The kings and rulers did not bother about the welfare of the people. The

thinking has changed all over the world today. Now, welfare of the people has become the key duty of the government. The concept of the welfare state prevails in all democracies. Government can no longer be concerned with police duties alone as it was during the British days. The British protected the country from external aggression and maintained law and order within the country and collected taxes and dues. This is what is known as a 'police state', but I am not using the expression in any bad sense. It only means that the major work of the state was law and order and the rest was left to the people. Now, that thinking has disappeared from the world because in democracies, people want to progress. It is obvious that a police state will no longer be adequate in our country. There are great tasks before us which the government has to do but they cannot be done by the government alone. The government can pave the way and help a great deal but ultimately the work has to be done by the people themselves. The government needs to draw strength from the people, just as we achieved swaraj by the organized strength of the people. Agreed that we had a great leader in Mahatma Gandhi. And there were other leaders too. But, ultimately, it was the strength of the people which really helped. The people were organized into a powerful force largely by the great organization, the Congress, and so we won freedom. Today, there is a greater task before us. We have to work towards economic freedom and the uplift of the people, which can only be done by the organized strength of the masses and not by passing a law from Delhi. Laws can merely clear the path of obstacles. We have passed laws abolishing the zamindari system and it was necessary to do so. But after that it is up to the people. Laws cannot do any more. I cannot put up a bridge on the Mahanadi by passing a law, nor can you by shouting slogans. So we have to take up this great task of building a new India which means, above all that the people should become prosperous and get the basic necessities of life like food to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, education, healthcare, employment. Every individual has a right to these things. I will accept it if you accuse me of being a useless Prime Minister if these basic necessities of life are not provided for everyone. I agree that it is the duty of the persons entrusted with government. I cannot tolerate it if even a single child in the country is not properly looked after. It hurts me to see even one child being deprived of proper care, for the children of today are the future of the country. If I cannot look after them properly today, what will be India's fate tomorrow? Everyone has to be looked after, children specially so, and I consider this the most important responsibility of my Government. It is true that it is not within my power or anyone else's to accomplish these things by snapping our fingers. They take time and effort. But we must constantly bear in mind that it is our duty to see that no child in India remains hungry, naked, uneducated or without proper healthcare. These are the birthright of every child in India, irrespective of class and status, and every child ought to get them. Only then

can India be regarded as a well administered country. It is obvious that it is not so just now. There are no proper arrangements for health, education, etc., and many things are lacking. Moreover, the moment rains fail, our crops are ruined and people suffer great hardship. This is our greatest weakness and we must do something about it.

How are we to go about doing all these things? We will not get wealth from outside. Even if we get a little from anywhere, it is not a good thing to depend on others. No independent country looks to others for help, for it loses its freedom in the process. We must do whatever we want to by our own effort. We have to produce wealth in the country by our own effort. By wealth I do not mean gold or silver because those are merely tools of trade and an administrative convenience. Real wealth is what we produce through our own effort. What the farmer produces from his land is wealth, and the more he produces, the more prosperous he, as well as the country, will become. Similarly, the goods produced from factories is wealth. If a carpenter makes a table and chair, that is new wealth. It is a new product and not something which is merely being transferred from one pocket to another. But money-lending is a profession which does not benefit the country in any way, for the money is merely transferred from other pockets into theirs. It does not make any difference to the existing wealth of the country. Anything new that is produced adds to the wealth of a country, whether it is from land, industries, handicrafts, etc. We have to produce more and more of essential goods. The United States of America is regarded as a very rich country not because it accumulated wealth in the past but due to the enormous amount of goods that its people produce every year from their land and factories. Those times are long past when a country could exist on its inherited wealth.

There are three or four ways of producing new wealth. The first is to increase the production from land. Second is to set up big plants and industries, as we have done in Rourkela. The third is the setting up of small scale industries and village industries. If you think about it, though large and heavy industries are essential, we cannot put up too many of them, say, over a period of ten years. And at the most, they may provide employment to about a crore or five crores people. That is certainly a large number. But that still leaves thirty or thirtyfive crores unemployed in the country. The farmers have their land and work on it but they have plenty of spare time. Therefore, village industries are essential. Even if we put up a number of heavy industries, village industries can produce a great deal of wealth, specially as they produce basic necessities with raw materials available in rural areas. So we must think of various means of producing wealth in the country. At the same time we must also ensure the equitable distribution of that wealth, so that it does not remain in a few pockets. But the question of distribution arises only when there is something to distribute. Otherwise we can distribute only poverty. Therefore, the most

important question before us is to increase production in the country in various ways. We must produce more from land, by bringing in more land under cultivation, but even more important than that, we must increase the per acre production of the land already under cultivation. For instance, I think the average production of wheat per acre is ten *maunds* whereas in other countries, the average is about twentyfive or thirty *maunds* per acre. We have also increased our production. If we could just double our rate of production and make it fifteen or twenty *maunds*, the wealth of the country is immediately doubled. The farmer becomes twice as prosperous and so does the country and we can go very far very rapidly. It is not difficult, for it is being done in other countries. We need to use new machinery, good fertilizers, etc., to increase the production. You have already seen that in the last two years, our rice production per acre has become almost three times as much as it was earlier. We have made great progress just by minor improvements. Our farmers are intelligent people and quickly grasp the importance of fertilizers. So on the existing land under cultivation, the production of rice per acre has more than doubled. This is how we have been able to bring the food situation which had troubled us greatly in the last seven or eight years, under control. It has been a great victory for us. So gradually we must change our method of cultivation. I have just visited the exhibition<sup>5</sup> which gives useful information about farming, healthcare, and other things which will be of great use to everyone.

Please forgive my saying so, but sometimes we are very foolish. When there is a disease, instead of treating it, we do things whereby the disease spreads even more. We must put an end to this. There are many diseases in Orissa. You have malaria which, as you know, you get as a result of mosquito bite and it brings on high fever. Now, you cannot stop the mosquitoes from biting by counting beads or by worshipping some goddess or the other. There is a remedy for malaria. It is always better to prevent the disease by not allowing the mosquitoes to breed and keep areas clear of stagnant water. Malaria has been brought under control in one-fourth of Orissa. The work is going on and I hope that within three or four years, it will be eradicated from the whole of Orissa as well as the country. In this task we need your understanding and cooperation.

To go back to production, to increase it from land or from industries you need governmental assistance. It will be forthcoming. The basic thing is that we must work together. All of you can start some village industry so that you too can contribute to the wealth of the country by producing something new. If this kind of thing is done by millions of people, our wealth will increase

5. The exhibition was organized at the venue of All Orissa Political Conference.



WITH LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI AND U.N. DHEBAR, AVADI, JANUARY 1955



INAUGURATING THE MARATHI SAHITYA SAMMELAN, NEW DELHI, 1 OCTOBER 1954

enormously. In short, the question before us is to produce new wealth and essential goods so that we may not have to import anything from outside. We must produce everything in the country, whether it is heavy machinery, railways, engines, ships or aeroplanes so that the wealth stays within the country.

We often hear all kinds of arguments about the various isms like communism, socialism, Gandhism, capitalism etc. It is a good thing to have such debates for they sharpen our minds. But let us leave them aside for the moment. The broad fact is that it is essential to increase production in the country and ensure its equitable distribution so that the wealth does not remain in a few pockets. We do not want that there should be just a handful of rich people, while the rest remain poor. We do not want great disparities in wealth in the country. A certain amount of difference in intelligence and physique is bound to be there. There is no solution to that for after all, some people are bright while others are not, some are tall, some short, some fat, some thin. Everyone cannot be alike, but everyone must get equal opportunities, which is not the case at the moment. I do not know how many intelligent children there are in your village who get any opportunities at all. What will the poor things do without proper opportunities? We must ensure that everyone gets equal opportunities and the essential things in life like food, clothing, education, healthcare, etc. Then each can progress according to his ability. If all the children of India get proper opportunities, we shall be able to produce many more great poets and engineers and scientists and politicians.

We need a social organization in which more wealth is produced in the country and is distributed properly and does not remain in the hands of a few. We must be clear in our minds about what we wish to do. It is for this that we have drawn up the Five Year Plan, three years of which are already over. It embodies our collective thinking on the way we can achieve progress in various fields such as education, health, cottage industries, heavy industries, river valley schemes, etc. All these things have to be considered together. Otherwise, the development will be lopsided and uneven. For instance, if we wish to put up heavy industries, we have to have trained personnel, if they are not available, the plants cannot run. So we have to make arrangements to train engineers in great numbers. We have to train teachers if we wish to put up schools, for they do not depend on bricks and mortar alone.

As you know, in the field of education, we have adopted the Basic Education Scheme. I feel sorry that though we have adopted it, our progress has been extremely slow. It must grow rapidly. One reason for its slow expansion is that we do not have sufficient number of trained teachers. We cannot ask untrained people to teach. We need to have an over all plan of development and prepare the people for it.

You must have heard of our new Community Projects and the National Extension Service. Please remember that the National Extension Service specially is for the rural areas alone, for the five and a half million villages in India. It is a tremendous, revolutionary project, because it aims at uplifting the villages from below. During the days of the British, attention was confined to the urban areas. But in fact, a country can grow only when the progress is from below, so that everyone participates equally. So we are training village workers to work among groups of ten villages each under the National Extension Service. It is being done in many places in Orissa and all over the country. It has already spread to nearly 50,000 or 60,000 villages and we want to take up another 50,000 in the next year or so. Now you can imagine what a tremendous task it is to organize 50,000 villages under this scheme and to provide trained personnel to them, and ensure good healthcare and educational facilities, veterinary care, etc., for rural homes. It is a revolutionary scheme and is being implemented without much fanfare. It is a tremendous thing and if we are able to spread it all over the country within the next six or seven years to all the villages, it will be regarded as one of the great revolutions of the world because it will transform India completely. Once the villages are transformed, the cities can take care of themselves. Rural India will provide new strength and energy and millions will become prosperous. These are the great tasks before us and we must think carefully about them for nothing can be achieved by making a noise or shouting slogans.

I feel sorry that at a time like this when we are dreaming new dreams of India's future and working towards their fulfilment, there are people in other parties who can think of nothing to do except to criticise and abuse and proclaim that nothing is being done in the country. They even go abroad and malign the country. Why? I grant that they have every right to criticise the Congress Government. But I would like to tell them that while they can criticise the Congress Government, they must not criticise national tasks. That is wrong, for when the millions in India are engaged upon these tasks and the country is making progress, any criticism is the criticism of the people and the country. It is not proper for any Indian to criticise the people of his country. It is wrong. We can argue and quarrel and come to a mutual agreement among the various parties, but we must not go abroad and criticise our country. Secondly, even if anyone wishes to criticise something, it should be constructive criticism and not mudslinging and abuse.

There are several communal organizations in the country purporting to work for Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, etc. As you know, the Muslim League was a huge communal organization which did a great deal of damage and was ultimately responsible for the partition of the country. There are similar organizations among the Hindus too. What is their policy? They talk of all sorts of things. Their favourite pastime is, of course, to criticise the government,

but nobody knows what their social and economic policies are. They make a great noise demanding a *Hindu rashtra*, but what do they mean? After all, the Hindus are in a majority here. Are they being suppressed by anyone? What do they mean by a *Hindu rashtra*? Evidently, what they mean is that those who are not Hindus must not have equal rights, even if they are Indians. Is this how we achieved swaraj? We became free because all of us, Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, etc., worked together and hence our freedom is for everyone. How can we deny equal rights to those who are not Hindus or demand the creation of a Hindu nation? There can be no greater injustice and wrong than this. Today you will demand a *Hindu rashtra*, tomorrow somebody else will want a *Brahmin rashtra* or *Rajput rashtra*. Is this some kind of a joke? The moment we fall into these traps, we begin to live in separate compartments.

One of the greatest weaknesses in Hindu society down the ages has been casteism. Our country became weak and fell a prey to foreign invaders again and again because of casteism. We must put an end to such differences and create a strong and powerful nation and rectify the sin of the suppression of our lower castes for centuries by uplifting them. In Orissa you have many people who are known as tribals. The country has done a great injustice to them in the past, as with the Harijans. Our society has been guilty of great injustice and unless we atone for that and put an end to it, we can never make any progress. We must serve them, uplift them and make them one of us because we want all sections of society to grow. In a democracy, it is not proper for one group to suppress another for that way lies disaster. Therefore, we must combat casteism, communalism and provincialism. We have to take the whole country towards progress, for freedom is for all of us, not merely for Orissa or Andhra Pradesh or any one province. It will cause a great deal of damage if we fall into this error. If there is respect for us and a place for us in the world, it is because India is a free country and we are her citizens. You will be respected wherever you go for that reason, because you are an Indian and not because you hail from Orissa or Andhra Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh or Bengal.

We must put an end to communalism. I do not wish to compete with any party. There is the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party, etc., in the country. I agree with many of the principles of the Praja Socialist Party. I myself want that we should take the country towards socialism. But it is no longer a theoretical concept on paper in the topsy-turvy world of today. This is the atomic age and the concepts of forty or fifty years ago are no longer relevant. We must look at the problems from a new angle and with fresh minds, remembering specially, that disunity is a great crime in this atomic age and will lead to our downfall.

Our communists are often very vociferous but I wonder how much wisdom

there is in what they say. Leave aside what they say, good or bad. But they constantly advocate disunity and violence and chaos. We have to decide whether we wish to travel along the path of violence and chaos, or to the extent possible, work for peace in our own country and the world. This is something for us to think about seriously. It is a fundamental thing.

These communist ideas may sound very good on paper, but we must do whatever we wish to peacefully and in mutual cooperation. If we create dissensions, even if we do it in a good cause, we shall be weakening our country which would be dangerous in this world of atom bombs. That is why I do not like it.

As I told you, there are great tasks before us. It is seven years since we became free. Seven years are nothing in the life of a nation. Our history dates back thousands of years into the past. But even in these seven years you can see that a great deal has happened in our country and that the world thinks well of us. If you go abroad you will see the tremendous respect that India is held in. Why? We do not have powerful armies, or great wealth to bribe anyone. But we have some principles and the courage to follow them. It is true that we began to be held in respect due to Mahatma Gandhi and because we tried to follow his principles. Wherever India's voice is raised in the world, it is heard with respect, whether our views are accepted or not. I feel that we can be very proud of all that has happened in India in the last five or six years. There has been tremendous progress and the world sees the pace at which we are going ahead. Ours is a large country and we cannot do everything at once. However, I am prepared to compete with any of the other large countries and compare ours with them. I want that our progress should be faster, but I have no regret or qualms that we have been slack in any way. Our country has become very much stronger.

I have tried to put the larger picture before you for your consideration. You must not merely hear me but also think about all this seriously. I am a bird of passage and when I go, you will have to take on the burden of governing this country, specially the young men and women among you. You must understand the modern world of science and technology which has produced electricity, railways, aeroplanes, radio, as well as the atom bomb. How can we hope to solve our problems by making a noise or shouting slogans? We must understand science and technology, for we have to change the face of India. It is already changing, but we have to move faster and make our country prosperous. The rich heritage of our past must also be retained. But new shoots must blossom on the old tree that is India, so that all the people in the country may be well-off, live in harmony and amity with one another and be an example to the world of how a nation can progress by peaceful methods.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me three times.

#### 4. Role of Visva-Bharati in Building a New India<sup>1</sup>

Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy in his address has just narrated to you how this institution was started, how Gurudev conceived of it more than fifty years ago and built it up little by little.<sup>2</sup> I have often wondered—and perhaps you too may have done so—how far Santiniketan has conformed to Gurudev's ideals, what are its shortcomings and whether we are doing anything to rectify the situation.

There are a large number of colleges and universities in India with huge buildings and a large number of students. Visva-Bharati cannot compete with them nor was it established with a view to conforming with those standards. Gurudev started this institution with the idea that it should be unique and stand for all that is great in India's past. The question now is how far this objective has been achieved. This is something which will always be a question mark, because there are pressures from all sides—some in favour of change and some in favour of status quo. A few days ago, a university was created here.<sup>3</sup> But even at that time, it was said that this would not be an ordinary university like all the other Indian universities, but would evolve its own method of functioning. We were keen that it should not turn out to be a copy of the others. I do not say that all our universities are bad. But Visva-Bharati is different with its own special way of functioning; it directs our attention to all those values which are being forgotten in our educational system.

Many things are involved. First of all we must remember the special qualities which make up India. At the same time, students who come here must not do so merely to pass an examination in history but to become strong in mind and body. When they go out of here, they must be able to grasp the big problem

1. Speech at the convocation ceremony of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 24 December 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Visva-Bharati has grown out of the Santiniketan Ashram founded in 1863 by the Poet's father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. Rabindranath started an experimental school here in 1901 where the pupils could grow up in an atmosphere of freedom, mutual trust and joy. In 1918, he started expounding his idea of creating an institution in Santiniketan where different cultures of the East could come in contact with modern influences. The name Visva-Bharati came into being at this time. The formal inauguration of Visva-Bharati—an international university, seeking to develop a basis on which the cultures of the East and West may meet in common fellowship, took place in December 1921.
3. In May 1951, Visva-Bharati was declared an institution of national importance and was incorporated as a unitary, teaching and residential university by the Act XXIX of 1951 of the Parliament.

which beset the country and serve the people in every possible way. Attention should be paid to the teaching of arts and crafts which is not done in other universities. A nation cannot grow merely by book learning. There should be all round development.

There is another aspect on which Gurudev insisted. This institution is in Bengal. But his idea was not to make this a Bengali institution. He wanted it to be a national centre where people from all over the country and even from abroad should come to study. This object has become more important since his days. With the coming of freedom the bond that had held our people together have begun to weaken. It is really strange that this should happen. During the freedom struggle we were bound together by a kind of discipline that makes soldiers in an army. Once we won freedom, we began to forget the bonds of nationalism and people are beginning to pay more importance to their own province. This tendency, if allowed to go unchecked, will weaken us. Therefore, it is extremely important that people from different states should come together in our educational institutions, to learn to live together and understand one another. That will help them to realize that India is one country, before going on to learn another, more difficult lesson that the entire world is one.

These were some of the great ideals which Gurudev had set before Santiniketan. As often happens, when a great man is alive, many things are achieved because of his very presence. But when he is gone and others have to carry on the work in his memory, shortcomings creep in. The inner strength seems to be missing. This has happened here and we have had to face this difficulty. But the memory of great men gives people the strength to carry on. So this is a testing time for our professors and students and all others connected with this institution. They must prove their mettle by keeping Gurudev's ideals in mind and adhering to the path shown by him. It is a pretty difficult task because he had set extremely high standards for Santiniketan.

In a sense, this is a test not only for Visva-Bharati but for all of us. If we do not succeed in Visva-Bharati we shall not be able to stick to these ideals anywhere else in the country. We would not be able to lead the country in the direction that we wish to do. This is a great question mark for the whole nation and not Visva-Bharati alone.

As you know, this is the age of huge machines and deadly weapons. The arms race is going on at a great pace. A country which does not advance in modern science slides back. It will become backward if it fails to understand the machine age. For one thing, it will not have the strength to defend itself against the enemy. Secondly, without modern science and technology, it will become impossible to feed the growing population in the countries of the world. Therefore, there can be no progress without science. We must take advantage of the machine age. This is one thing.

On the other hand, there is the fact that while the worship of machines may have given the West great power, the spiritual strength of nations is weakening and so wars are on the increase. Instead of the knowledge of science leading mankind to greater progress, it is taking it downhill. Great wars have been fought and there is still talk of war. What should we do? We cannot do without science because we will slip back and lose our freedom. But if we go in for scientific advance and technology, something like what has overtaken the West may happen here also. The inner, spiritual strength of India will be sapped. So the dilemma is to steer a middle course and adopt modern science while retaining all that was best in our ancient culture and civilization which has contributed to our strength down the ages. The question of marrying the two is crucial for us.

As you know, our foreign policy is to keep aloof from the two armed camps into which the world has been divided. We want friendship with all nations. But even apart from our foreign policy, if you look at it from another angle, we cannot hold on to all that we regard as noble or sacred in our culture if we tie ourselves up with other countries or blocs. India cannot retain her Indianness, whatever else we may become.

So we have been following a policy of nonalignment in foreign affairs. We go our own independent way. It is not based on temporary self-interest but on something fundamental. It goes back to the very roots of India's culture and civilization.

Visva-Bharati does not show a great leaning towards the world of science. It is necessary to have a balance. In the rest of the country, the emphasis on science is growing day by day while the leaning towards arts and culture is not pronounced. Visva-Bharati is one place where we lean in the opposite direction. But we must also understand and benefit from the world of science. Otherwise, we shall be cut off from the modern world. Therefore, arrangements should be made to impart scientific learning too, at least enough to understand the age in which we live.

We are facing great challenges in our country today. We are trying to build a new India. Behind our problems lurks a conflict of thoughts and ideas in our minds. This is the situation all over the world, not only in India. Mankind has reached a stage where unlimited power of destruction has come into its hands. The arms race is going on apace. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb are the symbols of the enormous power man has acquired. But nobody has understood yet how that power should be utilized. If it is misused, it may mean suicide for the whole human race. These are some questions which loom large.

India, too, faces a dilemma as to which way to go. There are great debates about the ideology that we should follow. We talk about communism, socialism, capitalism and Gandhism. But a little thought makes it obvious that these debates

are also a copy of the West. I do not say that we should not copy something good. But our thinking seems to be coloured by the experience of others. It is not a product of our own thought and experience. Therefore, it is a copy. We must learn science and technology from other countries. It is true that we lag behind in these areas. But having imbibed new knowledge, we must come out with original ideas, not repeat lessons learnt by rote from others. We have welcomed with open arms our professors and great scientists who have been trained in the West. But now we have set up a dozen huge national laboratories all over the country where original research is being done. Ordinary text book education in science which leads to B Sc and M Sc is not enough. Innumerable young men and women of great talent are doing excellent work in these laboratories.

We are trying to lay the foundations of scientific education and research. It is no good to repeat lessons by rote. In all the debates which take place in the country, I find that people often repeat the arguments and experience of others without realizing that no country can progress by copying others, but only by dint of its own strength, determination and intelligence. It has to have confidence in itself. Those who depend on others remain weak.

So, India faces a number of questions and problems. It is quite obvious that the main problem before us is to uplift the people and alleviate their sufferings, to eradicate poverty and unemployment. Everybody will readily agree that we have to do all these. The question is how to go about achieving these goals. It is meaningless for some people to shout slogans demanding that we should have communism or socialism. I agree that all these ideologies are based on particular lines of thought. But it is absurd to think that the problems of a nation can be solved by shouting slogans. I concede that we can learn something from socialism and communism. But we have to solve our problems in our own way because no two countries are alike. We shall be deluding ourselves if we think that we can solve our problems by imitating others. Every nation and age have different problems. The solutions which work in one age may not be relevant in another. We must try to understand the conditions in India today and find solutions to our problems in that context.

There are some people in India who want to solve India's problems by putting the clock back two or three thousand years. It is absurd. As you can imagine, it is only because we failed to keep in step with the times that we became backward and fell prey to foreign invaders. The West advanced rapidly while we lagged behind. We have to catch up with the others. First of all, we must understand the problems of the age.

The strange thing is that people are always ready to provide solutions without understanding the questions. How can they be relevant? We must try to understand the times that we live in. It is true that the world is becoming more close-knit. Contacts between the countries of the world are increasing.

However, closer contacts also breed hatred and bitterness in their wake. But it is no longer possible to remain aloof when we rub shoulders with other countries in every walk of life. Better communications and faster means of travel make it difficult for any country to be cut off from the others.

While this has led to tensions and wars, it has also led to the internationalization of problems. Anything that happens in one country, whether it is in the United States or Japan, is bound to have an impact upon India. It is no longer possible to study the history of any country in isolation as in the olden days. It is impossible to write the history of one country without reference to others because the two have become closely linked. One has to read the history of the world to understand the history of one's own country. The larger world context has to be kept in mind. You cannot escape that.

In this sense we must try to understand the world we live in. But ultimately we must look at the problems of our country in the context of the conditions which prevail here and find answers to them. We have to evolve a path best suited to our conditions. That does not mean that we are better than the others. That would be deluding ourselves. Every nation has its good as well as bad points. There are similarities and differences between various countries. But every nation has to develop in its own way. If you force a child or adult to go through a rigid pattern of education with no scope for individual initiative he may learn lessons by rote but will not develop. It is proper that children should be taught various arts and allowed to develop naturally. Similarly, if you try to make a nation conform to a rigid pattern imported from some other country, whether it is the American or the Russian model however good, it will not grow roots. Every country develops best in its own soil.

So we must learn from the whole world. Today we trail behind. There is no doubt about it. But we must not uproot ourselves from our own soil. India is an ancient country with a history going back thousands of years. We have been moulded by the culture and wisdom of thousands of years. Until we understand where our roots lie, we cannot come up with the right answers.

We find ourselves in a strange predicament at present. Why is it that the students of today regard their teachers as their enemies and go on strikes and so on? It is almost as if our universities have become factories. As a matter of fact they have become factories churning out BAs and MAs. Very little education is imparted in these institutions. So students also go on strikes like the workers who demand higher wages. I do not say that they are always unjustified. Arrangements should be made to rectify grievances. But how can there be any real education if our teaching institutions become warring grounds? The old Indian *guru-shishya* tradition which has come down through the centuries is famous. What is happening today is completely the opposite of that. How can we progress in such a milieu? We are trying to uproot ourselves from our moorings and adopt alien ways. I do not know whether those ways

are good for others. All I can say is that anything which is completely different from and alien to our culture cannot be good for us. These are the great problems which we face today. The Planning Commission draws up plans which are aimed not only at building new industries but at producing men and women of quality. If a nation has a large number of people of quality, all the rest will follow easily. In this the greatest responsibility rests with the educational institutions in the country.

What will the India of tomorrow be like? It is being shaped and moulded in our schools and colleges. We have to find answers to our problems by learning from others but at the same time remaining true to our ideals and principles which have come down to us through thousands of years. There was an inner strength which has kept us on an even keel through the centuries even though our weaknesses frequently led to ups and downs. We must understand both the strength and the weaknesses that have been part of us. Anything that binds us together is good and fissiparous tendencies are bad, whether you take India or the world.

Casteism is one thing which has done us great harm in the past. We must get rid of it. Well, Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati were started and have always stood for the removal of casteism. We must remember the harm that casteism has done to India in the past. It is something which has kept us divided into compartments.

We must fight these weaknesses and build a new India on secure foundations which will enable us to save the world. I am happy to see students here from other countries of Asia and Africa. I want more and more of them to come here to study. We must welcome them and show them what India stands for. Visva-Bharati has a great role to play in this great task. In doing so, we shall be fulfilling a little of what Gurudev wanted to do. *Jai Hind.*

## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS



I'

New Delhi  
1 October 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you under some pressure of work. The Parliamentary session has just ended<sup>2</sup> and I am going away tomorrow morning to Cochin from where I embark on the INS *Delhi* for Bombay. On the way there will be naval exercises. I shall spend two days in Bombay, October 6 and 7, and then return to Delhi. On the 15 October, I shall proceed on my journey towards China. I expect to return in the first week of November.<sup>3</sup>

2. Yesterday and the day before, the Lok Sabha held a full debate on our foreign policy. In the course of this debate, I spoke twice at some length and referred to important aspects of our foreign policy.<sup>4</sup> I discussed, in particular, the recent South East Asia Treaty signed at Manila and the Goa problem. I mentioned also Ceylon and other matters. I do not propose, therefore, to deal with these matters in this letter as no doubt reports of my speeches as well as the debates in the House will be available to you.

3. I would only add that the situation in the Far East,<sup>5</sup> though not critical, continues to be difficult. Thus far any dangerous development which might lead to war has been avoided. But we have been near it often enough and there is always a risk of something happening which might lead to a blow-up. We have to be wary, therefore, and prepared for all contingencies, whatever they might be.

4. We had a visit from the Prime Minister of Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> This visit was particularly welcome because gradually on account of the force of circumstances as well as geography, history and culture, India is drawing closer to Burma and Indonesia. Indeed, these three countries are often referred to as belonging to the South East Asia pattern, that is to say, countries not aligned to any major group and following a neutral independent policy. Thus they form the core of the so-called area of peace. It is true that the Manila Treaty has interfered with

1. File No. 25(6)/54-PMS and 25(6)/55-PMS. These letters have been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 50-55, 69-75, 96-130.
2. On 30 September 1954.
3. See *ante*, pp. 6-53.
4. See *Selected Works*, (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 318-343.
5. See *ante*, p. 7.
6. Ali Sastroamidjojo visited India from 21 to 26 September 1954.

this pattern in this area. But if the three countries hold together and are firm in their policies, it will not be easy to change the face of South East Asia.

5. I had full and frank discussions with the Prime Minister of Indonesia and we agreed about our approach to most problems. The question of an Asian African Conference was also discussed. I was rather doubtful about this some months ago, but I have come to the conclusion that such a Conference is desirable. Of course, much preparatory work will have to be done.<sup>7</sup> Possibly the Conference might meet at Djakarta in February next.<sup>8</sup> No final decision has yet been arrived at about the countries to be invited to this Conference.

6. Another Prime Minister, namely, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon will be coming here early this month.<sup>9</sup> He is coming at his own suggestion to discuss the question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. I fear that this question is as far from solution as ever and I doubt very much if our talks here will lead to any positive result.<sup>10</sup>

7. The brief session of Parliament that has just concluded did good work. The outstanding measure that it passed was, I think, the Special Marriage Bill.<sup>11</sup> This is the first of other measures of social reform. I am very anxious that two of the Hindu Law Bills, namely, the one relating to marriage and divorce<sup>12</sup> and the other relating to succession<sup>13</sup> should be passed before long.

8. The Planning Commission has drawn my attention to the fact that we have been unable to spend our sanctioned moneys for our developmental schemes. There is this shortfall in some of our Central Ministries as well as in the States. It was understandable that in the first year or so full progress could not be made. But it is much more difficult to justify this shortfall in the third year of the Plan. The present estimate is, and it errs on the generous side, that at the end of the five year period of the Plan, the total shortfall will be

7. The second meeting of the Colombo Powers was held at Bogor, Indonesia, on 28 and 29 December 1954. See *ante*, pp. 112-119.
8. The Conference was held from 18 to 24 April 1955 at Bandung, and was attended by twenty-nine nations.
9. From 6 to 11 October 1954.
10. Both Governments agreed to proceed with registration of Indian settlers as agreed upon in January 1954 and the Sri Lankan Government agreed to simplify the procedure for registration and review the position after two years. See *ante*, pp. 135-175.
11. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 17 September and received the President's assent on 18 October 1954.
12. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 15 December 1954 and by the Rajya Sabha on 5 May 1955, and received the President's assent on 18 May 1955.
13. The Hindu Succession Bill entered the statute book in June 1956. It aimed at evolving a uniform system of law with regard to intestate succession among the Hindus and for determining the rightful heirs to their property. The Bill also gave for the first time a share of her father's property to a daughter and gave women absolute right over self-acquired property.

considerable. This is bad enough. It indicates that we are not suffering from lack of money but lack of capacity to use even the funds we have.

9. We have been considering increasing the pace of development, more specially, in regard to industry. We are prepared for deficit financing and the like. But we have thus far been unable even to live up to many of the targets of our present Plan, moderate as it is. How then will we speed this process and embark on a much more ambitious plan in future? We cannot, of course, throw about money and thus get through the sanctioned amounts. We have to use it as determined by the Plan. It is clear that our administrative apparatus does not move as it should. It is not accustomed to gearing itself up for rapid results in planning. We are examining this matter again and I should like every State government to do so. On our solution of this difficulty depends our future progress. Please, therefore, examine the work you have done under the Plan thus far and the extent to which it has not come up to the standard required. Why has this been so and how can we remove this difficulty?

10. The terrible railway disaster near Hyderabad<sup>14</sup> has come as a very great shock to all of us, as it must have been to you. There will be an enquiry and we must not express any final opinion till then. We have to remember that half an hour before this ill-fated train went, another train had passed safely over that little bridge. Within that half hour some sudden torrents washed away part of that bridge and the train coming at midnight with its sleeping load of passengers rushed into the roaring torrents. This whole accident is terrible to think of. There have been a spate of accidents and disasters all over the world, just as there have been floods in almost all the continents. Whether this indicates some change in climatic conditions or some other forces coming into operation, I do not know. We live in difficult and dangerous times and we have to keep ourselves ready for anything that might happen. We cannot slacken or become complacent about anything.

11. The Planning Commission has sent me an interesting paper. This relates to the redistribution of personal incomes in the United Kingdom. You will be interested in this and so I am enclosing a copy.<sup>15</sup> You will notice that the figures relate to the years from 1938 to 1952. They indicate how the so-called middle classes with an income of £250 to £1000 per annum have grown greatly in number. Income-tax assessment gives significant information. In 1938 there were about nine million assessments. (It should be noted that a married couple is counted as one individual for income-tax purposes.) In 1953 there were twenty-three and half a million assessments to income-tax. As some of these include two persons, we might as well say that nearly half of the total population of

14. On 27 September 1954, 126 persons were killed and 72 injured in a train accident near Aler, a village 54 miles away from Hyderabad.

15. Not printed.

the United Kingdom was assessed for income-tax. This is both interesting and significant. This is partly due to the result of the War and partly to the policy pursued by the Labour Ministry in England. It shows how social changes are taking place in Western countries at a fairly rapid pace without much shouting or agitation.

12. I have been interested in finding out the actual result, in terms of holdings, of our land legislation in India. Thus, to take the figures for Uttar Pradesh, in the 1931 census, there were 10% cultivating owners and in 1951 there were 83%. In 1931 there were 66% tenants; in 1951 there were 6.9%. Agricultural labourers in 1931 were 20.2%; in 1951 there were 7.7%.

13. The Bombay figures are as follows:

Classification	1931 census	1951 census
	(Percentage numbers)	
Cultivating owners	16.6	66.3
Tenants	22.6	15.8
Agricultural labourers	56.5	14.7
Others	4.3	3.2

14. This indicates the social changes taking place in our rural areas. No doubt we wish that this pace was much faster and went further. But we must recognize that the change has been considerable and in the right direction.

15. I am sorry to say that I feel rather tired. This is not so much a physical tiredness but more so mental and this leads to a certain staleness. Mental reactions are due to many causes. This has led me to think of how far I am doing justice to my work and the heavy responsibilities that I carry. At a meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament last evening, I mentioned this to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## II

New Delhi  
15 November 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a long interval. My last fortnightly letter was dated October 1. You know that, during this period, I have been abroad and have paid a visit to China as well as to the States of Indo-China.<sup>1</sup>

1. From 18 October to 2 November 1954.

2. Much has happened during these six weeks. The death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>2</sup> has been a great blow. It is never easy to measure men because there are no uniform standards for such measurement. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was a particularly difficult person to assess, because he was different from others. One test comes after death, the measure of popular reaction. I was not in India when he died, but I am told that his death provoked an extraordinary amount of public sorrow all over the country. More especially in Delhi, his funeral procession drew vast numbers of persons of all shades of opinion. I am not surprised to learn this, because I knew that he was one of the very few who had by sheer hard work and ability won an abiding place in the hearts of our countrymen. He was essentially, a man of the people and because of that they put up with much in him that would have irritated others. I knew him from the early beginnings of the non-cooperation movement thirty-five years ago and we had worked together during this long period through all the ups and downs that came to us. We were in prison together and we were in the struggle together outside, and later we were in the Government together. A politician is well known to be used to public speaking, and perhaps even to like it. Rafi Ahmed for many years always avoided a public speech even though he was playing a most important part in our organization. Public speaking was always somewhat of a trial to him and he avoided it, if possible. He expanded in small groups. He concentrated on hard organizational work and knew personally more persons in the UP and even in India than any one else that I know of. He was a loyal friend and was always willing to help anyone in distress. Innumerable people came to him for help. No person was turned away.

These were the qualities that endeared him not only to his numerous comrades but to the people at large. But behind these qualities was a sterling ability and a quickness of mind and grasp. He had a sense of what the people were thinking and had initiative and daring.

He was a Muslim of course, but one never thought of him in terms of being confined to any community. He was an Indian patriot in the best sense of the word and his patriotism embraced the whole people and, therefore, he thought always in terms of the good of the masses. No number of rules or regulations or even working as a Cabinet Minister tamed his unconventional spirit.

He helped innumerable persons, but for himself he did little. The land he possessed, he gave away to his tenants. His house in his village home Masauli, in the District of Bara Banki, UP, continued to be a dilapidated structure, in some parts even lacking a roof. He had no time or money to look after it.

Such a man is unique anywhere and in the India of today his loss is indeed great. I feel it particularly, not only because a friend and comrade is

2. On 24 October 1954.

gone, but because we have come to a stage in India when initiative and daring are necessary more than ever.

3. During my absence in China, an historic event took place in India. That was the de facto transfer of the old French Settlements to the Union of India.<sup>3</sup> I am particularly happy that this took place as a result of a friendly Agreement with the French Government. Our policy was thus justified and we start this new chapter in Pondicherry, etc., in a spirit of goodwill to all. We hope that Pondicherry will continue to be a centre of the French language and French culture.

4. Immediately on my return from China, I went to Darjeeling<sup>4</sup> to inaugurate the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute. This may appear to some as specialist work in which only a limited number of persons are likely to take interest. I considered it as having a larger significance. It seemed to me a symbol of our new India full of energy and aspiration and daring. Standing almost under the shadow of the Kanchenjunga, I felt exhilarated and I sensed this new youthful spirit of our country. The Institute is not merely to instruct in high class mountaineering, but also to train, I hope, large numbers of people in the smaller feats which produce initiative, endurance, and character, not to mention good health. Also, it is to encourage winter sports. I hope, therefore, that all the states in India will take interest in it and help it, more particularly those states which might be called the Himalayan States and which touch this mighty range of mountains, which has been our friend and sentinel for ages past.

5. A few days ago, we had a meeting of the National Development Council<sup>5</sup> which you and other Chief Ministers attended. Among its decisions, the most important was the formation of a standing committee in which a number of Chief Ministers were included.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the Planning Commission becomes, for purposes of policy and important decisions, a much larger and more representative body. I attach great importance to this.

We are already thinking of the Second Five Year Plan. In framing this, the help of the Chief Ministers and their governments is essential. Planning inevitably, involves a measure of centralization. In other countries, such as China which I have recently visited, there is an absolute centralization in the governmental structure. Whatever other advantages or disadvantages this may

3. On 1 November 1954. See *ante*, pp. 220-221.

4. On 3 and 4 November 1954.

5. On 9 and 10 November 1954. See *ante*, pp. 371-379.

6. Following the criticism by some Chief Ministers about the lack of coordination between the Centre and the States in the matter of planning, a standing committee consisting of the Chief Ministers of Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras, Rajasthan, Punjab, Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh was set up on 10 November 1954.

have, it facilitates planning. We do not function in that way not only because of our parliamentary democracy, but also because we are a federal union with a large measure of autonomy in the states. I think this autonomy is good and, indeed, I believe in decentralization to the largest possible extent, provided it does not weaken the unity of the country or come in the way of its progress. At the same time, central coordination is essential if we are to plan. How then are we to do this and coordinate those opposing tendencies? Fortunately, we have had no great difficulty in the past because most of us have functioned as colleagues in a common undertaking. So far as I am concerned, I can think of India only as an integrated whole.

The formation of the standing committee should facilitate even greater co-operation both in the framing of our plans and in their implementation. I feel that the time has come when we should show initiative and daring in dealing with our problems. Many countries today are planning their development and seeking to make rapid progress. We have to keep pace with others and even try to go ahead of them. Ultimately, every country will be judged by the results it shows in human well being and national progress. Every other consideration will be secondary.

6. We can learn much from the industrially advanced nations of the West. But we have always to bear this fact in mind, that our country is differently situated. Those Western countries have had one hundred and fifty years or more of industrial growth. We lag behind in that respect like other countries in Asia and the problems we have to face are, therefore, different from the problems of those countries today. We are not going to have hundred years in order to make good. Our problems, therefore, are essentially similar to those of other underdeveloped countries in Asia. It is for this reason that I was particularly interested in what was happening in China and I said that the most exciting countries for me today were India and China. We differ, of course, in our political and economic structures, yet the problems we face are essentially the same. The future will show which country and which structure of government yields greater results in every way.

We have been in intimate touch with the United Kingdom and with Western European countries. We have also been in touch with the United States of America. It is right that we should learn from them. I welcome our attempts to find out what has been happening in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia, and other countries which, till recently, were industrially backward and mainly agricultural countries. We should consider what has been done there with an open and objective mind and profit by what we can take. For my part, I believe in parliamentary democracy and in individual freedom. But I also believe that it is essential to have rapid economic progress. We have to combine the two. That is a great test for us and it will require all our wisdom and all our strength and unity of purpose.

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7. As you know, there have been strange happenings in Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The Constituent Assembly has been dissolved and the Cabinet has been changed. An interesting feature of this change is the inclusion of our old friend and comrade Dr Khan Sahib in the Central Cabinet. I cannot say what this will lead to in Pakistan or how it will affect our relations with that country. I hope that it will better those relations because I am convinced that some time or other we must put an end to our conflicts.

The example of Pakistan brings out rather forcibly that foreign help is not an unmixed blessing. Military aid is even less helpful in the long run. All this dependence on foreign aid brings in internal weakness. An essential quality for a nation, if it wants to advance, is self assurance and faith in itself and the capacity to work hard. If it depends on others, then its very foundations are weakened. I do not wish to make any invidious comparisons but anyone can see how India has progressed during the past few years, in comparison with many other countries of Asia.

8. The General Assembly of the United Nations is proceeding in New York and India has taken a prominent part in the discussion of many world issues there.<sup>8</sup> It seems to be our fate to play that part. We cannot escape the burdens that circumstances have placed upon us.

9. The few days I spent in China and subsequently in Indo-China have left so many impressions on my mind that I could write at great length about them. I would like to share these impressions with you. I cannot write everything but I have prepared a note on this subject, a copy of which I enclose.<sup>9</sup> The basic fact that stands out in my mind, quite apart from communism or anti-communism, or the various other issues that confront China and Asia, is the emergence of this great country. Let there be no mistake about it. It is a great country not only in size, but in spirit and character, and when all these three are joined together then the results are also likely to be big. Here is a vast country, unified for the first time in history under a strong and stable Government, consisting of men who know their minds and who have been hardened by more than a quarter of a century's conflict and trouble and misfortune. Behind this basic fact of a strong China, likely to develop rapidly, all else is irrelevant, and nothing appears to me more irrelevant in this context than the arguments about China's admission in the UN, as if it was possible to ignore such a country in the full flush and pride of freedom and unity.

10. Our Parliament starts today. It will deal with many matters, but the

7. See *ante*, pp. 21 and 45.

8. In the ninth session of the UN General Assembly held from 21 September to 17 December 1954, disarmament, peaceful use of atomic energy, Soviet complaint against US aggression in China, the Cyprus question and the South African racial policy were discussed.

9. See *ante*, pp. 78-86.

most important seem to me to be the Hindu Law Reform Bills and the amendment of the Constitution. I hope we shall be able to go ahead with these and at least to pass one of the Hindu Law Bills during this session. The amendment of the Constitution has become imperative since we intend to make much progress in the economic and social fields. No one wants to amend the Constitution in haste. But when the time comes for it, then it has to be done. The final test is what is good for the people and no other test can apply.

11. I have promised to go to Djakarta in Indonesia at the end of December for the second meeting of the Colombo Powers, as they are called. This meeting has been convened especially to work out the details of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference. The necessity for this Conference has grown in my mind. It is true that such a Conference is likely to be a very mixed affair, but we must face that.

12. At the end of January, soon after Republic Day, I have to go to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.<sup>10</sup> This is likely to be important.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. The Conference was held from 31 January to 8 February 1955.

### III

New Delhi  
9 December 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

This letter that I send you every two weeks or so is marked 'Secret'. It is meant to be so. I was, therefore, surprised and distressed to find almost a full copy of my last fortnightly letter,<sup>1</sup> somewhat paraphrased here and there, appearing in the newspapers. If these secret letters reach the press, then it will become difficult for me to write as frankly and fully as I wish to do. I know that these fortnightly letters have a fairly large circulation. Nevertheless, they have not been published thus far. This sudden break through this well-established rule is, therefore, not only embarrassing, but causes me some

1. See *ante*, pp. 546-551.

concern. I would request you, therefore, to take steps so that these letters are kept secret.

2. Events move fast in the world and just as we seem to cross one hurdle, another hurdle looms up before us. I wrote to you that the international situation had eased considerably, in spite of some danger points. There was a marked lessening of tension and it seemed that the great powers were definitely turning away from thoughts of war. The Soviet Union had taken many steps which indicated its desire for a peaceful settlement. The President of the United States of America had also expressed himself more clearly than ever before in favour of peaceful methods and avoidance of war.<sup>2</sup> He even spoke in favour of co-existence of different systems.<sup>3</sup>

3. While, generally speaking, it may still be said that there is no danger of war, there has been a recent development which is serious. This is the question of some American prisoners of war in China who have recently been tried and convicted.<sup>4</sup> Because of this, there has been great excitement in the United States of America and demands have been made for their immediate release. The matter has even been referred to the United Nations. It is stated, on behalf of the United States and supported by the UK and other countries, that the detention of the American prisoners in China is a breach of the Korean armistice. The Chinese claim that it is no such breach and that these people were captured in Chinese territory where they had gone for purpose of espionage. They state that some of these prisoners had been parachuted down in Chinese territory, sometimes with wireless sets and other material. In some other cases, it is alleged that American planes over Chinese territory were shot down and their occupants captured.

4. When I was in China, Premier Chou En-lai spoke to me about hundreds of persons who were captured on Chinese territory. Most of these were Formosan Chinese; a few were Americans. It is these few Americans who are the cause of this argument now.

5. I should imagine that an answer to the questions that arise depends on the facts. Without those facts, it is difficult to support either thesis. If it is a fact that these Americans were engaged in espionage in Chinese territory, then it is difficult to see how they can be included in the Korean prisoners of war. On the other hand, it may be shown that they were not spies or were not captured on Chinese territory. Whatever the merits of this case might be, the

2. On 19 October 1954, Eisenhower said that since the advent of nuclear weapons, it seemed clear that there was no longer any alternative to peace.
3. On 8 November 1954.
4. Beijing Radio announced on 23 November 1954 that a Chinese military tribunal had sentenced thirteen Americans, of whom eleven were airmen, to various terms of prison ranging from four years to life imprisonment on charges of espionage. See also *ante*, pp. 210. and 213-215.

fact remains that it has become a very serious one which might lead to dangerous consequences. On the Chinese side also there is much feeling over this matter as well as in regard to the recent treaty between USA and Formosa.<sup>5</sup>

6. Gradually, a realization is coming to many people all over the world that the coming of the atomic age has ushered in a new and dangerous era. This is so dangerous that if a war occurs, the end might well be almost total destruction. It is now thought by eminent scientists that the effect of the bursting of the hydrogen bombs might so vitiate the atmosphere that vast numbers of people might die a slow death. This, apart from the direct and immediate damage caused. On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly apparent that atomic energy or nuclear energy can become powerful agents for the betterment of humanity. You may have heard that we had a Conference on the peaceful use of atomic energy in Delhi.<sup>6</sup> This was of great interest and all those who attended it profited by it. On the whole, India has done well in developing atomic energy with her limited resources. We have a plan now for a more rapid advance. So far as we are concerned, we only think of the peaceful uses of this tremendous source of power.

7. There have been some changes in our Central Council of Ministers. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain has been appointed as Food and Agriculture Minister, and in his place in the Rehabilitation Ministry, Shri Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>7</sup> has been appointed. Shri Mehr Chand Khanna has been engaged in rehabilitation work for several years now and is in intimate touch with every aspect of it. I have suggested to him that he should concentrate on the work in the eastern zone, that is, Bengal, etc., and that he should spend most of his time in Calcutta. That is the major problem for us now in regard to rehabilitation and it requires intensive and concentrated effort. I have also suggested to him that he should not hesitate to increase our staff in Calcutta by transferring people from Delhi or otherwise.

8. Apart from the changes actually made here, you must be aware that Shri Govind Ballabh Pant has agreed to join the Central Cabinet. I am very glad he is coming here as his ripe experience and wisdom will be of great help to us. He will probably join us early in January.<sup>8</sup>

9. There has been a good deal of discussion in the press and elsewhere about our industrial policy and references have been made to differences in

5. The United States and Nationalist China signed a Mutual Defence Treaty on 1 December 1954.

6. On 26 & 27 November 1954. See *ante*, 416-423.

7. On 6 December 1954.

8. He was sworn in as Minister without Portfolio on 3 January and was appointed Home Minister on 10 January 1955.

the Cabinet.<sup>9</sup> It is quite natural that in discussing these complicated matters of policy there should be somewhat different approaches. As a matter of fact, however, these long discussion led us merely to draw attention to the Industrial Policy Statement issued in April 1948. Some aspects of it were emphasized because there appeared to be a tendency to interpret that resolution rather loosely. I am glad that these discussions took place then and the matter has been clarified to some extent. The main point discussed was about certain basic industries, and more specially iron and steel. The Industrial Policy Statement of 1948 laid it down quite clearly that these few basic industries should be the exclusive responsibility of the state, though, in special cases, the cooperation of others could certainly be invited. In a sense, this decision of ours represented a certain basic approach. Iron and steel, as well as power, are the foundations of all industrial progress. I do not think that we can have any effective planning without fully controlling certain basic industries. We talk about a mixed economy and it seems to me quite inevitable, in existing circumstances, that we should have a mixed economy. But we also look forward to the progressive growth of the public sector. Even more so, we look forward, I hope, to developing a certain pattern which, broadly speaking, can be described as a socialist pattern. Our methods are peaceful and democratic, but the objective remains. If that is so, it becomes inevitable that basic industries should be more and more under state ownership or control. This applies most of all to iron and steel. This does not mean, I repeat, that the cooperation of others cannot be sought or obtained.

10. In this connection, you are no doubt aware that a team of Soviet experts is in India at present discussing with us a proposal to start a major steel plant.<sup>10</sup> We have not finalized anything yet, but there is every chance of our doing so as the terms appear to be favourable. This plant will be the second new steel plant that we intend to put up, the first new plant being the one at Rourkela, which German technicians are going to set up.

11. All this means a considerable addition to our industrial output. Nevertheless, we are convinced now that even this will not be enough and that we should think in terms of a third new steel plant and of aiming at the production of six million tons of steel in the near future. Therefore, there is room for this third new plant and we propose to investigate this.

12. At a recent public meeting,<sup>11</sup> which I addressed in Delhi, I referred to

9. There were reports in the press on 27 November 1954 about the differences in the Cabinet on interpretation of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. T.T. Krishnamachari was reported to have resigned from the Cabinet due to differences with K.C. Reddy and Gulzarilal Nanda over the issue.

10. On 2 February 1955, a Indo-Soviet agreement was signed by which the Soviet Union agreed to help in setting up a steel mill at Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh.

11. On 28 November 1954. See *ante*, pp. 508-522.

the policies pursued by the Communist Party of India. I pointed out how alien to any nationalistic approach was this approach of the Communist Party of India and how it was tied up with certain policies which were essentially based on violence. I also pointed out that each country has to develop itself according to its own genius and in line with the conditions that prevail there. Each country and people is conditioned by its history and experiences. The Soviet Union took shape under a certain set of circumstances. The new China again developed under another set of circumstances and experiences. We in India have been conditioned not only by our long past history but our personal and racial experiences during what might be called the Gandhian era. I am not prepared to criticize or condemn what took place in the Soviet Union or in China, even though I might not like some things that occurred there. But I have the strongest objection to India being made a rootless pale shadow of some other country. That way progress cannot lie for India.

13. You must be aware of the fact that the communists in India still often say that India is not an independent country and that national liberation has still to be achieved here. During past years, except last August, communists have objected to our celebrations on August 15.

14. This attitude and approach I consider completely anti-nationalist and harmful. I do not mind if anyone teaches the economic theory of communism peacefully. With much of it we might agree, provided it fits in with the special conditions in India and does not go against our basic principles. I see no conflict in this approach.

15. I have said recently that our objective must be that of a socialist state, that is, of a socialist pattern of society.<sup>12</sup> I believe that this is only the right ideal to have, also that our various differences and disruptive tendencies such as communalism, casteism, and provincialism can only be countered effectively by this wider approach which leads to a socialist basis of society. But I equally believe in a peaceful and democratic approach and India having full freedom of action in the fashioning of her own destiny. Anything else would be a lack of independence.

16. We talk loosely of the atom bomb and many other things without realizing the enormous significance of what is happening all around us. We live in a high crisis of civilization. It may be called the crisis of industrial civilization. But it is something even more than that. Therefore, it becomes necessary for us to get out of our grooves of thought and think afresh. No repetition of old dogma, whatever it may be, is going to help.

12. On 2 December, Nehru told the Congress Parliamentary Party that "in an underdeveloped country like India there could be no other goal than a socialist economy and the country's industrial policy must be regulated accordingly." See *ante*, pp. 342-349.

17. The recent elections for the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee have come to everyone, including I think the Akali Dal, as a surprise.<sup>13</sup> I know little about them and was in no way directly concerned. I viewed the prospect distantly. It is no concern of mine what the Sikhs or any others do in connection with their religious faith. But it is a very great concern of all of us how far communal and separatist tendencies grow in this country. There can be no doubt that the forces that triumphed in the SGPC were intensely communal, even though they might not be wholly separatist. They represent a mentality which has no place today in India and which can only lead to evil results. It is a matter of deep sorrow for me that a majority of the Sikhs, who form so vital a part of our country, should be influenced by these communal slogans and the narrow-minded attitude that they represent. If these ideas spread, India will no doubt suffer, but the Sikhs will obviously suffer most of all. No community is going to make progress in India if it clings to this communal approach.

18. I do not take a tragic view of what has happened in the Punjab. But I do take a serious view of it. It may be a good thing that this shock has been administered to us and we have to be very wary in the future. With communalism, casteism and other separatist tendencies, we can make no compromise. The Sikhs, as a vital part of India, must necessarily play an important part in the country. But whatever community it might be, we cannot accept any policy which weakens the state and tends towards separatism. We have had enough experience of this in the past when the Muslim League flourished in India and frustrated our efforts to gain freedom. The activities of the Akali Dal and its leaders are singularly like those of the Muslim League.

19. Whatever progress we might make ultimately depends upon the education given to our people. The foundation of that education is laid at the primary stage. We have repeatedly accepted what is called basic education and yet the progress made in that respect is not satisfactory. Probably, Bihar has shown the greatest results. Uttar Pradesh and some other states have a large number of schools which are called basic. They have undoubtedly improved the quality of education, but most of them can hardly be called basic in the sense that the word was intended. We have been discussing this matter recently here and we came to the conclusion that it was of the utmost importance to increase real basic education in the country. Some educationists and others make fun of basic education and one gentleman has even called it "a retreat from civilization." All I can say is that these critics neither understand basic education, nor the modern world. We have to move out of this ivory tower attitude and we have to get moving fast soon. All our five year plans and

13. In the elections held on 2 and 3 December 1954, the Akali Dal won 111 seats, its communist ally twenty-two seats, and the Khalsa Dal, supported by the Congress, three seats.

industrial and other developments depend on this basic foundation of education.

20. I hope to write to you more on this subject soon. But one thing I should like to lay stress on immediately. Unfortunately, in many states there is a definite hostility to this basic education and there is no attempt made to dovetail it into higher forms of education. The result is that present basic schools do not fit in with the upper structure. This hiatus has to be removed.

21. We are discussing in Parliament now the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill. I attach great importance to this not only in itself, but because I believe that such a social reform is essential if we have to make progress in an integrated way. It is impossible to have political reform without economic progress. It is impossible, I think, to make good politically and economically, unless we make good also in the social sphere.

22. I intend going to Indonesia in the last week of this month for a meeting of the Colombo Powers. At this meeting we shall consider the proposal for an Afro-Asian Conference.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### IV

Santiniketan  
24 December 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you from Santiniketan where I have come for the convocation of Visva-Bharati University of which I am Chancellor. I am very glad that I came here. Visva-Bharati became a University by an Act of Parliament some two years ago.<sup>1</sup> We made it clear then that we did not want this to be a replica of other existing universities. We wanted it to carry out, in so far as possible, the purposes and ideals of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. That is no easy matter because an institution like this tends to revolve very much round a great personality and when that personality is no more, there is a terrible gap which cannot be filled. Nevertheless, we have to carry on to the best of our ability. There have unfortunately been difficulties here, both internal and external, and naturally I feel greatly the absence of Gurudev. Still, it is interesting to find that there are students here from a score of other countries. Many come from the countries of Asia, some from Africa, and some from

1. See *ante*, p. 535.

Europe and America. It has, thus, got a definite international tinge about it. We want to encourage this. Our Education Ministry is anxious to help Visva-Bharati and we have had some talks about it. I hope these talks will bear fruit. Visva-Bharati is a unique institution in India, or for the matter of that elsewhere, and every Indian should be interested in its continuance and progress, both because of its special international character and as a memorial to Rabindranath Tagore.

2. I have had a heavy time in Delhi during the last three weeks or so. There was Parliament functioning and many important measures were considered. In addition to this, there was the Chinese cultural delegation, sixty-six strong. This was a high-class delegation from the cultural point of view and their shows were of very considerable artistic merit. Most of them represented the artistic side of classical China. I am sure that these visits of real cultural delegations from one country to another are of value and they make for greater understanding and appreciation.

3. Then there was the visit of Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia. Apart from the many functions that took place, I spent many long hours with him in discussing international and other affairs. The result of these discussions was the joint statement which we issued and which you must have seen. This statement<sup>2</sup> is entirely in line with our foreign policy and I am sure that it will help the cause of peace. Some countries in Asia have already expressed themselves more or less in line with this policy. But this is the first instance when a European country has also accepted this policy fully. You will particularly notice three points in this statement. The first is our repudiation of a passive neutral role in world affairs. We work actively and positively for a policy of peace and cooperation. Secondly, we have made it clear that we do not believe in working for the creation of a third bloc or third force. Thirdly, the Five Principles have been repeated and confirmed. Marshal Tito received a very warm welcome both in Bombay and Delhi, and, no doubt, he will be welcomed in the other parts of India where he goes.

4. In the near future there will probably be an announcement that China and Yugoslavia have agreed to exchange diplomatic missions. In this matter we have been of some help, though I think this would have happened anyhow because of new developments. This is also a move in stabilizing relations between countries and will thus help the cause of peace. As a matter of fact, Yugoslavia was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Government of China as long ago as 1949. It was China that had hesitated to have direct

2. The statement issued on 23 December 1954 affirmed that the question of the very survival of civilization had rendered acceptance of peaceful coexistence not merely as an alternative but an imperative. The signatories declared that "they will widen the area of peace and diminish the terrible prospect of war, promote greater confidence and open up greater opportunities of world cooperation."

contacts with Yugoslavia. The proposal, therefore, now came from China and it was, of course, accepted by Yugoslavia.<sup>3</sup> You will have seen that there has been a great improvement in the relations of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union also. Possibly, the change in China's attitude in this respect has been influenced by the Soviet attitude.<sup>4</sup>

5. Yugoslavia occupies a peculiar position. It has treaties of alliance with Greece and Turkey and it has been closely associated, in many ways, with the USA and other Western countries. But it has kept aloof from the NATO alliance. In the economic sphere, it was a backward country like other Balkan countries. It has made considerable progress during the past five or six years in industrialization. In regard to land reforms, it has gone far, but it has not accepted the Soviet policy. Indeed, this was one of the reasons why the two countries fell out. The Yugoslav leaders are communists but they did not accept the Soviet variety of communism. In fact, they say that Stalinism is a diversion from the original Marxism. The fact is that they have adopted the Marxist doctrine, keeping in view the peculiar circumstances in their own country. More or less, this is so in China also.

6. Because China and Yugoslavia were economically backward countries, to some extent, their problems were similar to ours. But there is one big difference between China and Yugoslavia, apart from the size of the two countries, China has a vast population and thus resembles India. Yugoslavia has no problem of unemployment. In fact, there is a lack of manpower for their big schemes.

7. I am on my way to Indonesia where a meeting of the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India is taking place to consider the proposal to have an Afro-Asian Conference. The principle has been accepted and the details have to be worked out. This is not a very simple matter. Even the question of inviting countries offers great difficulties. Who is to be invited and who should be left out? Any discrimination will naturally lead to irritation and ill will. Apart from the question of the Afro-Asian Conference, the Prime Ministers will, no doubt, discuss recent developments in Asia and, more particularly, in the Far East and in Indo-China. In Indo-China fresh difficulties are continually arising. So far as Cambodia and Laos are concerned, they are separate countries. Vietnam, however, is supposed to decide in 1956 by elections as to what its future should be. Meanwhile, it is divided into two parts. There is no doubt that at present the great majority of people would vote for Vietminh. This is not a pleasant prospect for some countries like the USA who do not

3. China and Yugoslavia formally agreed to exchange diplomatic missions on 10 January 1955.

4. On 1 October 1954 USSR ended a six year old economic blockade of Yugoslavia by signing a trade agreement.

like the idea of Vietminh extending its domain southwards. As I think I wrote to you previously, South Vietnam is in a bad state, politically and economically. It is full of internal conflicts. The mere fact that the head of the state is Bao Dai who sits in the south of France is itself significant of the present state of Vietnam. On the other side, in Vietminh there is Dr Ho Chi Minh, an outstanding personality, beloved of his people. This is an instance of how some of the Western Powers are constantly backing the wrong people and thereby, getting into difficulties, just as they are backing Chiang Kai-shek against the People's Government of China. Thus, these Western Powers oppose powerful nationalist movements which are driven to rely upon the communist countries.

8. Recently, there has been much tension over the question of some American prisoners in China. The UN even went so far as to pass a resolution condemning China.<sup>5</sup> This seemed to us to be a wrong move. It certainly did not make it easier to find a solution because then the prestige of both parties to the dispute became involved. Apart from this, it seems odd that the UN should condemn a country unheard. In this connection, the Secretary General of the UN, Mr Hammarskjöld, is going to China and is likely to pass through Delhi on his way early next month. I am glad that the Chinese Government agreed to this visit.

9. There is tension thus in the Far East. In Europe there is continuing tension over the question of German rearmament. The Soviet Union has warned both France and the UK<sup>6</sup> that ratification of the treaty with Germany will result in a denunciation of the Franco-Soviet<sup>7</sup> and the Anglo-Soviet<sup>8</sup> treaties. It appears certain now that that treaty<sup>9</sup> will be ratified. As a consequence, the Soviet Union, will probably denounce their treaties with France and the UK. There is no doubt that there is a strong feeling in Eastern Europe over the question of German rearmament. Germany has repeatedly invaded the East European countries and wrought havoc there, and naturally they do not like the idea of a powerful German army growing up, probably under the control of the old Nazi officers. The situation is, therefore, a serious one. Nevertheless, it is unlikely to lead to any major conflict. The world is at last beginning to realize the dangers of such a conflict and no country wants to precipitate it. President Eisenhower has also been speaking against the possibility of war and in fact in favour of coexistence.

5. See *ante*, p. 213.

6. On 16 and 20 December 1954.

7. The Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944.

8. The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942.

9. A nine power conference took place in London from 26 September to 3 October 1954 and decided on West Germany's inclusion in NATO and many other issues relating to its rearmament and release from Allied occupation.

10. Economic policy has been very much before the public during the past few weeks. There was a discussion in the Lok Sabha<sup>10</sup> and there have been speeches on it in other places too. I am glad of this great interest in economic policy because the subject is important and complex. Many of us are apt to take a rather academic view, but the realities of the situation are gradually making people think in realistic terms. We have practically committed ourselves to rapid industrial development and to put an end to unemployment in about ten years time. This is a tremendous decision to take, as we all know the vastness of this unemployment problem. In order to put an end to it we have to develop our industry—heavy, light and cottage industry—in a very big way. That requires investment on a colossal scale and training of personnel. Also, it requires careful planning and balancing. Our Second Five Year Plan will have to map out this course.

11. You must have noticed the Finance Minister's announcement about the Imperial Bank which is going to be brought under full control of the state.<sup>11</sup> How exactly this is to be done is going to be considered fully before a final decision is taken. We have also come to the conclusion that steel production must be increased in a big way. We have already agreed to have a steel plant at Rourkela in Orissa with the help of German technicians. We are likely to agree to another plant being erected by Soviet experts. Even these two are not enough and we are beginning to think of a third new plant. The bases of industrial growth are power and steel, apart from skilled manpower.

12. We have talked, and I have often stated, that our objectives are to provide full employment to the people and at the same time to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living. Finally, both these should go together. But it has been pointed out that in the course of development it is not only conceivable but highly likely that these two objectives conflict with each other. That is to say, a policy leading to a rapid increase in living standards may not really lead to a rapid decrease in unemployment. In a scientific analysis of what is optimal combination of targets, it might mean a good deal of difference whether we maximize standards of living or minimize unemployment. Thus, some kind of compromise has to be made at various stages.

13. To give an example of this conflict between the two: suppose, we have two alternatives to consider and compare, one giving an annual rise in living standards of three per cent together with an annual decrease in unemployment of ten per cent; the other giving an annual rise in living standards of five per cent, but decrease in unemployment by only two per cent. Which are we to choose? The difficulty is a real one and has to be decided at every stage. But in order to decide it one should have a clear picture of the consequences of

10. On 20-21 December 1954. See *ante*, pp. 350-364.

11. See *ante*, pp. 274 and 362.

each course of action. It is here that careful statistical analysis of social and economic phenomena become essential. We are going to be helped greatly in this by the work that is being done by the Indian Statistical Institute near Calcutta on behalf of the Planning Commission.

14. In discussing these problems, which are common to countries like India and China, the ideological approach is far less important than the practical approach. Of course, a country will be influenced by its ideological approach, but ultimately, it is the practical considerations of consequences that will prevail. Decisions in regard to these matters have to be taken at the highest level by responsible authorities. It may be, of course, that any decisions taken are not rigid and are varied from year to year slightly.

15. I have mentioned this particular aspect of our problem of unemployment and higher standards of living because this indicates the type of problem that we have to face in coming to decisions. We can no longer proceed in an ad hoc way. We have to think out the consequences of every step that we take and prepare for the second and the third step from now onwards. In particular, we have to emphasize the growth of machine-making industry, as well as of training personnel.

16. You will have observed that the Lok Sabha, in considering the economic policy resolution, passed almost unanimously an amendment laying down that the pattern of society to be aimed at should be socialistic.<sup>12</sup> This does not mean our adherence to any rigid or doctrinaire pattern, but it does mean that, broadly speaking, we are aiming at a particular type of society where there will be an approach to equality and where the state owns or controls the means of production. This does not mean that the state should own everything, but it must own or control all the strategic points. There has frequently been an argument about the public and private sectors. That argument discloses somewhat different approaches to the problem. But the argument by itself, without relation to actualities, tends to become unrealistic. It is far better for us to consider these matters from the practical point of view of increasing production and decreasing unemployment and, at the same time, going firmly towards that pattern of society which we aim at. We have to take into consideration all the time the present situation in the country and take advantage of every factor that helps. In this present situation, I have no doubt that the private sector can help considerably and therefore, should be allowed, and even encouraged, to help within the broad limits of our planning and general control.

17. Another aspect of this question which is often argued about is that of nationalization of existing industries. The Socialist Party lays the greatest stress upon this, as if it was the solvent of all our ills. Our own policy has been

12. On 21 December 1954.

repeatedly declared. With limited resources, there is absolutely no point in our applying them merely to acquire state control over existing industries, except when this is considered necessary. It is far better to apply these existing resources in new plants which are so much needed. Those new plants can be owned by the state.

18. We want to take advantage of all types of initiative and enterprise in the country. We are not sufficiently developed to be able to rely on a state pattern entirely. Also, there is some advantage in having a kind of competition between the public sector and the private. This will keep the public sector up to the mark. There can be no doubt that the public sector has to grow and will dominate the scene.

19. Many people are anxious to see the rapid growth of the public sector. Some even talk about ending private sector and industry. But, oddly enough, where the public sector is functioning today, there is constant criticism; even in regard to small matters. A proposal was made the other day to have a statutory committee in Parliament to supervise the public sector. The proposal was rightly rejected. If the public sector is to function effectively, it has to be given freedom and initiative. Otherwise, it will become a routine government department with all the checks and delays which are connected with a department's working. One cannot have it both ways. It is for this reason that we decided long ago to have our major state enterprises in the form of autonomous corporations so that there is no day to day interference with their work.

20. Parliament or a State Assembly naturally must have the last word and should be entitled to criticize where criticism is necessary. But overdoing this leads to irresponsibility in the people in charge who become afraid of criticism and, therefore, dare not take any step which might involve some risk. Delays occur and delays are more costly than anything else in a big undertaking.

21. There is much talk of scandals in government undertakings and undoubtedly there have been instances of defalcation of funds or mismanagement of contracts and the like. Such instances should be enquired into carefully and action taken. In private industry there are plenty of such instances, but there is seldom public criticism because the public is not interested. In the Soviet Union and in China there have been many instances of gross mismanagement and loss to the state. One does not hear of these because criticism is not normally allowed. Suddenly, we hear of big purges and there is a great deal of talk of sabotage, etc. The result in the Soviet Union was that no one dare take responsibility for any decisions for fear of being accused of sabotage in case something went wrong.

22. We must therefore take a balanced view and realize that the process of industrialization in a large way is continually bringing new problems. Our experience is limited, though it is being increased. If errors occur, we should rectify them, but we must not lose perspective.

23. We are continually conducting inquiries in regard to the best way of using our plants and machines. There is little doubt that we are not putting them to the best use at present, and much of their capacity remains unused. This shows lack of coordination as well as lack of experience. Recently, we had an inquiry about our ordnance factories which are very good but which have tended to function far too much as government departments. Hence, there have been delays and lack of full utilization.<sup>13</sup> The fact is that the methods of government secretariats are not suited to working industrial plants. We must change them and we are in fact trying to change them.

24. There is one aspect of too rapid an extension of the public sector which might be borne in mind. That will mean the government facing labour problems in a large way everywhere. It is better to face these gradually than in bulk. Recently, we had the threat of a bank strike. In view of the circumstances, this seemed to me completely unreasonable. But there it was. Fortunately, this was given up, or suspended, as they say.

25. I think that we must move towards the association of workers in some aspects of management of an industry. Unless workers or their representatives are made to feel their responsibility and realize the problems that we have to face, we cannot get their full support. If they are so associated and realize that the growth of the industry and greater production are to their advantage, as well as to the advantage of the state, then there will hardly be any talk of a strike. But then also the management will have to pay a good deal of attention to the workers' point of view. I think we are apt to ignore that point of view. There is too much of a class division between the ordinary workers, the skilled workers, and the management. If industry is to grow in this country, new ideas are much more likely to come from the technical personnel employed than from the management which functions on a non-technical plane. In fact, the early growth of British industry and the inventions made there, came chiefly from the lower technical staff.

26. Even in the USA, many developments towards the workers' association with the management have taken place. In Yugoslavia this has gone very far indeed. In the USSR, recent reports have indicated that the general managers of big concerns are usually the technical people, who have been promoted and they are very efficient as managers.

27. All these factors have to be considered by us, now that we are on the eve of a great development in industry in India.

28. I am writing this letter to you on the eve of Christmas Day. Soon this year 1954 will pass the way of its innumerable predecessors and we shall launch out on a new year. This new year is important from the international point of view. It will indicate whether the emphasis towards a lessening of

13. See *ante*, pp. 392-393.

international tensions continues or whether the shadow of conflict continues to hang over us. In our domestic affairs, the year is obviously important. It will see the formulation of the draft Second Five Year Plan. In the course of the year also we are going to have the report of the States Reorganization Commission.<sup>14</sup> What this report is going to be, I do not know. But there can be little doubt that it will pose before us a multitude of problems. This business of linguistic provinces is like the Pandora's box which was full of evil things which came out when the lid was lifted. These questions will be a severe test for us as a nation. Do we hold together firmly and see things from a larger point of view and proper perspective, or are we too provincial and communal-minded and caste-ridden to make any great progress?

29. I am sending this letter to Delhi for issue. As I am going away to Indonesia, I shall be unable to sign it myself. I hope you will not mind.

All good wishes to you and to your state in the New Year,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. The report was submitted to the Government on 30 September 1955.

## V

New Delhi  
13 January 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last from Santiniketan, I have been to Indonesia for the conference of the five Colombo Powers' Prime Ministers. The Conference was brief and businesslike and I am glad to say that there was a good deal of harmony. We came to certain conclusion, about the convening of the Asian-African Conference,<sup>1</sup> which you must have seen in the papers.

2. This proposed Conference has attracted a good deal of attention of foreign countries. In fact, it has been considered an event of historic significance. I think this interpretation is correct, though there is no intention on the part of the sponsors to create any kind of grouping or bloc or indeed to enter into

1. See *ante*, pp. 112-119.

highly controversial issues.<sup>2</sup> The mere fact of a large number of Asian countries as also some African countries meeting together in this way indicates that Asia has opinions of her own and intends to make them heard. Thus far there has been too much of tendency in Europe and America to take things for granted in Asia and to dispose of Asian questions without too much reference to what people in Asia think. There is not enough awareness of the fact that Asia has changed and is continually changing and has views of its own. The general effect of this announcement about the Conference has thus been to wake up these Western Powers to certain realities of the situation.

3. I do not know how many of the invitees are going to accept and attend the Conference. I imagine, however, that most of them will do so, because few would like to be left out from this historic Conference. You will observe that the countries invited are a very mixed lot from various points of view. They do not represent the same viewpoint in international affairs and some of them are definitely allied to this group or that. Broadly speaking, they are under developed countries, except for Japan.

4. Some criticisms have been made: Why was Israel not invited? Why have Australia and New Zealand been left out and why were the two Koreas not invited?

5. The principle we laid down was that all independent countries in Asia and Africa should be invited. Australia and New Zealand were not in this region and therefore, the question of their invitation was not even considered. There was no objection to their being invited and in fact if they are desirous of attending, there will probably be no difficulty in extending the area somewhat and inviting them.

6. As for Israel, undoubtedly, according to definition, it was entitled to an invitation. We did not decide on our invitations by our likes or dislikes, as Israel is functioning today as an independent country and a member of the UN. But because of the strong opposition of the Arab countries, Israel was left out. In the balance, one had to choose whether one would have Israel or the Arab countries.

7. The two Koreas were on the borderline and it was decided not to invite them.

8. We have had a visit recently from the Secretary General of the United Nations. Dr Hammarskjöld, on his way to China.<sup>3</sup> I had long talks with him in Delhi. It is not quite clear yet what transpired in Peking. But I think it is clear

2. This had been suggested by some sections in the West. For example, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of USA, wrote on 2 January 1955 that "obviously the objective is not only a third bloc but a powerful bargaining unit to hold out for the highest price in Russo-American competition..."

3. On 2 and 3 January 1955.

that the Chinese Government has gained a diplomatic victory by this visit. Gradually, China is coming into the international picture in spite of non-recognition by many important powers. Reality cannot be ignored for too long.

9. Two of our important and valued colleagues have died during the last few days—Dr S.S.Bhatnagar and Colonel Raghbir Singh, the Chief Minister of Pepsu. Colonel Raghbir Singh had played an important part in Pepsu in difficult circumstances and it is very unfortunate indeed that he should have died at this moment. Dr Bhatnagar can truly be said to have built up our great structure of scientific laboratories in India. He has left as a memorial thirteen magnificent national laboratories and institutes. I am quite sure that but for him these laboratories would have still been in some early stage of building. I have seldom come across a more dynamic person who had the capacity to get things done. His loss to us is great.

10. Three days ago, certain changes took place in the Central Cabinet.<sup>4</sup> Dr Kailash Nath Katju has taken charge of the Defence portfolio and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant is now in charge of the Home Ministry which includes the Ministry of States. Dr Katju has, of course, been with us as a valued colleague for some years past. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant's coming to the Central Cabinet is a great gain to us, and to me specially.

11. A meeting of the standing committee of the National Development Council took place soon after my return from Indonesia.<sup>5</sup> This meeting considered the progress of work thus far done and also certain initial steps to be taken in regard to the Second Five Year Plan. This Plan is likely to mark a big departure for us. There is all round realization now that the pace of our progress must be faster, more specially in regard to the removal of unemployment and increasing production. While we are concerned with a variety of political problems, both national and international, our thinking is becoming directed more and more towards social and economic problems. Foreign observers from other countries have become aware of this fact and they have pointed this out as a measure of our growth. After all, the real problems that a country faces are social and economic. Politics is an unavoidable nuisance. We in India, and to some extent other countries in Asia, are on the eve of an Industrial Revolution. Circumstances compel us to bring about this change rapidly. There is no comparable example elsewhere of the problem we have to face in India. In the industrialized Western countries, these changes have taken place in the course of one hundred and fifty years or more. In the Soviet Union, they have been hastened. But, even so, they have taken over a generation. A major factor in the Soviet Union, however, is the presence of vast spaces with a relatively small population. In India we are a heavily

4. On 10 January 1955.

5. On 7 January 1955.

populated country and there is not much free land available. We have to deal with this vast population and take it many steps ahead in quick time. A comparison can only be made with the problem as it faces China today, because China also is a big underdeveloped country with a vast population.

12. It is this mighty problem that is beginning to absorb our attention to the exclusion of other problems. Indeed, we will come nowhere to solving it if our time and energy are spent in political disputes. The Second Five Year Plan will represent our approach to the solution of this problem. Obviously, the full solution will take time, much more than five years or even ten years. But if we plan well and make good to some extent in the course of the next few years, then future progress will be assured.

13. Planning thus becomes of high importance and has to be approached in an organized way of dealing with physical needs and supplying them, of balancing our production with the money invested, of balancing heavy industry with light industry and cottage industry. The approach thus becomes much less financial and much more in terms of physical needs and conditions. Finance becomes a relatively secondary factor, although it is still important.

14. Our Planning Commission has a vital role to play at this stage, naturally with the full cooperation of our Government. The Planning Commission is also having very valuable assistance from our Indian Statistical Institute, working under Professor P.C. Mahalanobis, who has invited a large number of foreign experts in planning and statistics from about a dozen countries. We have thus got the advantage of the advice of many experienced and eminent men. I hope that we shall profit by this and produce a plan which bears some relation to the vast problem we have to face. The question which we have ultimately to answer is the progressive removal of unemployment till we have full employment and, at the same time, raising of standards of our people. I mentioned in my last letter that there might be some conflict in the emphasis to be laid on these two factors. Probably there is no real conflict if planning is properly done. In any event, I think that emphasis has to be on the removal of unemployment.

15. Many of us are dissatisfied with the rate of progress in the past. That is right because we should always aim high. But the fact is that there is general agreement among competent observers abroad and in this country that we have done remarkably well thus far and laid strong foundations for the future. Indeed, Indian planning and the work we have so far done have suddenly caught the imagination of a large part of the world. It is for us now to make good the anticipations that we have aroused and the promises we are making. It is an exciting prospect and an adventure worthy of this great country.

16. Recently, the 42 session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Baroda<sup>6</sup> and I had the privilege to inaugurate it. This was attended by a large

6. From 4 to 10 January 1955. For Nehru's speech see *ante*, pp. 424-428.

number of eminent scientists from abroad.<sup>7</sup> Indian scientists also were present in considerable numbers. It was obvious that we were advancing at a fairly good pace in science. The question, however, is how far we can join our scientific talent to the process of planning and development. This is important. Indeed it is necessary that we should bring together all the talent and ability that we possess in various national activities. Planning covers the entire field of the nation's work and we want, therefore, the largest measure of cooperation and coordination.

17. Whatever the shape of planning in the future, it is admitted now that the production of power and of steel are essential bases for it. If we have to have industrial development, we must have both these. To some extent, we have made provision for the development of power in our great hydroelectric works. In steel we have perhaps lagged behind somewhat and now we want to catch up. Our present production is about a million and a quarter tonnes. We want to make this six million tonnes by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. That is a fourfold increase and it will require considerable effort. We have already decided on the Rourkela plant in Orissa with the help of German technicians. We are likely soon to come to an agreement for a plant to be put up by Soviet engineers. A third proposal is before us now with which British engineers and others are concerned. We may even consider a fourth.

18. Some concern is felt in the country at the fall in the prices of foodgrains and Government are taking some measures in regard to this to ensure stabilization. These prices will have to be watched carefully. We need not however be alarmed. A way to meet this is to go ahead with our development plans in a big way.

19. I am leaving Delhi soon for south India for the session of the National Congress at Avadi<sup>8</sup> near Madras and, on my way, I shall spend two days in the Andhra State where elections are going to be held.<sup>9</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The conference was attended by fifty foreign delegates among whom were three Nobel prize winners—Prof P.A.M. Dirac (Britain), Prof Paul Career (Switzerland) and Prof Linus Pauling (USA).

8. Held from 21 to 23 January 1955. See *ante*, pp. 255-298.

9. See *ante*, pp. 299-312.

VI

New Delhi  
26 January 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you at the end of our Republic Day. I have yet seen no news of the celebrations in other parts of India. But I have witnessed myself, in common with vast numbers of other people, the celebrations in Delhi. Those celebrations are by no means over because they last for several days. But the great parade took place this morning.

2. This parade, five years ago, was almost entirely an affair connected with our Defence Forces. Since then it has grown and widened its scope. A cultural pageant was attached to it and last year a large number of boys and girls and children from schools also took part in it. This year, there was a further addition, and representatives of all kinds of occupations and trade unions as well as of tribal peoples, participated.

3. This whole parade and pageant was a magnificent and moving sight. It seemed to represent India in miniature, the unity of India in its great diversity, and India confident and on the march. There were many foreign representatives present, including some delegations from abroad, among the spectators. They were all powerfully impressed. What then can I say of the impression produced on an Indian? My heart was filled with pride and joy at this sight of our nation on the march realizing its goals one by one. There was a sense of fulfilment in the air and of confidence in our future destiny. It was a happy idea, on this occasion, to include trade unions, peasants, tribal people and even nomads. They are, all of them, parts of this country of ours and sharers in our common destiny.

4. I hope that I can view a situation objectively and not allow my wishes to dominate my thoughts. Recently, I have had the definite and ever-growing sensation of a change in the atmosphere of India. There are still many critics and many people whose chief function is to decry our achievements. But, by and large, the sensation is growing in this country that we are making good progress and going ahead. The old feeling of frustration is rapidly disappearing and in its place there is something new, something vital and dynamic, something that is full of promise for the future.

5. There is also, and this is a recent growth, a feeling that we are taking a new step and giving a new turn to our policy. The Lok Sabha gave a definite lead to this by stating that we should aim at a socialistic pattern of society. Now the Congress has accepted this with enthusiasm and has called upon our planners to keep this in view and proceed to plan on a physical basis. I have

no doubt that this new turn, which though not very new, is nevertheless, a new and marked emphasis, has been welcomed in the country and widely appreciated. Perhaps this has added to this feeling of self-confidence and created a certain dynamism in the situation.

6. The Congress session at Avadi in Madras was undoubtedly a tremendous and heartening affair. I am not for the moment speaking merely as a Congressman, though as such I am proud of this last session, but rather as an Indian watching and participating in great national movements. The Congress has, as it has often done before, come to a realization of the realities of the situation in India and assumed the lead. The Congress is not an academic body or one that indulges in adventurist action. It may be sometimes slow in movement because it does not concern itself with a few believers but rather with the mass of the people. The Congress action, therefore, in this respect has a much wider significance than the mere expression of the wish of a group. It can be said without a doubt that the Congress resolutions on our future goal and on economic planning as well as the other resolutions,<sup>1</sup> represent the organized expression of mass thinking in India. They are based, therefore, on reality and on the facts of the situation. This of course casts a great responsibility on both the Congress and our various Governments, Central as well as State, and all of us will have to work our hardest to fulfil the expectations that have been raised.

7. These expectations are connected with many activities, but principally they have to do with the planning of our Second Five Year Plan. I have already written to you about the various activities of the Planning Commission and about a number of foreign experts who have been considering our problems in this new context. Tomorrow morning, the Planning Commission is meeting many of these experts for a full discussion which, I am sure, will be fruitful. It seems clear, however, that future planning has to be on the physical basis.

8. I have no desire to make invidious comparisons with other countries. But, looking round the countries of Asia and comparing them with India today, there can be little doubt that the advantage lies greatly with India. It is a little difficult for any comparisons to be made with China and, undoubtedly, China has made considerable progress in recent years. But the difference between India and the other Asian countries is very marked, both in the political and the economic spheres and, I would add, the cultural sphere also. It is no small matter that we are advancing on this cultural front. This cultural development is not confined to the select few but is something that is affecting the wide masses. That shows the strength and vitality of these new forces which are changing our country.

1. For the resolutions drafted by Nehru, see *ante*, pp. 255-261.

9. I have been repeating, in public and private, that the international situation has improved and there has been a lessening of tension. I am sorry to say that I cannot repeat that statement now. There is no doubt that recent weeks have added to these tensions and, in fact, we are facing today a somewhat explosive situation in the Far East. This is connected with Formosa and the coastal islands of China.<sup>2</sup> A statement made by President Eisenhower two days ago has suddenly brought matters to a head.<sup>3</sup> American policy in the Far East has not shown any continuity or indeed, if I may say so, much logic. After the World War, it was clearly stated on behalf of America that Formosa was a part of China. Even after the communist success in China, this was repeated by the State Department of the United States. A change, however, crept in later and, when the Korean War began, President Truman ordered the Seventh US Fleet to guard the China Seas and prevent any attack either by China on Formosa or by Formosa on the Chinese mainland.<sup>4</sup> This statement was particularly related to the Korean War. After the conclusion of the Korean War, President Eisenhower issued fresh orders to the Seventh Fleet saying that, while it should prevent a Chinese attack on Formosa, it should not come in the way of a Formosan attack on China.<sup>5</sup> This was a definite variation of the old policy and orders.

10. There are a large number of coastal islands of China and many of these are at present occupied by Formosa with the help of the US Seventh Fleet. These islands have been used as bases for attack on China. Quite apart from the major question of Formosa, it is clear that no Chinese Government can possibly tolerate such continuing attacks on the mainland from neighbouring islands which it claims. There has been a petty war going on over these islands and recently the Chinese Government took possession of one of them. Logically speaking, they were entitled to do so. So far as we are concerned, and this applies to every country recognizing the People's Government of China, we do not recognize the Formosan Government. Indeed, nobody has thus far considered Formosa as a separate State. Formosa claims to be China. The question, therefore, is, which is China.

11. While the situation on the coastal islands was progressively worsening, the issue of the American airmen in China suddenly became important. The UN

2. Air attacks by the Chinese followed by capture of Yikiangshan, one of the coastal islands, led to retaliatory attacks by the nationalists.
3. On 24 January 1955, Eisenhower asked the US Congress for immediate action to authorize measures, including the use of American armed forces, to ensure the security of Taiwan and the Pescadores islands.
4. On 27 June 1950.
5. On 2 February 1953.

without giving China even a chance to have a say, condemned China in this matter. This was, according to our thinking, wholly a wrong procedure, even apart from the merits. Now comes President Eisenhower's statement which goes farther than any previous official declaration of the US Government.

12. At present the US and China have both officially and publicly adopted policies which are wholly opposed to each other. Both are committed to them and this means that there is not much room for any kind of a compromise. Meanwhile the situation grows worse and the danger of a possible war looms ahead again.

13. It appears to be a belief in American circles that China can be coerced by threats. Also that the Chinese people, or a large part of them, will rise against their own Government if they are given a chance. Both these beliefs are completely without foundation and I am quite sure that the Chinese Government will not submit, in any matter vital to them, whatever the consequences.

14. There is a proposal to refer the matter to the UN Security Council as one involving a breach of peace. I cannot say what will happen. Here again we come up against the paradox of the UN being compelled by circumstances to deal with China and, at the same time, not recognizing the new China.

15. As you know, I am going to England soon.<sup>6</sup> In fact, I shall be in London within three days from now. Naturally this new development in the Far East will be the most urgent matter to be considered.

16. Yesterday, the Governor General of Pakistan, Mr Ghulam Mohammad, came to Delhi accompanied by two of his Ministers, General Iskander Mirza and our old friend Dr Khan Sahib. It is unusual for us to invite any foreign Head of State for our Republic Day Celebrations. But we made an exception in this case as we were anxious to demonstrate our friendly approach to Pakistan. I am glad they have come here and been welcomed by us. These visits do not lead to the solution of any big problem, but they certainly prepare the atmosphere for a more friendly and cooperative approach. Mr Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor General, is obviously the person who wields the greatest authority in Pakistan at present. He is in ill health. It is difficult for him to walk and even his speech is difficult to follow because of his infirmity. I have been surprised at and have admired his great courage in shouldering his heavy responsibilities in spite of his bodily weaknesses and failings.

17. I would remind you that January 30 will be a Day of Remembrance for those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of India's freedom. At 11 o'clock that day there should be a two minute silence everywhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. On 28 January 1955.



## MISCELLANEOUS



## 1. Indian Postal System<sup>1</sup>

Among the many things, good and bad, that the modern world has produced, surely the postal system, which covers the world, is one of its most beneficent activities. There is nothing bad about it, it is all good, and it affects every individual, wherever he may be in this wide world, connecting him with millions of others. That connecting link is the postal system which has grown from age to age till it is what we see today. This story is full of fascination and the spirit of adventure. It is growing still, of course, and will continue to do so bringing fresh discoveries and inventions in its train and, thus, helping the growth of human relations and human welfare; also, ultimately perhaps helping somewhat in the realization of that ideal which seems so distant today and which, nevertheless, might not be very far—the World State. The postal system is a world organization, one of the great international services which have grown up, more specially in the last hundred years or so.

The postal system is a part of the story of communications. The science dealing with communications grows more intricate and far-reaching and today perhaps the highest form that we have is that of radar. Radar has nothing to do with the postal system as such, but it has taken us to a new region of adventure of the human mind.

India, during the past hundred years, has built up a great postal system of her own,<sup>2</sup> which is part of this world system. We celebrate the completion of these hundred years<sup>3</sup> and I am glad that this record of the story of the Indian post office has been prepared as a witness of what has been done as well as of what we hope to do.

1. Foreword to a volume commemorating the centenary of Indian postal stamp, 13 October 1954. JN Collection.
2. The official postal system was introduced in India by Lord Clive in 1766. India's first post office was established in Calcutta in 1854 and the first postal stamp "Lion and the Palm Tree" of ½ anna denomination, was introduced on 1 October 1854.
3. The Indian Postal Stamp Centenary was celebrated throughout the country in the first half of October 1954. Nehru inaugurated the centenary exhibition in Delhi on 1 October 1954.

## 2. Impressions and Experience<sup>1</sup>

1954 October 15

Departure from Delhi—feel rather groggy but otherwise better.<sup>2</sup>

Do not at all like Mathai<sup>3</sup> dropping out at the last moment in order to make room for the doctor.

Slept for 3 hours on the flight to Calcutta. Crowds in Calcutta streets even greater than usual—very friendly and demonstrative.

Slept again in afternoon.

Press interview—visit to New Secretariat building<sup>4</sup>—Basanti Devi,<sup>5</sup> King of Nepal and M.P. Koirala.<sup>6</sup>

Again crowds everywhere. Evidently my visit to China has touched some responsive chord in the people—also perhaps my recent circular letters.<sup>7</sup> Bidhan is full of plans and enthusiasm as ever.

October 16

Easy flight to Rangoon—Big crowd at Mingladon airport—arrangements rather upset by crowd rushing about.

U Nu charming as ever<sup>8</sup>—Just finished 3 months Buddhist Council's fast (which means no food from midday to 4 a m).

Talks with Burmese ministers—more or less satisfactory but somehow lacking grip.

1. Diaries of Indo-China and China visit, 15 to 18 October 1954. JN Collection. Omission marks are given as in the source.
2. At about 7.30 a.m. of 15 October Nehru left Palam on his visit to Indo-China and China. He was slightly indisposed on the 14th.
3. M.O. Mathai was Special Assistant to the Prime Minister.
4. Though all public engagements of Nehru in Calcutta on 15 October were cancelled due to his indisposition, he attended a press conference and thereafter drove to see the New Secretariat building of the West Bengal Government in Calcutta, which then was the tallest building in India.
5. In the evening of 15 October he called on Basanti Devi, 72 year old widow of Deshabandhu C.R. Das.
6. M.P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal and King Tribhuvan met Nehru at night and discussed about Nepal's relations with China and Tibet.
7. See *ante*, pp. 313-316.
8. U Nu, the Myanmarese Prime Minister, had informal talks with Nehru in Rangoon on topics of mutual interest.

Visit to Peace Pagoda and 'cave', where Buddhist Synod meeting<sup>9</sup>—Imposing but in some ways rather tawdry.

Party by Rahman at Embassy,<sup>10</sup> which is a fine building.

Ramakrishna Mission function<sup>11</sup> very crowded. Temper on my part. Hot clammy feeling and no time allowed for wash or change—I then find that Hari<sup>12</sup> has brought no appropriate change.

First experience of bullet proof automobiles, steel frame—glasses 1½ inches thick; felt imprisoned in it.

Huge escorts—16 outriders on motor bicycles plus car in front and car behind.

October 17

To Vientiane, capital of Laos, mostly flying over Thailand—rough, hilly country with thick forests—or so it appeared from the air.

Received by the PM<sup>13</sup> etc.—including many French officers. Also International Commission, Khosla Chairman.<sup>14</sup> Laotian army standing rather forlornly for inspection. From a little distance had a toy effect.

Small town—scattered—people attractive looking but give no impression of vitality. Talks with PM and crown prince<sup>15</sup>.

Well meaning people but full of apprehensions for the future. Fear of the French and the Americans (who are gradually pushing in), fear of the communists and their own resistance movement under the leadership of the brother of the PM. On the defensive—old, out of sorts royal regime of good intentioned people but.... Visited Pagoda<sup>16</sup>—this pleased the Crown Prince and others who are ardent Buddhists.

Lunch with Crown Prince (King<sup>17</sup> lives retired life elsewhere).

Flight to Hanoi—again over mountainous forest country. Gives one some idea of difficulty of suppressing any rebel movement.

9. On 16 October he visited the Sacred Cave where the Sixth Buddhist Synod was being held and he also visited the hall where the learned Buddhist monks were engaged in translating the *Tripitaka* scriptures.

10. Nehru on 16 October attended a reception held in his honour by M.A. Rahman, Indian Charge d'Affaires in Rangoon.

11. In the evening of 16th Nehru performed the opening ceremony of the new nurses' quarters in the Ramakrishna Mission Hospital, Rangoon.

12. Nehru's personal servant.

13. Souvanna Phouma.

14. He addressed the ICSC for Laos (Chairman, J.N. Khosla), on 17 October in Vientiane.

15. Crown Prince Savang.

16. Sisaket Pagoda.

17. Sisavang Vong.

Hanoi—met Van Dong<sup>18</sup>—Foreign Minister and Dy. PM. Pleasant, frank face, obviously pleased to meet me.

International Commission—M.J. Desai.<sup>19</sup>

Vietminh only started coming into Hanoi on Oct. 11th, six days ago, according to Geneva agreement.

Long motorcade—Indu and I sitting by ourselves in a car—moving at about 2 miles an hour. Streets deserted but people sitting in groups on the doorsteps etc. Evidently greatly interested but rather apprehensive. Vietminh flag displayed everywhere—Red with single star in the centre. Triumphal arches....

So we went slowly and rather sepulchrally in absolute silence. There somebody waved his hand—I waved back—ice broken—vigorous hand clapping then.

Hotel—Big party by M.J. Desai, Press. Then dinner with President Ho.<sup>20</sup> He came forward—almost leapt forward—and embraced and kissed me. Obvious that this was not a showpiece. He felt it and meant it. Fine, frank face, gentle and benign—not at all one's idea of a leader of a rebellion.

Talks with Dr Ho—Makes friends with Indu and tells her to call him Bae Ho (Uncle Ho) as he is generally known here. Says that he wants to kiss her as a daughter but refrained lest this might be misunderstood.

We talk for 3 hours and more—before, during and after dinner. Frank talk about communism interfering in other countries—Dr Ho wants to know about our Commonwealth relationship—Asked me to send a note to him. His own ideas about French Union wholly vague and hence this wish to know.

Altogether very friendly and likeable—spoke to me of meeting my father at Brussels in 1927-28.

October 18

Confusion in different timings. Forgot to change to Hanoi time and was thus foolish enough to get up an hour earlier than was necessary. Got up at 4 a m and was ready at 4.45 a m (This should have been 5.45). Started worrying about others and then discovered my mistake.

Have written this note (for Oct. 17th) in these early hours while waiting for others to wake up and get ready.

Later President Ho arrived at 5.45 am to say goodbye. On leaving embraces and kisses me and also kisses Indu. He has sent a lovely lacquer painting as a gift.

18. Pham Van Dong, Foreign Minister of Vietminh Government.

19. M.J. Desai was the Chairman, ICSC, Vietnam.

20. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Vietminh.

Vietminh soldiers look tougher than the Laotians. But still they are very young and small—most of them appeared to be in their teens. Compared to them our men look big and imposing. I get quite a thrill to see our soldiers in foreign countries—they look smart and disciplined, friendly and with a good deal of self assurance.

Take off from Hanoi airfield 6.55 Hanoi time.

Arrived 11 a m. Canton:<sup>21</sup>

Official welcome. Long route lined throughout by two or three rows of young men and women on either side, boys and girls and even children. Very disciplined, organized, slogans—continuous hand clapping (in which we are supposed to join in)—enthusiasm genuine.

Raghavan<sup>22</sup> and Ambassador Yuan<sup>23</sup> join us.

Choice lunch—Chinese.

Leave Canton—1.40pm.

For two hours very mountainous country with villages in deep valleys.

Hankow<sup>24</sup>

About 50 miles before reaching Hankow the flooded areas began—Vast stretches of water resembling the Bihar floods this year.

Hankow—big reception—We go in an open car, standing, through the city. Crowds as in Canton, only bigger. Disciplined to some extent—regimented in their slogans especially. Often the lines of people were very near the car—Security arrangements appeared less strict than in India. Not too many policemen. Except for a security car in front and one some distance behind—no obvious arrangements. (In Hanoi there was this army everywhere—on every balcony, roof, lane etc.)

Even the traffic was not wholly stopped while we were passing through. There, vehicular traffic very limited. Occasional truck or bus, rarely a car. bicycles, rickshaws—human beings pushing and pulling heavily laden carts.

Later saw the dykes on the Yangtze.

21. The great river city and port of China on the bank of Pearl River in Kwangtung province.
22. N. Raghavan, India's Ambassador to China.
23. General Yuan Chung-hsien, China's Ambassador to India.
24. A river port located on the left bank of Han Shui river at its confluence with Yangtze.

### 3. Death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission I should like to make a reference right at the commencement of this session to the sad and grievous event that took place some days ago. I was far away from India when news of the death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai reached<sup>2</sup> me, and I remembered then the long period of association that many of us had had with him. Perhaps there is none present here in this House who was associated with him closely for that length of time as I was. But there are many here who were associated for many long years and everyone in this House was associated with him in some way or other, either in the work of this House or outside. So I thought of this long period when about thirtyfive years ago he came fresh from college and threw himself in our national movement. Ever since that time, till today, I do not think there has been any period when he thought of anything else but that movement in its various aspects and afterwards its aftermath. I hardly know of a single person who was so devoted to one cause in its various aspects as Rafi Ahmed was. He was a Muslim of course, and yet, I hardly know of anybody who is more of a thorough Indian in his thought and actions than he was, and not confined to any community.

We all knew him, and it is not necessary, therefore, to say much. He was not born great, nor was greatness thrust upon him. He achieved it by hard continuous work, and work of a type which normally is not perhaps done by most of us. I remember for long years when many of us used to stump the countryside and deliver speeches, Rafi Ahmed never spoke in public. It was a joke amongst us. He was a quiet worker. Speaking in public was always somewhat distasteful to him. He spoke quite enough and more in private groups, but not in public meetings. And so he quietly organized, quietly worked and probably knew more individuals in India as colleagues, friends and comrades than anybody that I know of. And to his house, when he was here or elsewhere, innumerable persons came seeking help. I am not aware of any single case where a person was turned away from his house. He helped to the best of his ability and beyond his ability everybody who came, and he gave solace to anyone who was in distress. And now if you go to his village home at Masauli you will find a broken down house, dilapidated; part of the house has not even got a roof to it. That is the house he lived in for these many

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 15 November 1954. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII. Part II, cols. 1-4.
2. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, died in New Delhi on 24 October 1954 when Nehru was in China.

years, and he had neither the time nor the money to repair it or to put a roof when a roof was lacking, because his mind and all his resources were engaged in other ways.

This House knows that he was sometimes a very irritating person. Almost, if I might say so, he delighted in saying things just to irritate the other party, in a friendly way. And yet I did not find any malice in him at any time against anyone.

So he was an odd person, a kind of person one does not usually come across. There might be abler persons; there are persons greatly devoted to national causes. It is difficult to measure these things. But the queer combination of things that represented Rafi Ahmed was undoubtedly very unusual. And therefore for him to leave us does leave a gap which I think it is hardly possible to fill.

It has been a grievous blow to the Government and to his colleagues in the Government and to innumerable other persons. And yet it seems to me that the manner of his death, that is being in harness to the bitter end to the last moment, was a death which many of us might envy. I was not here then when he died, but I am told that the people of Delhi specially, as people in the rest of the country, but more specially the people of Delhi of all groups, communities, views and parties, all gave a demonstration of sorrow and grief such as Delhi has very seldom seen.<sup>3</sup> Because, Rafi Ahmed ultimately stood in the hearts of the people and served them. That was the real tribute which the people paid, not the few words that I might say here in this House.

I have no doubt that I speak for this House which I say that I would like you Sir, to convey our deep sorrow at his death to the members of his family.

3. Disciplined crowds numbering over three lakhs lined up the four mile route of the funeral procession on 25 October to see the body being taken in State from the New Delhi residence of Kidwai to the New Delhi Railway Station, wherefrom the body was taken to Masauli, his village home in Bara Banki district of Uttar Pradesh, for performing the last rites. Central and State Ministers, members of diplomatic corps and thousand of citizens were present as the train left.

#### 4. To F.R. Roy Bucher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

21 November 1954

My dear Roy,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 13 November.

What you write about Suhrawardy<sup>3</sup> is well known to us. It was a bad show in those days in Calcutta and he certainly was largely responsible for it. Afterwards, he appeared to have undergone some kind of a reformation or, at any rate, he said so. On the 15 August, 1947, at the time of the change-over in India, we were apprehensive of trouble on a big scale in Calcutta. But Gandhiji and Suhrawardy jointly led what was called a peace procession and everything passed off quietly. That was when the upheavals occurred on both sides of the Punjab.

After that also, for some time, Suhrawardy behaved rather decently. It is true that it is very difficult to have faith in a man like that. On the other hand, almost everybody in authority in Pakistan is so bad and so opportunist that Suhrawardy appears to be an improvement. Pakistan has been in a very bad way indeed, both politically and economically. I am sorry for it.

You can certainly write a book about your experiences here.<sup>4</sup> It would be interesting.

My visit to China was most interesting. They gave me tremendous welcome.

There is no chance of my going to the Soviet Union in the near future, although I have been invited to go there. I might go some time next year.

All good wishes to you and your wife.

Ever yours,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. General Roy Bucher, Commander-in-chief, Indian Army, 1948-49.

3. Roy Bucher, in a letter of 13 November 1954 referred to newspaper reports of possibility of H.S. Suhrawardy becoming the Prime Minister of Pakistan and said that these reports did not mention anything about breaking out of communal riots in Bengal of August 1946, when the Suhrawardy ministry in Bengal did not render any assistance to him in bringing order out of chaos in Bengal. It would be unfortunate, he felt, if Suhrawardy became Prime Minister of Pakistan.

4. Roy Bucher wanted to write a book on his experiences in India during 1945-49.

abhaya	fearlessness
Bharata Natya/Bharatanatyam	a classical dance form of southern India
bhoodan	voluntary donation of land; refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
bramhin rashtra	bramhin nation
china patta	Chinese silk
gali	abuse
guru-shishya	master-pupil
hartal	strike
Hindu rashtra	Hindu nation
Idgah	a place of assembly and prayer on occasion of Muslim festivals
izzat	prestige
jagirdari	a system of assignment of a tract of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	victory to India
ji	an affix denoting respect
maulavi	a Muslim learned person, well versed in Arabian and Persian literature
maund	a measure of weight around one hundred pounds
nai talim	basic education
pandal	a pavilion
panch shila	five basic principles of international conduct
purna swaraj	full independence
Rajput rashtra	Rajput nation
rashtra	nation
sampattidan	voluntary donation of property

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

sarvodaya	movement for all round welfare of people
satyagrahi	follower of truth force or soul force
swatantra Bharat	independent India
taccavi	advance money given to cultivators
talukdari	a system of land holding
tehsildar hakumat	reign of a revenue subdivisional head
tongawala	driver of light horse-drawn two-wheeled vehicle
varnashrama dharma	duties relating to the four stages of life according to Hindu scriptures

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The current volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* deals with the period from 1 October 1954 to 31 January 1955....

To highlight the significance of the opening section of this volume, entitled "An 'Area of Peace' in the Cold War", we need to recapitulate here some of the features which characterised the global scene in the 1950s, threatening in the process the world community in a nuclear war of the most frightening proportions....

Small wonder, then, that Jawaharlal Nehru regarded his forthcoming meeting with the Chinese leaders in Beijing, in October 1954, as a "world event" of substantial importance.

While Nehru's dialogue with Mao was in the nature of a wide ranging exchange of views on world politics, his discussions with Chou En-lai were more specific in character, and touched upon a number of issues which affected the two countries, as the two major political actors in Asia, as well as in their face to face relations with each other....

The great majority of the documents which make up the current volume of the *Selected Works* reach out to crucial developments in the global community, particularly in respect of Sino-Indian relations.... Yet this achievement should not stand in the way of our highlighting some seminal changes in the period under consideration in the economic sphere. These changes affected government policies and initiatives to the extent of preparing a new basis—a more radical basis—for the trajectory to be pursued by the Republic in the domain of social production....

Such transformative policies found their culmination in the Avadi Session of the Congress, held in January 1955. At Avadi, under Nehru's leadership, the ruling party decided to impart a sharper edge to the radical policies which had already been initiated, in the sphere of land reforms and economic planning, within the country. The strategic objective of these policy changes was to establish what can best be described as a 'Cooperative Commonwealth' in the country within a decade or two. The Avadi Congress described these changes as an attempt at the creation of a "Socialistic" society within India....

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